ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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M.DCCC.XC.

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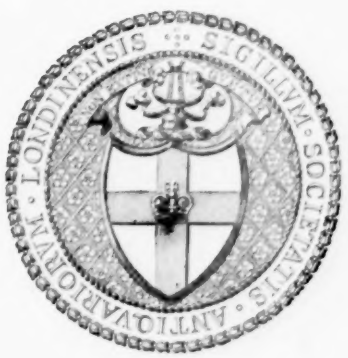
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*Recent Researches in Barrows in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, etc.* By the *Rev.* William Greenwell, *M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read January 17, 1889, and January 23, 1890.

Subsequent to the publication of *British Barrows* in 1877, which recorded the opening of two hundred and thirty-four sepulchral mounds, situated in six counties, all, with the exception of Gloucestershire, in the north of England, I have examined sixty-one in addition. I propose in the following account to give the precise details of the exploration of these barrows, in order that the facts then observed may be put on record, and made available for the use of those interested in this important branch of our native archæology.

To this account I have appended a description of a cairn in Northumberland, of which, before its destruction, I had an opportunity of examining a part, the rest having been removed in quarrying stone, antecedent to my visit. I have also thought it desirable to place on record the facts I have been able to recover, connected with a remarkable burial in Gloucestershire, with which were associated some very fine weapons of stone and bronze, which have come into my possession.

The examination of this large number of places of sepulture has not resulted in the discovery of many novel features, but it has thrown some additional and important light upon the state of cultivation and the social condition of the early inhabitants of Britain. Much that was new was perhaps not to be expected, when the very great number of barrows previously explored, by myself and others, and the large series of various objects contained in them, is taken into consideration. Still these further examinations have not been barren or profitless, inasmuch as, in addition to one most remarkable and novel discovery, conclusions before arrived at have been strengthened or shown to be erroneous, observed facts not very

numerous have been multiplied, and the knowledge gained by the work of former years has been increased and added to.

Before 1878 I had not had an opportunity of opening any barrows in the south of England, but the present account will be found to include eighteen in the counties of Berks and Wilts. These constitute a number sufficiently large to enable us to apprehend the characteristic features of the sepulchral mounds of that district, and they have afforded a large amount of instructive details, which may be considered typical of the burial customs of what, in prehistoric times, was, without doubt, the most highly advanced and richest part of Britain.

I propose to describe the barrows in the same geographical order I followed in *British Barrows*, commencing with those on the wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire and ending with those in Wiltshire and Berkshire. The numbers attached to the barrows will follow on in succession to the last number, CCXXXIV, in the same book.

YORKSHIRE.

The north-east corner of the range of upland constituting the wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire is, to a large extent, comprised within the parishes of Willerby, Folkton, and Hunmanby, the furthest to the west being Willerby, where in the years 1866-68, I opened a number of barrows described in *British Barrows*, pp. 180 *et seq.* It contains many burial mounds of various sizes, the examination of some of which I have undertaken in conjunction with Mr. Walter K. Foster, F.S.A. and Mr. Thomas Boynton of Bridlington Quay.

Parish of Willerby, East Riding.

CCXXXV. In the parish of Willerby, on the Wold Farm, situated about three quarters of a mile to the west of the barrows described in *British Barrows* as Nos. XXXVIII and CCXXII, are two others lying not far apart. The first is 45 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and made of earth, flint stones, and chalk. Within the circumference of the mound was a circular trench excavated beneath the natural surface for a depth varying from 12 inches to 18 inches, and being from 14 inches to 18 inches in width. It surrounded the central part of the mound with a diameter of 20 feet. The first discovery was of four bronze axes,

which were found 8 feet east of the centre placed close together on their edges 6 inches above the original surface. There were no signs of the barrow having ever being disturbed at the place, and they appeared to have been deposited where they were found at the time of the erection of the mound. They are flat, without flanges, and belong to the earlier part of the bronze period, and are similar to those which alone have hitherto been met with in connection with a burial. They are very infrequent accompaniments of an interment, and I have only once before found one, in a barrow at Butterwick (*British Barrows*, No. XXXIX), not very far from Willerby. Three of them are ornamented, one more elaborately than the other two, and they still retain upon their surface a polish like glass. They measure $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length respectively, and 4 inches, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width at the cutting edge.

The widest axe is quite plain, and has no ridge across the blade a little above the middle as all the others have; it shows signs of having been hammered over the whole surface, and like the remaining three has had the edge of the sides hammered, forming very rudimentary flanges. The longest has a pattern of slightly made punch markings over the whole of both faces, except at the cutting edge, giving it somewhat of the appearance of grained Morocco leather; the pattern at the smaller end is much worn down, due perhaps to its not having been firmly fixed in the handle. One of the others has a similar pattern, but only upon one face. The fourth (fig. 1), is very like one engraved in Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements*, fig. 5, found at Weymouth.



Fig. 1.—Bronze Axe from Willerby, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

At the centre of the mound, for a space of above 12 feet in diameter, the original surface had been much burnt, a large fire having evidently been alight there for a long time. Through this a grave had been sunk to a depth of 8 feet into the chalk rock, having a diameter of 8 feet 10 inches at the top, and narrowing at $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the bottom to 4 feet. After this grave had been filled in over the bodies deposited in it, a secondary one had been cut into it to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with a diameter of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Within this a fire had been made and kept burning sufficiently long for the bottom and sides to have become completely reddened for a depth of three or four inches.

It has already been stated that the original grave was sunk through a burnt surface; this burning must have taken place before the grave was made, for there were no signs of fire upon the surface of the filling in of the grave. Within the limits of the secondary grave, towards the north side, and 1½ foot above the bottom was the body of an adult, laid on the left side, with the head pointing to the north, the hands being in front of the face.[a] Just beyond the hands was a "drinking-cup," and beyond it a round flint scraper, while behind the head were a small round scraper and the half of another. The "drinking-cup" is 4½ inches high, 4¾ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches wide at the bottom. In form it is like fig. 85 in *British Barrows*, and is ornamented for a depth of one inch on the inside of the lip with parallel diagonal lines, and on the whole of the outside of the vessel with encircling lines about a quarter of an inch apart, rather carelessly applied, all the lines being formed by impressions of twisted thong. Beneath this burial at the centre, on the burnt bottom of this secondary grave, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to N.N.E. the hands being in front of the face, just touching which was a curved flint knife 2¼ inches long and 1⅛ inch wide, well flaked along the curved edge. The secondary grave was filled with earth, clay, and flints, but the space of 1½ foot between the two bodies just noticed was composed of clay. The original grave, to a depth of 5½ feet, was filled with large flints, having some charcoal and burnt soil among them; below that it changed to soft earth, which contained much charcoal and burnt soil with a few flints. On the bottom of the grave, at its centre, were two bodies laid in opposite directions, partly overlying each other. The skulls were 2½ feet apart. The one body, that of a man, was laid on the left side with the head to E.N.E., the other, of an adult of uncertain sex, on the right side with the head to W.S.W. The position of the arms was difficult to make out, but in each case the hands appeared to have been up to the face.

CCXXXVI. About 200 yards south of the last was another barrow, 72 feet in diameter, which had been almost entirely removed. A shallow grave at the centre had not, however, been disturbed. It was oval in shape, lying N.W. by S.E., 6 feet long and 3 feet wide, and sunk beneath the original surface into the chalk rock to a depth of 1½ foot. It had been lined throughout with wood, but the

[a] It must be understood that in this case as in all others to be described the body had been laid on the side in a contracted position, the knees being drawn up towards the face. Also when the body is spoken of as with the head pointing to some point of the compass, the direction is taken along the line of the back, so that if the head is said to point, or to be, to the west, the face is looking toward the north or south according to the side on which the body is laid.

body had not been covered by it. This, of a strongly-made man, was laid on the right side with the head, which was 1½ foot from the north-west end, to N.W., the hands being crossed in front of the stomach. Close to, but not within the limits of, the grave, and on the original surface, was a thick flake from a flint nodule, 2¾ inches long and 1¼ inch wide, dressed by flaking at one end into a rough adze-like form.

Parish of Folkton.

Upon Folkton Wold is a group of eight barrows, of which five are placed in close proximity to each other; of the remaining three, two are within half a mile to the south, and the third about the same distance to the north-east.

CCXXXVII. The principal mound of the group, Sharp Howe, has originally been a barrow of more than ordinary size and height, and possesses some remarkable features in its construction. It has a diameter of 80 feet, and is still 8 feet high, with a flat top; but when first thrown up it must have been of a conical form, and 6 feet higher than it is at present, the top part having been removed many years ago, but within living memory. It consists of a cairn made of large blocks of chalk, 37 feet in diameter, which is placed on a platform of chalk stones, 3 feet wide and 1 foot 8 inches high. This platform is faced with a very regularly constructed wall of thin slabs of chalk. The chalk of which the cairn is composed must, from its nature, have been quarried from some depth in the rock, but there was no hollow apparent from which it might have been taken. Over the cairn was a layer of earth intermixed with a little chalk, and above that a layer of chalk rubble, having upon it a layer of soil, 1 foot thick, forming the outside of the mound. The soil may have been the result of the decomposition of the chalk and of vegetable growth, and it is possible that the outside was originally chalk, the barrow being thus a conspicuous object as well from its size as from its colour, showing, as it would, white upon the green wold. The present top of the mound had been dug into at the middle, to a depth of 3 feet beneath the flat surface left when the conical summit was removed. In the material disturbed by this opening were found part of a human lower jaw and a clavicle, some animal bones, portions of red deer's antlers, a piece of Roman pottery, a late-Roman third-brass coin, and several fragments of medieval pottery; the remains of secondary interments, and of possibly more than one disturbance of the barrow. At the centre, beneath the cairn, was a grave, lying east and west, 7½ feet long, 5 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, filled in with large chalk slabs principally set on

edge. In it, on the bottom, at the east end, were the remains of the much-decayed bones of, apparently, a female of middle age, laid on the right side, with the head to west. The knees were drawn up towards the face, in front of which were the bones of the hands. Behind the heels was a "food-vessel" (fig. 2). It is coarsely made, with thick walls, the paste being very full of broken stone. The ornamentation, which will be best understood from the figure, appears to have been



Fig. 2. "Food-vessel" from Folkton, Yorks. ½

made by the application of a piece of leather thong, with smaller thong wrapped round it. It is 7¼ inches high, 8½ inches wide at the mouth, and 3½ inches at the bottom.

Among the material of the cairn were three round scrapers of flint, and a piece of a ground and well-polished stone axe.

CCXXXVIII. The next barrow was 238 feet north-east from Sharp Howe. It is 44 feet in diameter, and, though much ploughed down, as were all the other mounds, is still 2½ feet high. It was made, on the outer part, of earth, with a

few chalk and flint stones intermixed. The central part, which was 21 feet in diameter, was made of chalk and flint, with some earth, and had a circle of flint stones surrounding it. Ten feet W.S.W. from the centre, and placed one foot above the surface-level of the ground, was the body of an aged man, laid on the right side, with the head pointing to W., the left hand being on the hips, and the right in front of the knees. From the crown of the head to the outside of the pelvis the space was 3 feet. Underneath the body were some of the bones of another and disturbed body, a tibia, radius, and some vertebræ; and here and there in the barrow, on the surface-level of the ground, were human bones, the remains of a body or bodies, probably disturbed by the introduction of the old man above mentioned. Behind the head of this body was a "food-vessel," of fairly well-baked ware, ornamented with impressions of twisted cord. Inside the lip are two bands of short radiating lines, and the edge of the lip, and the two broad channels which form the neck are ornamented with horizontal bands of similar lines, but disposed vertically. The vessel is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches wide at the bottom. At the centre was an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 6 feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. It had been entirely rifled when the barrow was opened at the centre about thirty years ago. It is almost certain that it had once contained an unburnt body, for had there been a burial after cremation it is unlikely that all the burnt bones would have been removed.

CCXXXIX. This barrow was situated 200 feet N.W. from Sharp Howe. It is 48 feet in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and made of earth, with some chalk stones here and there. At a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.S.E. from the centre was an oval grave, W.S.W. by E.N.E., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 5 feet wide at the top, but narrowing at the bottom to a length of 6 feet and a width of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and sunk through the chalk, on to a band of flint, to a depth of 3 feet 2 inches. At the middle of the bottom of the grave was the body of a man, of full age, laid on the right side with the head to W.S.W., the hands being up to the face, in front of which was a flint knife, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, made from a flake, which has been carefully chipped over the convex surface and brought to a point at one end. The back of the body was straight, and not bent forward as is usual, the knees being drawn up towards the face. Twelve and a-half feet E. by S. from the centre was a second grave, oval in shape, with a direction W.S.W. by E.N.E., 6 feet 3 inches long, and 5 feet wide, but narrowing to 4 feet at the bottom, and 2 feet 2 inches deep. It was filled in with earth and a little chalk intermixed. At the west end and laid close to the north side was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the

head to S.W. and the hands up to the face. The back was much bent, and the femurs and tibias touched each other, the distance from the back of the head to the outside of the pelvis being $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Laid upon the hands and knees were the bones of a burnt body, which must have been placed there at the same time that the unburnt body was buried. Among the bones was a flint knife, which, as is commonly the case with such implements, had not passed through the funeral fire, and had been placed, as is also usual, with the convex face downwards. It has been made from a flake of yellowish flint, carefully chipped along the edges on the convex face, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, both ends being rounded. Eight feet S.W. from the centre was a third grave, oval in form, W.N.W. by E.S.E., $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 5 feet wide, and 2 feet 9 inches deep. On the bottom, which was dished, was a body, the back and shoulders of which were placed on the sloping side of the grave, the head being on the bottom. It was laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W., the hands, the fingers of which were doubled in, being between the face and knees. From the back of the head to the outside of the pelvis it measured 2 feet 11 inches. Nine feet N.N.E. from the centre was a fourth grave, of an oval form, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 5 feet 8 inches long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet deep, filled in with chalk and a little earth. On the bottom was the body of an adult, laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W. the hands being in front of the face, where was placed a "food-vessel," whilst behind the head were three round scrapers of flint, and behind the neck a thin piece of unworked jet. The "food-vessel" was in a fragmentary state, and had been very lightly fired. The ornamentation is of the same character as that of fig. 2, that is, impressions of a stout thong round which cord had been wound. The inside of the lip has a number of radiating lines of this kind, and in the upper channel of the neck are two rows of vertical lines of the same. The second channel has similar vertical lines, but of smaller size, while below this, where the sides converge towards the base, is an undulating line of coarse twisted thong.

Among the material of the barrow were five round scrapers, and a flake of flint which showed signs of having been in use.

It is difficult to say which was the primary interment, for not one of the graves was at the centre. It is quite possible that all the burials had taken place at one and the same time, and that the graves had been made before the mound was thrown up. It appeared to be quite intact, there being no indication of any cutting having been made into it since it was first constructed, which must have been the case had any of the interments taken place after the erection of the mound.

CCXL. This barrow was 297 feet north of Sharp Howe, and is 60 feet in diameter, and 3 feet high. There were some peculiar features in its formation which require special notice. A flat mound appears to have been constructed in the first instance, which was made up of earth with a little chalk. Upon this a smaller mound, 42 feet in diameter, was placed, which, unlike the first one, was made of chalk with a little earth. It was enclosed by a wall, 1 foot in height, built of thin chalk slabs, resting on the primary mound, which at that part was one foot above the original surface. In the wall, at a point due south of the centre, was a break, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, thus making the wall incomplete. This is not an uncommon feature in the circles, consisting either of stone, or made by an excavated trench, which are sometimes found enclosing burials within barrows. Over and upon the two mounds additional material had been placed, of a present thickness of about a foot, but originally there must have been much more which has been removed by the plough. At a distance of 25 feet E. by S. from the centre, was a body laid on the natural surface, on the right side, with the head to S. by E., the hands being placed in front of the chest. The back was straight. In front of the face was a "food-vessel." This is reduced to many small fragments, but was when complete about 7 inches in diameter at the mouth. The ornamentation consists of carefully executed thong impressions. Inside the lip is an acute herring-bone pattern. The neck consists of a broad shallow channel, with two rows of herring-bone impressions, while below are two bands of horizontal lines of thong impressions, enclosing a band of short vertical lines between them. At the centre was a grave, with rounded corners, having a direction W.N.W. by E.S.E., 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. For a depth of 2 feet it was filled in with unmixed chalk, beneath which the material was earth with some little chalk among it. There was not the slightest indication that a body had ever been buried in it, for the grave had certainly never been disturbed, and the bones could scarcely, under the surrounding conditions, have gone entirely to decay. In this it corresponds with what was found to be the case in Willie Howe, to be noticed in the sequel, and like it is very difficult of explanation.

In the material of the mound was a single piece of a red deer's antler.

CCXLI. This barrow was 461 feet N. by W. from Sharp Howe. It is 60 feet in diameter, 5 feet high, and made of earth with some chalk here and there. Twenty feet E.S.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the original surface were some scattered burnt and unburnt bones, a fibula, and part of a pelvis, the remains, apparently, of disturbed bodies. Eighteen feet east of the centre and 3 feet

above the original surface was a circular hollow, 1 foot 4 inches in diameter, narrowing towards the bottom, and one foot deep. It was lined and covered over with thin chalk slabs. It contained a deposit of the burnt bones of a young person, among which was a flint knife, unburnt, laid on the convex face, and a bone pin, also unburnt, with a perforation at the end. Immediately to the north of the hollow and outside the stones covering it was a "food-vessel." It is of very friable ware, ornamented with short diagonal lines, some of them slightly curved as if made with the thumb-nail, the others wedge-shaped. Round the shoulder is a channel interrupted by four unpierced ears. The ornament on the neck is disposed to form a rude herring-bone design, and in the channel below is a similar pattern. The ornament continues to the base of the vase, but towards the bottom the lines all incline in the same direction. The inside of the lip has borne similar patterns, now nearly obliterated. It is 4 inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The knife, of greyish flint, is $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, of oval form with a pointed end. It is carefully flaked along the edges on the convex face. The pin is made from the leg bone of a bird, and is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. Seven and a-half feet south of the centre was a second hollow $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the surface level, and like the last excavated into the barrow. It was 1 foot 3 inches in diameter and 1 foot deep, and had a covering of thin chalk slabs, but was not, like the other, lined with them. It contained the burnt bones of the body of an adult. At the centre was an oval grave with a direction N. and S., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 2 feet deep, the bottom being dished. In it were the remains of a body, some of the bones of which had been disturbed, while others still remained in their original position. This disturbance had taken place when the barrow was opened about thirty years ago.

CCXLII. This barrow, situated not half a mile to the south of Sharp Howe, is 60 feet in diameter, 3 feet high, and made of earth, chalk, and a large number of large flint stones. At a distance of 13 feet E. by S. from the centre was an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep, and filled in with earth and some chalk. In it was the body of a young child, laid on the left side with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up towards the face. At the feet in front of the toes was a "drinking-cup." This vessel (fig. 3) which will be best understood from the figure, is beautifully and somewhat unusually ornamented, well fired and with thin walls. It is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. Thirteen feet east of the centre, and 2 feet above the natural surface, was a "food-vessel," partly destroyed by the action of the plough. Close to it, and extending to the east, were many scattered bones, which, disturbed by



Fig. 3. "Drinking-cup" from Folkton, Yorks. ½

ploughing, had no doubt belonged to a body with which the vase had been associated. This is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It is somewhat roughly made, and the decoration is rude in character. Inside the lip are four encircling lines of coarse thong impressions; and the broad channel forming the neck is ornamented with similar impressions irregularly disposed, but all more or less vertical. The outside of the lip bears the traces of diagonal impressed lines. Thirteen feet S.E. of the centre was a second grave, lying W.N.W. by E.S.E., $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep. It contained the body of an aged man, laid on the right side, with the head, which was a foot from the west end of the grave, pointing to W.N.W., the hands being up to the face. The back was straight, but the legs were so much doubled back that the heels touched the hips. In front of the knees were some animal bones, the remains of the hind quarter of a pig.[a] Fifteen feet north of the centre, in a shallow hollow sunk only 6 inches beneath the original surface, was a body laid on the right side, with the head to W.N.W. There were some of the bones of a very young child close in front of the adult, but the bones were so much crushed by large flint stones with which the bodies had been covered, that the position of the child could not be ascertained. The bones of the adult were also in a very broken and decayed state. Nine feet N.N.W. of the centre was a hollow, covered over with large flint stones, sunk nearly a foot beneath the original surface, and lined out with wood. It had a direction W.N.W. by E.S.E., and was 3 feet long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide. It contained the body of an adult laid on the left side with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up to the face. The back

[a] The remains of portions of a pig were found in two barrows about half a mile from the present one. See *British Barrows*, pp. 274, 275, 278.

and hips were on the side of the dished bottom, on the lowest part of which, 8 inches below the level of the back, was the head, behind which was a "food-vessel" of very coarse make, the bottom being $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is in many fragments, and the dimensions cannot now be determined. The lip is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and is impressed with three thong lines, while the edge is ornamented with short transverse impressions on a larger scale. The hollow of the neck is filled with horizontal lines of coarse thong impression, while below similar lines are disposed in a zigzag, making a vandyke border.

At the centre, laid upon wood on the original surface, was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the head to N. by W., the hands being up to the face. Behind the back of the head were a round scraper and two flakes of flint, beneath the head was another flake, and between the face and knees a flint knife and a long flake. The knife, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, is of an oval form with a pointed end, and is flaked on both faces. The flakes, which are of knife form, might well have been used as such.

Among the material of the mound were a quartzite hammer-stone, a flint knife 2 inches long, half of another knife, still $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, a round scraper, three flakes and a core, all of flint.



Fig. 4. "Food-vessel" from Folkton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

CCXLIII. About a hundred yards to the north of the last was a barrow, 60 feet in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high. It contained a single interment, at the centre. The body had been laid upon wood, in a dished hollow slightly sunk beneath the natural surface, having a direction N.E. by S.W., $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The body was placed on the left side, the head being to N.E. and the hands in front of the chest. The lower part of the back, as also the hips and toes, were laid on the sloping side of the hollow, the head being on the bottom. Before the face was a "food-vessel" (fig. 4), a knife, a round and a long scraper of flint. The vase, which is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, is, as will be seen from the figure, a very fine example of the class to which it belongs, and shows great skill and delicacy

in the application of the ornament. In addition to having five unpierced ears at the shoulder, it has, just beneath the rim, a broad ear perforated, probably for the purpose of passing a thong through in order to suspend it.

The ornament is of two kinds; first, delicately incised or impressed lines, and second, impressions of the point of a thin flat strip of wood or bone, cut at an angle, so that each impression is V shaped. The inside of the lip has a herring-bone pattern of the first kind, bounded on either side by a band of V shaped impressions; upon the edge a zigzag line has been left in relief by making two rows of V shaped depressions. The neck, and a zone of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch below it, is covered with horizontal furrows, all of which are filled with impressions of the angular stick, set very close together, and producing a rich effect. Below this, and continuing to the bottom, are bands of neatly executed herring-bone pattern, similar to the inside of the lip, but bounded by groups of simple lines.

The knife, which has lost a small piece at the pointed end, is still $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. It is very beautifully made, the flaking being done with great accuracy.

In the material of the mound were found a round scraper and a flake, both of flint.

CCXLIV. Not quite half a mile north-east of Sharp Howe is a barrow much ploughed down, but still 2 feet high, with a diameter of 50 feet, made of earth and flint stones with some chalk grit. At a distance of 12 feet south of the centre was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult placed in a small oval heap on the natural surface. Three and a half feet S.W. of the centre, and also on the natural surface, were the burnt bones of an infant, with which was placed a small vessel of pottery, rudely made and without any ornamentation, in shape like an ordinary coffee cup, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch at the bottom. At the centre, in a hollow 1 foot deep, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter, was a cinerary urn, covered by a thin, flat piece of sandstone the size of the urn mouth, and filled with the burnt bones of an adult, among which were many fragments of burnt flint, the remains of an unworked piece of the local flint. Above the urn were many large flint blocks, with charcoal among them.

The urn is 12 inches high, and the same in width at the mouth, being 4 inches wide at the bottom. The overhanging rim, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, is ornamented with a herring-bone pattern, made by six rows of lines drawn in the moist clay with a sharp-pointed instrument; the remainder of the vessel is quite plain.

In the material of the barrow were several flakes and chippings of flint, four round scrapers, one a very small one, and a well-made knife of flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, carefully flaked all round the edges.

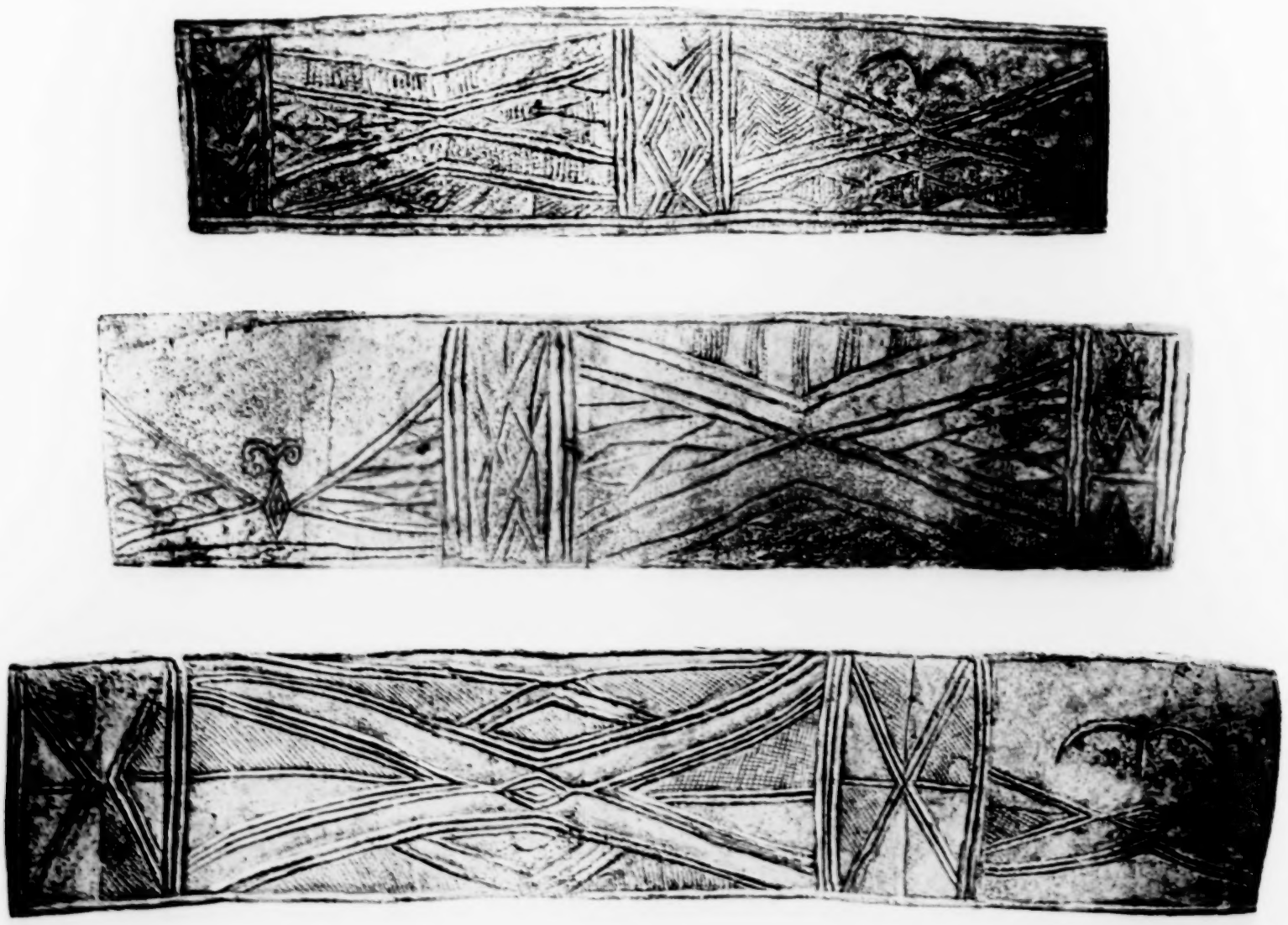
CCXLV. This barrow, remarkable both in its structure and contents, was situated about three-quarters of a mile east of Sharp Howe. It is 54 feet in diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high at the centre, but deeper on the sides, and is placed upon a natural rise in the land. It was composed of very dark-coloured earth, with many flint, chalk, and other stones intermixed. The earth was laid in layers, with thin beds of chalk rubble between them. At a mean distance of 12 feet, but varying from 10 to 15 feet, from the centre, measuring to its inner edge, was a circular trench, varying in depth and width, but with a mean of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep, sunk into the chalk rock, and filled in with earth, having charcoal here and there amongst it. Beyond this trench, at a distance of 8 feet from its outer edge, and extending from a point 22 feet S. by W. from the centre of the barrow to another point at the same distance N. of the centre, was a second trench, somewhat irregular in its curve. It was 2 feet wide and 3 feet deep, and filled in with chalk rubble and a little earth. At a point E. by S. from the centre, and touching the inner edge of the outer trench, of which it might be said to form a part, was an oval grave, lying N. by S., 3 feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot wide, and sunk 14 inches beneath the surface. It contained the body of a child about five years old, placed about 6 inches above the bottom, laid on the right side with the head to N., the hands being in front of the face. Behind the head and touching it was an object made of chalk, and behind and touching the hips were two other larger ones, placed close together, the largest the furthest to the south. Just beyond them was a broken piece of a bone pin, 3 inches long.

The chalk objects are made from the stone of the immediate district, probably obtained from some of the numerous blocks, which, falling from the sea cliff, are found abundantly on the shore. They are in form like a round box with a curved cover, and have at the centre of the top a circular part raised a little above the level, and suggesting a lid. They are quite solid. They are respectively, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 5 inches, and 4 inches wide. The top in each case is occupied by a series of concentric circles. The largest one (Plate I. fig. 1) has a single series, consisting of a central disc, surrounded by four raised circular bands. From the outside of the circles issue four triangular points like those of a star, having a plain surface, the space between being filled in with cross hatching of delicate lines, two formed of squares,



CHALK OBJECTS FOUND IN A BARROW ON FOLKTON WOLD, YORKS.

Figs. 1, 2, 3. Plans of the upper (the smallest) of the objects. (Full size.) Fig. 4. View of the smallest of the objects. (Full size.)



PATTERNS ON THE SIDES OF CHALK OBJECTS FOUND IN A BARROW ON FOLKTON WOLD, YORKS.

1 Diam.

one of diamonds, and the fourth by parallel lines. The middle-sized one (Plate I. fig. 2) has four series, each consisting of a central part, and two raised circular bands round it. The smallest (Plate I. figs. 3 and 4) has two series similar to the last, but in addition has the whole of the higher central part of the top filled with raised bands, which follow the outline of the two conjoined series of circles. The patterns on the sides, which are well shown in the figures (Plate II. figs. 1, 2, 3,) are made by raised bands and incised lines, some crossing and others parallel; some of the raised bands are notched, and in this way divided into small sections, others have something approaching the Maeander upon them.

Fifteen feet S.S.E. from the centre and just outside the inner trench was a circular hole, 5 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, having many large flint stones over the top. It was filled in with earth, among which was much burnt soil; but there were no indications of an interment having ever taken place in it. Eleven feet E.S.E. from the centre and 1 foot above the natural surface was the body of an adult man, laid on the right side with the head to N.E., the right hand being under the head, the left in front of the face. The body was much contracted and the radius of the left arm had been broken and re-united. There were no appearances as if the mound had ever been cut into to deposit this body, as was the case also in that of the child just before mentioned. Nine feet E.S.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the natural surface was a body, but so broken up and disturbed by the plough that neither its position nor anything in connection with it could be ascertained. Nine and a half feet S.E. from the centre, and about 9 inches beneath the original surface level, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to W., the hands being in front of the face. The body was not much contracted. Fourteen feet N. of the centre, and placed on the original surface, was the body of a man laid on the right side, the head to W.S.W., the arms being crossed over in front of the chest. This burial was just within the limits of the inner trench, and there were no signs that the barrow had ever been disturbed at the place since its erection, as was also the case in the preceding burial. Fourteen feet N.W. by N. from the centre and just above the original surface was the body of an infant, laid on the left side with the head to S. This, also, was just within the limits of the trench, nor had the mound ever been disturbed there. At the centre had been a cairn of flint and other stones with some chalk intermixed, which had been placed on the original surface. It had covered two adult bodies, those apparently of a male and female, with one of which a "drinking-cup" had been associated. The cairn had been disturbed in modern days, and the bodies taken out and partly returned,



Fig. 5. "Drinking-cup" from Folkton, Yorks. ½

the skulls having been removed. The "drinking-cup" (fig. 5) also had been replaced, though in a broken condition. It is well made, $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and is ornamented by impressions of a narrow piece of notched bone or wood, forming patterns of various kinds, composed of groups of lines. An unusual feature in the design is a succession of saltires joined at their bases, and forming a vandyke pattern. Among the material of the mound were a few chippings of flint.

CCXLVI. About a quarter of a mile west of the last barrow was another, 50 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, made of earth with large flint stones here and there, in some places many being found together. There was no grave, nor were any remains or signs of an interment discovered. Among the material of the mound were many chippings and three round scrapers of flint, and a rough piece of lignite, 2 inches long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, having a groove cut upon one side at the wider end.

CCXLVII. This barrow, situated on Flotmanby Wold, but also in the parish of Folkton, is one of three placed not far apart. It is 70 feet in diameter, 4 feet high, and made of earth, with some flint stones here and there. At a distance of 11 feet from the centre and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original surface was a vessel of the form of a cinerary urn, placed in a hollow sunk into the existing mound. There was no appearance of its ever having accompanied an interment. It is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 7 inches wide at the mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom, the overhanging rim being $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch deep. The ornament is composed of well-defined thong impressions. On the lip are two encircling lines; while the face of the rim is covered with a somewhat confused design of diagonal lines, some of them crossing each other, others filling up the irregular angular spaces. Below the rim is a hollowed channel, of about the width of the rim, and ornamented in the same manner. The barrow proved to have been already opened at the centre,

and from the information of a shepherd, who remembered its being done about thirty years ago, a "pankin" had then been found.

In the material of the mound were five scrapers and three cores, a very large number of flakes and chippings, all of flint, two pounding stones of quartzite, and a single potsherd.

CCXLVIII. About 50 yards E.S.E. of the last barrow was another, of which, on account of its having been placed on a natural swell of the land and much ploughed down, it was impossible to ascertain the diameter. At the centre was a grave, sunk 5 feet beneath the surface, oval in form, lying E. and W., 7 feet long by 6 feet wide. Above it was a pile of flint stones which extended down the sides of the grave for a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the central part, 3 feet 9 inches in diameter, being filled in with earth. Beneath this, for a space of 1 foot deep, the grave was composed of earth and clay, having below large flint and cobble stones and then earth and clay. On the bottom, towards the west end, was the body of an adult laid on the left side with the head to E., the left hand being up to the face and the right on the stomach.

In the material of the mound were many flint chippings and flakes, one of which, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, showed signs of wear along both edges, made, apparently, by its having been used upon some hard material. There was also a curved flint knife, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, very neatly flaked along the greater part of both the curved and straight edge.

CCXLIX. At a distance of 20 yards N.E. of the last barrow but one was a mound 50 feet in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and made entirely of earth. At the centre was a circular excavation 6 feet in diameter at the top, and narrowing to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the bottom, sunk beneath the surface through 5 feet of earth and 2 feet into the chalk rock to a depth of 7 feet. In it, 3 feet 9 inches from the top, was the bottom of a vessel of pottery of the ordinary ware. Two feet above the bottom was an oblong hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 1 inch, as if a small wooden stake had been driven in it. A similar feature was observed in the barrow called Metlow Hill, No. CCLIII. There were no signs of an interment, nor did it appear as if a burial had ever taken place there or in any other part of the mound. Among the material were several potsherds, many chippings and flakes of flint, three of them large, one showing that it had been much used along both edges, five scrapers, one large but roughly made, the half of a saw $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, and a small knife $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, flaked on both edges.

Parish of Hunmanby.

The two barrows about to be described are situated in a parish adjoining to Folkton, and about three miles to the south-east of Sharp Howe.

CCL. The first, in Cansdale bottom on the Howe Farm, proved to be not only large but prolific of interments. It is 100 feet in diameter, and still, though much reduced by ploughing, 3 feet high. It had been made almost entirely of turfs, the decay of which had resulted in a very dark-coloured soil, there being also a few flint stones and on the south side some chalk gravel. Within the mound, having a diameter of 76 feet, was a low circular wall made of chalk, 3 feet wide and only 7 inches high, and placed on the original surface. At a distance of 27 feet S.E. by S. from the centre was an oval grave, lying E. and W., 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and sunk 10 inches beneath the surface of the ground. In it was the body of a child, laid on the right side, with the head to W. In front of the face was a "food-vessel," and beyond it a bone pin 3 inches long, perforated at the flattened end, a flint knife, and a chipping of flint; beneath the hips was a small flint flake. The "food-vessel" is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and has four perforated ears in a channel beneath the shoulder. The inside of the lip is concave and has a row of short diagonal impressions. The whole of the outside is covered with somewhat irregular lines of impressions resembling those within the lip, and like them made by the application of a piece of stout cord whipped with finer cord. The knife, which is made from an outside flake of a flint nodule, is chipped along one edge, the other being quite sharp. It is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long and 1 inch wide. At the same distance, 27 feet S.E., from the centre, was a shallow oval grave, S.W. by W. and N.E. by E., 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, and sunk to a depth of 8 inches beneath the original surface. In it was the body of an adult man, laid on the left side with the head to S.W. by W., the right hand was in front of the face, the left beneath the head. Twenty-four feet E. by N. of the centre was another oval grave, lying E. and W., 8 feet long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 14 inches deep; like the two preceding ones it was dished at the bottom. It was filled in with soil and a few flints, and above it were two large flint stones which reached from the ground level to the present surface of the mound. In it towards the west end was the body of an adult laid on the right side, the head being to W., the right hand was beneath the hips, the left on the chest. In front and reaching from the bottom of the neck to the

stomach were twenty small conical buttons of inferior jet (fig. 6) slightly varying in size, with two perforations at the back uniting but not coming to the surface of the face. They appear to be scarcely strong enough to act as buttons, and it is probable that they were merely decorative, the dress being fastened in some other way. Just above the hips was a thin penannular ring of bronze (fig. 7), $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, the ends overlapping, which may have been used in connection with a belt at the waist. Close to the feet was a piece of a "drinking-cup." Behind the hips were seven ribs of a small ox, which when placed there must have had the flesh upon them, or at any rate the connecting ligaments. When the bones of the body were uncovered the skeleton had the appearance of having been laid on the back, though the head inclined to the south, but the bones of the lower part of the body were in a position implying that it had been placed on the right side. This was no doubt caused by the upper bones being pressed back by the overlying soil when the flesh had decayed. I have before met with similar appearances. Fifteen feet N.E. by N. from the centre and one foot above the original surface was the body of a man laid on the right side with the head to W. by N., the right hand being under the head, and the left in front of the face. Before the left knee was a flint knife, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. Thirteen feet E.N.E. of the centre, and like the last one foot above the original surface, was the body of an adult laid on the right side, with the head to S.S.E., the right hand being under the head, the left on the chest. There were many disturbed bones both above and beneath it, and it is doubtful if the body itself had not been re-interred, as all the bones were not present, and those that were there had the appearance of having been relaid. Underneath the last body was that of a man laid on the left side, with the head to N., the right hand being in front of the face, the left under the head. In front of the face was a round scraper of flint. It is possible that the interment of this body had caused the re-interment of that above it, supposing that process had taken place. Thirteen feet S.E. by S. from the centre was the body of a young woman, also one foot above the surface, laid on the left side, with the head to E. by N., the hands being in front of the face. Before the right knee was a flint flake, before the left foot another, and under the hips a third. Although these flints had no



Fig. 6. Jet Buttons found at Hunmanby, Yorks. $\frac{2}{3}$



Fig. 7. Bronze Ring from Hunmanby, Yorks. $\frac{1}{1}$

secondary work upon them they were certainly associated with the body, and not accidentally present. They have the appearance of having been fresh struck off from the block when deposited in the grave. Fourteen and a-half feet N.E. from the centre and 2 feet above the original surface was the body of a young person laid on the left side, with the head to S. by W.; the right hand was in front of the face, the left being under the head. About 1½ feet N.W. of the last body and immediately beneath the present surface of the mound were some bones, a tibia, etc., which may have been disturbed and partly destroyed by the plough, but which had more the appearance of bones displaced to inter another body. Still further to N.W. were some more disturbed bones. Eleven feet S. by W. of the centre and 1½ foot above the original surface was the body of a very young child, almost an infant, the bones of which were too much decayed to admit of their relative position being ascertained. Nine feet E. by S. from the centre and 1 foot above the original surface was the body of a young person laid on the left side, with the head to S. by W., the right hand being in front of the face, the left under the head. Fourteen feet N.N.W. of the centre and placed on the original surface was the body of an adult, laid on the right side with the head to S.E., the right hand being under the head, the left in front of the face.

The central and presumably primary interment was very difficult to make out satisfactorily, the appearances at that part of the barrow being peculiar and puzzling. It seemed as if a body (A) had been interred at the centre, which had been disturbed by the introduction of another body (B), and that a grave had then been made in which the body (A) had been re-deposited, the body (B) being laid partly over the grave and partly beyond its limits. There was at the centre a grave (*a*), lying N.W. and S.E., 9 feet long, 4½ feet wide, and 3½ feet deep. It was filled in at the S.E. end with earth and a little chalk gravel, and at the N.W. end with chalk gravel and some earth. At the S.E. end was the body (A), which had certainly been re-interred, the bones being in disorder, some above a foot deeper than others, one femur being on the bottom of the grave, the other 14 inches above it. Some of the bones—for example, those of the right foot, and several lumbar vertebræ—must have had the ligaments undecayed when they were placed where they were found. All the bones of the body were there except the lower jaw. Towards the south-east end of grave (*a*), and to the north-east of it, another grave (*β*) had been excavated, partly overlapping grave (*a*). It had a direction N. by E. and S. by W., 6 feet long, 5 feet wide, and sunk to a depth of 2 feet, partly into the first grave (*a*), and partly into undisturbed ground. In it on the bottom was the body (B) of a large old man, laid on the right side with the

head to N.N.E., the right hand being up to the face, the left in front of the knees. Under the head was a flint chipping. Also on the floor of the grave (β) were the bottom and some pieces of a vessel of pottery and the right humerus of a very young child. Immediately to the S.W. of the last body, but laid on the original surface level, partly on the surface and partly over the grave (β), was the body of an adult, probably a woman, laid on the right side, the head direction being to E. by N.; the hands were in front of the neck, the back being much bent forward. There were no bones of the head remaining, but the body seemed never to have been disturbed, nor was there anything apparent to account for its absence. Just north of the body were several ribs of a very young child, probably belonging to the same body whose right humerus was found at the bottom of grave (β). In the material of the mound were a piece of red deer's antler, and a broad flint flake.

CCLI. About half a mile to the north-east of the last, and on the crown of the hill which bounds the valley in which it was situated, was a barrow, the limits of which it was impossible to ascertain. It could never, at any time, have been a high mound, and was at present not 6 inches above the surface level. A circular trench surrounded the centre, having a diameter of 24 feet. It was excavated in the chalk rock to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, and was about as much in width. In it at a point 12 feet N.W. from the centre was a circular hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter, and sunk 1 foot below the bottom of the trench. It was, like the trench itself, filled in with chalk rubble, and near the bottom was a piece of red deer's antler burnt. Four feet north-east of the centre was a hollow sunk 2 feet beneath the original surface, having a direction N.N.E. by S.S.W., 6 feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and filled in with chalk and earth. It contained nothing besides the filling in, except one of the bones of a human pelvis near the top. Thirteen and a half feet west of the centre, and just outside the trench, was the body of an adult laid on the left side on the original surface, with the head to S.E. the hands being in front of the face. Between the hips and the heels was a "drinking-cup." The vessel is 7 inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. The ornamentation, which covers the whole surface, consists, at the top of the vase, of eleven encircling and parallel lines, made by the application of a notched piece of bone on the moist clay. Immediately beneath is a row of oval markings which incline to the right. Then follows a plain space, succeeded by a row of lines inclining to the left, made by a sharp-pointed tool. Beneath are six parallel lines, similar to those at the top, having a row of oval markings beneath. Then comes a plain space, beneath which, and extending to the bottom, are six parallel lines the same in form as those above.

Close to the head were many pieces of a red deer's antler, much decayed, but showing signs of having been part of an implement, possibly a pick. Within the trench, 10 feet W.S.W. of the centre, was a hollow lying N.N.W. and S.S.E., 5½ feet long, 2½ feet wide, and 2 feet deep, and filled with chalk and earth. In it and on the level of the original surface was the greater part of the bones of a disturbed body (A), the pelvic bones being close to the head. Among the bones were some pieces of a roughly-made vessel of pottery, probably the remains of a "food-vessel" originally deposited with the body, and part of a red deer's antler. Underneath the skull, but not in its right position, was the lower jaw belonging to it, and beneath the jaw that of another body (B), the skull of which was found 10 inches beneath. There were also in the hollow pieces of two vessels of coarsely-made pottery, some of which were of the same kind as those found with the body (A), and, no doubt, part of the same vessel, and the half of a long and narrow flint flake.

At the centre were the much-disturbed bones of a child of about five or six years old, laid on the original surface. Close to the bones was a piece of red deer's antler and some pieces of a "drinking-cup" which had most probably been buried with the child, but equally with its bones disturbed and broken by the plough. Six feet to the west of these bones were some bones of an adult, and still further to the west were many other disturbed bones, having a flint saw with them, as well as pieces of a "drinking-cup" much like those found with the child but thicker. There were also among the bones some sherds of pottery of the same kind as those found with the body (A), and possibly belonging to the same vessel. Part of a red deer's antler was also met with among the bones. It is probable that these bones belonged to one of the bodies, most likely to (B), which were discovered in a disturbed and imperfect condition in the hollow above-mentioned.

Parish of Wold Newton.

CCLII. About a mile to the east of the village of Wold Newton is the largest barrow in the East Riding of Yorkshire, called "Willie Howe." It is 120 feet in diameter, 25 feet high, of a conical form, and formed almost entirely of chalk, but with a little earth here and there. It was opened in the year 1857 by the late Lord Londesborough, who, however, discovered no interment. A record of this was found on re-opening the barrow in 1887, in the shape of an oblong slab of stone, 26 inches by 23 inches and 10½ inches thick, placed in a hollow made at the time, and sunk 3 feet beneath the natural surface, a little to the west of the true centre. It had engraved upon it in Roman capitals the following inscription:

On the face:

THIS TUMULUS
CALLED WILLIE HOW WAS OPENED
BY ORDER OF THE RT. HON.
ALBERT DENISON DENISON
K.C.H. F.R.S. F.S.A.
FIRST BARON LONDESBOROUGH
OF LONDESBOROUGH
IN THE EAST RIDING
OF THE COUNTY OF YORK
A.D. OCT. 13, 1857.

On the north edge:

IN THE 21ST YEAR OF
VICTORIA
QUEEN OF G. BRITAIN.

On the east edge:

S. G. W.

On the west edge:

N. & E. R.

On the south edge:

 P. G. L. 

At the centre was an oval grave, lying N.E. and S.W., 4 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, sunk through the chalk rock to a depth of 12 feet 4 inches, and filled in with chalk and a little earth. It had evidently never been disturbed since it was first filled in. For a depth of 5 feet from the top the material was chalk with some earth intermixed; then for 3 feet it consisted of large pieces of chalk without any earth; then for 2 feet there were smaller chalk stones with a little earth; then for 2 feet chalk grit; and beneath that the rest of the grave was filled in with large pieces of chalk and a small quantity of earth. In the bottom was a further excavation, 1 foot 4 inches by 11 inches, and 1 foot deep. There was no appearance of a body ever having been interred, and, as four pieces of broken animal bone were met with among the filling-in at different places in a perfectly sound condition, it

is quite impossible that the bones of a human body could have gone totally to decay. As burnt bones never appear to undergo any change, there could never have been a cremated body buried in it. Five chippings and a flake of flint were also found among the filling-in of the grave.

Throughout the whole course of my barrow explorations I have never met with anything that I can compare with this mound. It was of more than ordinary size, and constructed at the expense of much labour, well proportioned and symmetrically made, and in every way appeared to have been intended for a place of sepulture. Beneath it, at the centre, was a deep excavation in the solid chalk rock, in which were found remains of animal bones almost as sound as when they were deposited, a condition which would have equally been incidental to human bones. No disturbance had ever taken place within the grave to account for the disappearance of the body or its accompanying relics, and it is almost impossible to believe that an interment had ever been made in it. I can attempt no explanation of the very peculiar features here manifested, except one which I have arrived at with great reluctance. Until I opened Willie Howe I had always disbelieved in the erection of such memorials as cenotaphs at the time when these barrows were constructed. That supposition appears, however, to be countenanced by the experience of this mound, and I am forced to admit the possibility that this very large mass of chalk stones was thrown up merely to commemorate, and not to contain the body of, some great personage. There is still a difficulty which this explanation does not remove. If it is admitted that a mound like this might be raised merely as a memorial, that does not explain why beneath it a deep excavation should have been made. On more than one previous occasion I have found mounds apparently sepulchral, which proved to be entirely wanting in any signs of an interment. I came to the conclusion in these cases, though it was sometimes difficult to admit it, that the bones had gone entirely to decay, leaving no trace behind them. It is possible, however, that in these mounds, as in the case of Willie Howe, there had never been any burial within them; and that they, equally with this in question, were memorial and not sepulchral.

The facts brought to light by the opening of these barrows throw some additional light upon practices in connection with burial, which I have before observed in other sepulchral mounds of the Yorkshire wolds.

The habit of placing food with the buried person has been evidenced by the finding of animal bones associated with a burial in two instances, while a number of interments have been found where a vessel of pottery, which can scarcely have

contained anything except food, has been met with placed beside the dead man or woman.

That both inhumation and cremation were in use at the same time, though the former is by far the most frequent, has been corroborated by the results of the late explorations. The custom of laying the body in the grave in a position which implies that at the time of burial the face fronted the sun is amply confirmed by the thirty-six cases where the bones were sufficiently complete to admit of the position being ascertained.[a] If these burials are analysed it will be found that out of twenty-one bodies laid on the right side, twelve had the head pointing to west; of the remaining nine only one had the head to east, the others having it to north or south. Out of fifteen bodies laid on the left side, five had the head to east, only one having it to west, the remaining nine having it to north or south.

On the other hand the examination of the mounds just described has convinced me that the opinion I had hitherto entertained, that where no remains of an interment were found in a grave or otherwise in a sepulchral mound such absence was due to the decay of the bones, was an erroneous one. In some of these barrows, notably in Nos. CCXL, CCXLVI, CCXLIX, and CCLII, there was an entire absence of human bones under circumstances where it is certain that had a body ever been interred its remains must have been found; in the case of No. CCLII small fragments of animal bones in a quite sound condition were met with in the grave, showing that the surrounding material was a sufficiently preservative one. I have therefore felt obliged to come to the conclusion that on rare occasions a mound was raised not to cover an interment, but, presumably to be a memorial to a person whose body for one reason or another, and many may be suggested, it was found impossible to bury in the usual way or perhaps at all; that in fact these early inhabitants of Britain erected cenotaphs.

The most remarkable and valuable discovery has been of the three chalk objects found in association with the body of a young child in barrow No. CCXLV. Nothing whatever of the kind, or indeed of any object of a similar nature, has before been met with; they are quite novel in material, form, and to a certain extent in their ornamentation. That they belong to the bronze age may I think be predicated with certainty, not only on account of the circumstances surrounding them, but also from the character of the patterns upon them. The barrow in which they were found was one of many in near proximity, all of which presented

[a] The question is discussed in *British Barrows*, p. 25, where a table of relative positions and compass direction will be found.

features in construction and in various buried articles of pottery and implements such as have hitherto been attributed, and upon amply sufficient evidence, to that period. There was nothing to show that they had been later introductions into the barrow, all the appearances suggested that they were placed there during the erection of the mound, the primary burial in which contained a "drinking-cup" markedly characteristic of vessels which have on other occasions been found associated with articles of bronze. The ornamentation upon them, with the exception of the series of concentric circles on the top of each, consists of combinations of straight lines, such as is found on the work of many and widely separated peoples in a primitive condition, some in what may be called a savage state. It more especially resembles what occurs as decoration on the better kind of pottery and the bronze weapons and implements of the people of Britain and other parts of Europe, and of Asia Minor, during the time before the knowledge of iron had arisen. There is a great similarity between the ornamentation of these chalk objects and the early pottery of some of the islands of the Aegean, at a time when bronze was in use for weapons and implements. This is shown on vases found in the island of Anti-Paros, one of which, in the British Museum, a vessel with a lid, is in form and to some extent in ornamentation much like the chalk objects.[a] There is less in common with the ornamentation on pottery and other materials from Hissarlik and Mykenae, which appear to manifest an advance in design, both as regards that of the islands of the Aegean and of Britain and the other western parts of Europe. The patterns upon the chalk objects have nothing in common with those on the work of what has been called the late-Keltic period, into which another and quite distinct principle of design enters and dominates. The combination of lines on the chalk objects is of straight ones, and where any curvature exists it is only in the concentric form of a circular pattern, without any approach to the spiral or the convolutions of a diverging spiral so emphatically characteristic of the early iron period; neither do the smaller details on these objects agree with those of that time. It is true that upon the smallest of the chalks the top has a pattern almost identical with that upon one of the stone balls found not unfrequently in Scotland,[b] and which have been thought by some to belong to a time when iron was known. But it is by no means certain that the balls in question are of the age of iron; and even

[a] Upon a vase found in a tomb near Idrias in Caria are some patterns which bear a strong resemblance to some of those on the chalk objects. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 328, figs. 232, 233.

[b] Engraved in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pl. iii. fig. 24.

supposing them to be so, the pattern common to the chalk and to the stone ball is not one which possesses a character exclusively attaching to late-Keltic ornamentation, which mainly depends upon the diverging spiral.

They have nothing to attach them to Roman or Saxon times, and as we cannot suppose they belong to a period before the introduction of metal into Britain there does not appear to be any period to which they can justly be attributed, except that already claimed for them, a time when weapons and implements were made of the metal which has given its name, and not without justice, to the Bronze Age. In addition to the patterns they possess another and very remarkable representation, that of the human face, for it can be nothing else, which is shown upon all the three, most conventionally upon the middle-sized one, which manifests throughout less skill in workmanship than do the others. It bears a strong resemblance to the so-called owl-head on many of the vases found by Schliemann at Hissarlik, which he associates with Athene.[a] There can be no doubt that it is the human face, and not an owl-head; and indeed on some of the Hissarlik vessels other parts of the human body are shown in connection with the head. This representation appears to have been regarded as the most important design on the chalk objects, for it occupies a situation separated by upright panels from the rest of the decoration, and is placed upon a perfectly plain surface, so that it stands out as if framed, and inviting particular attention. I think this must be considered as the principal feature in connection with these enigmatical objects, and if we are ever able to ascertain what was their original intention, it will probably be found through an explanation of the significancy, probably a religious one, of the representation of the human face. Into the question of what was their use or purpose, I do not feel qualified to enter, nor have I any opinion upon the subject; all that suggests itself to me is, that they cannot have been intended to be handled; the softness of the material of which they are made and the elaborateness of the decoration appear to preclude any such idea.

[a] Some rude human figures have been found engraved on stone and associated with burial in a dolmen at Collorgues, near Uzès (Gard), and in sepulchral caves in La Marne and at La Bellehaye à Boury (Oise). The face there represented is not unlike that on the chalk objects. The burials appear to belong to the polished stone period. *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, vol. xxii., 3e Série, vol. v. p. 9, where they are engraved. Upon a club-shaped instrument of limestone found in a neolithic place of burial at Folha das Barradas, near Cintra, Portugal, is a figure somewhat like that in question, together with one of a crescent. C. Ribeiro, *Mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne sur quelques monuments préhistoriques, p. 85, figs.* 87, 88. *Lisbon*, 1880. A figure much like that on the chalk objects occurs as part of the decoration on Saxon brooches found at Fairford and other places.

Parish of Bempton.

CCLIII. At a distance of above three quarters of a mile north of the well-known Danes Dyke, which cuts off the promontory of Flamborough Head and fortifies it against the adjoining high land of the Wolds, is a barrow called Metlow Hill. It is 90 feet in diameter, and still, though much ploughed down and having had the highest part removed some years ago, 2 feet high. It is placed upon a knoll rising above the ordinary surface level, and was made of earth with some stones, of which several were found placed together, here and there, more especially on the south and east sides of the mound, where, 38 feet from the centre, they assumed a curved form for about 100 feet in length, and had somewhat of the appearance of being the remains of a stone circle which had been made within the limits of the barrow. Beyond these points there were no stones found in a position where had there been a circle they might have been expected. At a distance of 25 feet S. by W. from the centre, and upon the original surface of the ground, was a "food-vessel," laid on its side. There were no signs of a body having been buried at the spot, but in this case, from the nature of the surrounding earth, it is quite possible the bones of an unburnt body might have gone totally to decay. The vase is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom; it is well made, and ornamented with great care and delicacy. Inside the lip is a band of incised herring-bone pattern within two impressed thong lines, and on its edge is a smaller line of herring-bone. Round the neck are five neatly impressed thong lines; below this is a channel, interrupted by four unpierced ears, and filled with a herring-bone pattern. Beyond the lower edge of the channel is a similar line of herring-bone, within thong lines. At the foot are impressed vertical lines.

At the centre was a grave, excavated to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches, in clayey gravel, which there constitutes the subsoil. It had a direction east and west, being 4 feet 10 inches long and 2 feet wide. Towards the west end the north side inclined inwards, so that the grave was not square at that end, but of a somewhat pointed form. In the bottom at the pointed end was a circular hole 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep, containing nothing beyond earth similar to that of which the mound was formed. The grave, which was slightly dished, had been lined on the bottom and at the sides to a height of 18 inches with wood, and had at the same level been provided with a covering of wood. That the

grave had thus been covered in was indicated by its being found hollow up to that level. The soil above was so strongly compacted, that it had borne the weight of carts and horses passing over during the many years the land had been under cultivation. At the west end, and extending from the surface of the barrow into the hollow of the grave, was a circular hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, which looked as if it was the space left by the decay of a stake, driven in, possibly, to mark the site of the grave. At the middle of the grave, and close to the south side, was a "food-vessel," laid in front of the face of a young child, about five or six years old, which was placed on the right side, with the head to W., the hands being up towards the face. The vase is roughly made, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches at the bottom. On the inside of the lip are groups of short parallel lines. Round the neck and in a channel below are impressed diagonal lines, forming a kind of herring-bone pattern. At a point 12 feet west of the centre were the remains of a vessel of pottery, which had, apparently, been destroyed in digging for rabbits.

Among the material of the mound were fifteen scrapers of unburnt and one of calcined flint, some of them large and peculiar in form, three knives, three saws, a broken leaf-shaped arrow point, many flakes and chippings, all of flint, a pounding stone of quartzite, and three sherds of pottery.

Parish of Harpham.

The barrow about to be described, though not far distant from the wolds, is situated upon the flat land lying between the chalk escarpment and the sea. The district, of which Holderness constitutes a large portion, does not contain many sepulchral mounds; nevertheless, in spite of its formerly swampy condition, it was not destitute of occupation by man in prehistoric times. This is evidenced by the number of stone and bronze weapons and implements which have been found throughout its area, and by the remains of several lake-dwellings, some not far distant from the barrow now under notice, two of which have been most carefully and exhaustively excavated and examined by Mr. Thomas Boynton, late of Ulrome Grange, but now of Bridlington Quay.

CCLIV. On the farm of Little Kelk are two small barrows, not far apart, one of which I opened. It is 56 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, but much ploughed down, and is made of earth. At the centre was a circular hollow, 18 inches in diameter, sunk through the surface soil for a depth of 9 inches on to the clayey

subsoil. It contained a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, much mixed with earth, and having a piece of burnt flint among them.

In the material of the mound were a scraper of unburnt and another of burnt flint, some flint chippings, and a piece of a ground axe of green stone.

Parish of Bishop Burton.

The barrows about to be described are situated in a different district from those hitherto noticed, and are beyond the limits of the wolds, about five miles west by south from Beverley. They are found on the farm of Littlewood in the parish of Bishop Burton, and form a large group of about twenty in number, varying much in size. Some of them were opened many years ago by Dr. Hull of Beverley, with what results I am unacquainted beyond the fact that a large and fine cinerary urn, now in the York Museum, was found in one of them. An implement of bronze is said to have been placed among the burnt bones contained in the urn; it is, however, now lost.

CCLV. The first barrow I opened is one of the larger of the group, and, like all the others, was composed of earth and clay with a very little chalk intermixed. It is 98 feet in diameter, and still, though it has lost several feet during many years cultivation, 9 feet high. A cut had been made into the mound on some previous occasion, probably by Dr. Hull, which was carried from north to south through the middle of the barrow. It was 4 feet wide and the same in depth, and, therefore, did not reach by five feet the original surface level at the centre. Amongst the disturbed earth thrown back into it was a portion of a "drinking-cup," with a handle attached, which had possibly accompanied an interment disturbed by the former diggers.

At a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.W. by W. from the centre, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the surface of the barrow, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, laid in a circular heap, 9 inches in diameter, and having an oval flint knife, calcined, among the bones. The knife is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, having one face untouched by secondary flaking, the other face, which is convex, being minutely flaked over the whole surface. The body had not been burnt on the spot where the bones were deposited.[a] Two feet north of the present but at what had probably been the original centre, 2 feet 9 inches beneath the surface of the

[a] This was the rule in regard to the interment of cremated bodies in these barrows, and, unless the contrary is specified, it must be considered as holding good in all the cases here recorded.

barrow and 6 feet above the original surface of the ground, was a "food-vessel" without any remains of a body accompanying it. There was nothing to show that there had ever been an interment at the place, but the nature of the soil was such as would tend, in connection with other agencies, to the decay of the bones. The vase is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It has had five unperforated ears, of which three still remain. The inside of the lip, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, has two bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion, and the outside of the vase has eight similar bands, which are carried over the ears, and, like those of the lip, made by a sharp-pointed instrument. Below is an encircling line of dots made by a round-ended tool. The ornamentation extends to a depth of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the mouth, the remaining part being plain. Nearly five feet beneath the vase and placed on a small mound of chalk $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, was the body of an adult laid on the left side, with the head to E.S.E., the hands being up towards the face, in front of which was a very beautifully made flint knife (fig. 8) serrated at the edges, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $\frac{11}{16}$ inch wide. The body had been placed upon wood, which had also enclosed it at the sides, but did not cover it. Within the line of wood and one foot behind the head of the body was a "food-vessel" (fig. 9) $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bottom, and having seven unperforated ears. The lip of the rim, which is unusually flat, has had encircling lines of twisted thong impressions, but the surface is too much decayed to admit of the number being specified. The outside of the lip has four encircling lines, below which is a band of vertical lines, 1 inch deep. Beneath this band are eight somewhat irregular encircling lines, which over-



Fig. 8. Flint Knife from Bishop Burton, Yorks. ½



Fig. 9. "Food-vessel" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. ½

run the ears. The remainder of the vase is covered with a small reticulated pattern. All the lines are due to impressions of twisted thong. At the bottom on the inside, for above an inch in height, the colour is lighter, due probably to the former presence of food once deposited in it. Immediately south of the small chalk mound was a hollow of irregular form, sunk partly into the chalk rock. It was 3 feet long and 2 feet wide at the south, and 1 foot at the north end, and 1 foot deep. Lying on the top, about the middle, was a human dorsal vertebra. It is probable that the chalk composing the small mound had been taken out of this hollow, which was filled in with earth.

Among the material of the barrow, not disturbed by the former opening, were a roughly-made scraper and some flakes of flint, and the bottom of a vessel of pottery.

CCLVI. This barrow is 50 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, but the ground on which it is placed was very irregular, so much so that at some parts the rock almost rose to the present surface of the mound. The height had also been much reduced by the plough. At a distance of 13 feet S.S.W. of the centre was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, laid in a round heap on the original surface. About 6 inches above the bones was a piece of hard-baked, red-coloured pottery, probably casually present, and having no connection with the burial. Eleven feet S.S.E. of the centre the chalk rose to nearly the surface of the barrow, and just east of it was the body of a child, laid on the original surface on the right side, with the head to W.S.W. Five feet E.S.E. of the centre were some fragments of a large cinerary urn, which had been destroyed by ploughing. The over-hanging rim is ornamented with a herring-bone pattern made by a sharp-pointed instrument. The bones of the burnt body which it had once contained were found lying close to it. At the centre the rock again rose almost to the surface of the barrow, and just to the west of it, where the ground dipped beneath the ordinary level of the ground and made a slight hollow, were the very much decayed bones of a body which had no doubt constituted the central and primary interment. With these remains was a flint knife which had been deposited with the body, but in what relative position, on account of the condition of the bones, it was impossible to determine. It is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, having a portion of the surface of the flint nodule from which it was made still left on the convex side. It is a very well-fashioned implement. Among the material of the mound, scattered here and there, were several pieces of a "food-vessel" and of a "drinking-cup," with other potsherds, two round and one long scraper, and several flakes of flint, one of them worked at the edge.

CCLVII. This barrow, which in the upper part was made of yellow clayey soil and beneath of brown-coloured sandy soil, is 70 feet in diameter, and still, though much lowered by ploughing, as are all the barrows of the group, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Three feet S.S.W. of the centre, and three feet above the original surface, were the bones of the burnt body of an adult, deposited in a round heap, 10 inches in diameter, and on the top of them was a flint knife, unburnt. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and has been made from a curved flake, carefully fashioned by chipping along both edges. Four feet S.S.E. of the centre, and 3 feet above the original surface, were the bones of a second burnt body, like the first those of an adult, and placed in a round heap. Close to the bones, but not connected with them, was a large piece of a "food-vessel," ornamented by encircling lines made by the impression of loosely-twisted and thick cord. At a distance of $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet W. by S. from the centre, and 3 feet 10 inches above the surface level, was a "food-vessel" (fig. 10) lying on its side. There was no appearance of a body ever having been buried at the place, but, as was the case in the first barrow, it is possible the



Fig. 10. "Food-vessel" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

bones may have entirely gone to decay. The vase, which is of beautiful form and well made, is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at the mouth, and 2 inches at the bottom, and has four perforated ears. The inside of the lip has three bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion, whilst the outside has a band of short vertical lines encircling it. Beneath is an encircling line, broken by short spaces, followed by five bands of short lines arranged herring-bone fashion. There is next a band of short vertical lines similar to that above, followed in a channel at the shoulder

by four encircling lines not continuous, similar to the single line above; they do not extend over the ears, which have four rows of short vertical lines upon them. Below this the vase is entirely covered by eleven bands of vertical lines, gradually increasing in depth as they approach the bottom. All the ornamentation has been made by a sharp-pointed tool. Four feet W. of the present centre, but, no doubt, representing the commencing point of the barrow, was a grave sunk 2 feet into the surface soil, here of more than ordinary depth. It had a direction W. by N. and E. by S., 6 feet long and 2 feet wide, and had been lined throughout with solid wood, but the body, that of an adult, had, apparently, been covered merely with branches. The bones had almost entirely gone to decay, but, judging from those left, the body seemed to have been laid with the head to the west and probably on the right side. Unless this had been the case, there was not room for the "food-vessel" found with the body being placed in front of the face, the most usual position, the head being deposited in immediate contact with the north side of the grave. Close to the vessel was a flint knife. The vase is rather roughly made, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The flat top of the rim, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, has a zig-zag line upon it. On the outside a lozenge-pattern, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, encircles the vase, with a single line beneath, then follows an irregularly formed lozenge pattern 1 inch deep, and below, as far as the bottom, are thirteen encircling lines. The whole of the ornamentation is due to the impression of twisted thong. The knife, which has lost a portion of its more pointed end, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, flat on one face and rather roughly flaked over the other and convex face.

Among the material of the mound were many chippings of flint, the rounded end of a long scraper, a large and boldly-flaked knife of yellow flint, 4 inches long and 2 inches wide, and a single piece of a "drinking-cup."

CCLVIII. This barrow is 62 feet in diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. A cutting, 4 feet wide, had been made on some previous occasion directly through the mound from north to south. In making this a burnt body, enclosed in a cinerary urn, had been discovered, the remains of the bones and of the broken vessel being found scattered among the filling-in of the cutting. At a point 7 feet S.E. of the centre and 6 inches above the surface level was part of a small "food-vessel," the remainder having been destroyed by the cutting just mentioned. The vase has been entirely covered with a herring-bone pattern, made by a sharp-pointed tool. At the centre was an oval grave, sunk into the surface soil to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, having a direction W. by N. and E. by S., $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 2 feet wide at the top, and 1 foot 2 inches at the bottom, the west end being a little lower than the east.

At each end was a circular hole, 8 inches in diameter and the same in depth, excavated in the chalk, the object, apparently, being to keep the grave dry, as, from the nature of the surface soil, water was likely to accumulate in it. Probably for the same reason, as was also the case in the preceding barrow, the grave had been lined throughout with wood, apparently planks, those at the west end, where, as has already been stated, the grave was deeper, being laid upon branches. On this wooden flooring had been deposited the body of an adult, slightly contracted. It was placed on the right side, with the head to W. by N., the hands being in front of the chest. It had been covered with wood, but of a smaller size than that underneath the body. In front of the face, and almost touching the side of the grave, was a "food-vessel." At the east end of the grave was the tooth of an ox. The vase, which is of a good shape, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the bottom, which is deeply cupped. It has five perforated ears. The inside of the lip, which is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, has five encircling lines, made by the impression of twisted thong, and the outside has a band of short vertical lines between two horizontal ones. Below are three bands of lines, arranged herring-bone fashion. These are succeeded, in a channel at the shoulder, by two encircling lines between two rows of lines inclining in opposite directions, the ears having four short horizontal lines upon them. The rest of the vase is covered with twelve bands of lines arranged herring-bone fashion. All the ornamentation, except that of the inside of the lip, has been made with a sharp-pointed tool. Among the material of the mound were a round flint scraper and a roughly-formed knife, made from a slightly-curved flint flake, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long and 1 inch wide. It may be mentioned that the wood at the bottom of the grave had been quite hardened by the action of oxide of iron. This is due not to the former presence of iron in a manufactured state, but to iron in a natural condition existing in the soil at the place.

CCLIX. CCLX. These two barrows, the first 68 feet in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the other 86 feet in diameter and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, though not apparently having been disturbed before, were found to contain no interment, nor indeed any trace of one. They were both quite exhaustively examined. The first produced two round scrapers and a roughly-formed saw of flint. In the second were found numerous flint flakes and cores, many potsherds, including portions of a "food-vessel," ornamented with bands of vertical lines between double encircling lines, one set of which is made with minute dots, the others being produced by impressions of finely-twisted thong.

The absence of any signs of a burial in these two mounds is very difficult to

account for. Under certain conditions bones are found to have gone entirely to decay, still in these mounds I should not, from the nature of the material composing them, have expected that all trace of bones would have disappeared. A similar absence of any indication of an interment having been made in a mound, apparently sepulchral, has already been noticed in this account (pp. 24, 25), and this peculiar circumstance has been there discussed.

CCLXI. This barrow is 45 feet in diameter and 2 feet high. At the centre was a circular grave sunk beneath the original surface to a depth of 2½ feet; it was 2 feet in diameter at the top and 13 inches at the bottom. The lower part, to a height of 8 inches, was filled in with ordinary soil, above that it contained burnt earth, among which, widely scattered, were a few burnt bones. Over the top of the grave, and 1 foot above the original surface level, was a layer of burnt earth, which extended more than 4 feet to the north of the grave. Among this were some pieces of a cinerary urn ornamented with a reticulated pattern made by a sharp-pointed tool. This had all the appearance of having been the site of the funeral pile, though it might have been expected that the body would have been burnt on the natural surface, beneath which the grave had been excavated.

CCLXII. This barrow was about the same size as the last, but not quite so high. At the centre, and placed upon the natural surface of the ground, was a deposit of burnt bones scattered over a space 2 feet in diameter. Upon the bones at the east side was an "incense cup" (fig. 11), standing on its base. It is of depressed globular form, 1¾ inch high, 2 inches wide at the mouth, and the same at the bottom, which is slightly cupped. The inside of the lip has a single encirling line, and the outside three similar lines with diagonal lines arranged herring-bone fashion between them. Beneath these is a plain band perforated by six holes at regular intervals, then follows a band of diagonal lines similar to that above, beneath which is a plain band having two encircling lines beneath and close to the bottom of the vessel. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed tool.



Fig. 11. "Incense-cup" from Bishop Burton, Yorks. ¾

Among the material of the mound were a core and two flakes of flint and some pieces of a "drinking-cup."

CCLXIII. This barrow is 42 feet in diameter and 2½ feet high. It contained a single burial, that of the burnt body of an adult, the bones of which were placed

in a hollow, lying N.W. and S.E., 2 feet by $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot and 8 inches deep. The body had been burnt on the spot, the hollow having been first excavated. The site of the funeral pile occupied a space 4 feet in diameter.

CCLXIV. The diameter of this barrow was scarcely to be ascertained, and it was not quite a foot high at any part. At what had no doubt originally been the centre was a hollow lying N. and S., $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot wide at the top and sloping to the bottom, which was $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot below the surface. The body had been burnt on the spot, and the site of the funeral pile, which lay E. and W., was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet wide. The hollow which contained the bones had been made before the burning took place, and was situated at the east end of the site of the pile.

Among the material of the mound was a saw made from a curved flake of flint 2 inches long and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide.

CCLXV. This, one of the smaller barrows, was placed close to that first described. It is 44 feet in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. At a distance of 11 feet S. by W. from the centre, and 8 inches above the surface level of the ground, a cinerary urn was found in a reversed position, containing the burnt bones of an adult. The urn is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the overhanging rim being $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, 10 inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the bottom. The inside of the rim below the lip, which is plain, has three encircling bands of short lines placed diagonally. The outside of the rim has three similar bands. Below the rim are six bands of lines similar to those on the rim, which extend to a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the top of the urn, the remaining part is plain. All the lines have been made by impressions of twisted thong. At the centre was a grave lying N.W. by N. and S.E. by S., 7 feet long, 5 feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep. The north end appeared to have been lined at the sides with wood, which seemed to have been placed about 8 inches from the edge of the grave. In it was the body of an adult laid on the right side with the head to W.S.W. The right hand was up towards the face, in front of which was a flint knife, the left hand being on the hips. The knife is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, and is carefully flaked over all the convex face. Lying just over the top of the grave were a flat oval piece of flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, chipped all round the edges, and a flint core.

The mode of burial in these barrows does not differ from the interments in the sepulchral mounds of the wolds. Burnt and unburnt bodies were met with, the proportion of burnt being rather larger than usual, nor is there anything to show that the one was earlier than the other. Bronze was not found, but for reasons stated in *British Barrows*, p. 46, it cannot be inferred from the absence of the

metal that it was then unknown. It will also be noticed that the rule of burying the body with the face fronting the sun is corroborated by the evidence these barrows afford. In four cases, where the position could be ascertained with certainty, the rule had been followed, and in the fifth, though the bones had gone to decay, the body could scarcely have been placed in any other than the position conjecturally attributed to it.

Parish of Gristhorpe, North Riding.

The opening of a barrow in this parish fifty-six years ago disclosed a remarkable interment of an unburnt body placed in a split and hollowed oak trunk. The skeleton and the various articles associated with it, together with the coffin in which they were found, are now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. A few years earlier another barrow a little to the north was examined, but without any record of what was met with having been preserved. I re-opened it in 1887, not being aware at the time of the previous examination.

CCLXVI. It is situated a short distance from the cliff, commanding a wide prospect of sea to the east, and of coast line to the north and south, which takes in Scarborough Castle and the moors of the North Riding on the one hand and the high ridge which ends with Filey Brigg on the other.

It is 80 feet in diameter, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, but has lost at least 2 feet on the top, having, though now in grass, been under the plough for many years. It was made entirely of earth. At a distance of 24 feet S.S.E. from the centre, with the bottom 1 foot above the original surface, was a small cist, N.W. by S.E., 16 inches long, 11 inches wide, and 10 inches deep. It was made of four side stones with a cover, and had a single stone on the bottom. In it was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, mixed with earth, with which the cist was filled. Among the bones were three pieces of burnt and one of unburnt flint. At the centre was a cist, lying N.W. and S.E., 4 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches wide, and 1 foot 6 inches deep. It was made partly of large flat stones set on edge, with some smaller ones laid upon them. The cover had been broken by those who first opened the barrow, who had left some of the bones, those of a strongly-built man, in the cist, in which were pieces of charcoal, as is usual. The cist was sunk into the ground, the cover having been placed on the surface level.

Among the material of the mound were a knife and four round scrapers of flint, and a hammer stone made from a water-rolled quartzite pebble.

PARISH OF FYLINGDALES.

A reference to the Ordnance Survey map, one-inch scale, XCV. N.W., will show how abundant are barrows upon the moorland south of Whitby and between there and Scarborough. Other remains of probably the same period in the shape of circles and standing stones, dykes, and lines of entrenchment and enclosures are found throughout the district. Nearly all the barrows have been opened, and many of them in quite recent times, but no account of these examinations has been recorded, so far as I am aware, except a short notice of the opening of some on Cloughton Moor by the late Mr. Tissiman of Scarborough, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi. p. 1.

CCLXVII. This sepulchral mound, if such it can properly be termed, is of quite novel form in my experience. It may be called a platform with a surrounding ditch. There was no appearance as if an ordinary shaped barrow had ever been placed on the site, and had been removed. On the contrary, with the exception that it had been dug into at the centre, every thing seemed to be in the same condition as when it had been first constructed on the moor, which still remains, untouched by cultivation, covered with ling, as it has done for many thousand years. It is raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the ordinary surface level, and has a diameter of 60 feet, the enclosing trench being 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep. At the centre was an oval grave having a direction N.E and S.W., 5 feet long at the top, and 2 feet 6 inches at the bottom, by 4 feet wide at the top, and 2 feet 3 inches at the bottom, and 3 feet 6 inches deep. When I examined it the grave was filled in with stones, and there were some burnt bones on the bottom. It had certainly been previously opened, but the filling in at the time of the burial may have been made with the same stones as those replaced by the persons who had rifled it. The burial had been of a body after cremation, but if any urn or implement had been associated with the interment it had been removed.

CCLXVIII. This barrow is one of a considerable number which are scattered sometimes two or three together, at other times singly, over that part of Fylingdales Moor called Howdale, Stony Marl, and High Moors. Upon this tract of moorland there have been found a number of those remarkable stones, marked with central pits and concentric but incomplete circles, which, existing in several districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland, still remain shrouded in the same mystery, as regards their meaning, as when they were first discovered. Eight stones with these markings are preserved in the garden at Peak House, or, as it is now usually called, Raven Hall, some of which are said to have been taken out of neighbouring barrows.

The barrow is 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, and was made of sandy earth. At the centre was a square grave with rounded corners, 3 feet 10 inches square and 1 foot 8 inches deep. The body, the bones of which were found in the grave, had apparently been burnt within the grave itself, though it is difficult to understand how the fire was kept up in so confined a space. The bones, those of an adult, were scattered over the whole of the bottom of the grave, but principally near the south corner; they were covered by a layer of charcoal, in some places 9 inches thick, the remains of large tree trunks. Above the charcoal the grave was filled in with clay. Among the bones was a piece of calcined flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide.

CCLXIX. This, one of the three "Old Wife Houes," has a diameter of 43 feet and a height of 3 feet, with a flat top. It was made of sand, and has a circle of stones round the base. Four feet from this circle and within and covered by the mound was a second one, composed of smaller stones. It may originally have surrounded the base of a barrow, which having been subsequently added to, enclosed the circle within the present mound. At a distance of 14 feet S.S.E. from the centre and 1 foot 4 inches above the surface level of the ground was a circular burnt space, having a diameter of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the same level and 12 feet S. by E. from the centre was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, much scattered and lying upon a layer of charcoal. The burnt bones were placed close to the west of the burnt spot, and it is probable that the one represented the site of the funeral pile, the other the bones collected from it. Twelve feet and a half south of the centre and again at the same level was a second deposit of burnt bones, also of an adult, placed in a round hollow 1 foot in diameter and 9 inches deep; the surrounding soil being much burnt. Among the bones were five pieces of calcined flint. The whole of the barrow at the level before mentioned showed abundant signs of fire. At the centre, in an oval hollow lying N. and S., 20 inches by 18 inches, and sunk to a depth of 14 inches beneath the natural surface, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, placed at the bottom, but having much charcoal beneath them. The hollow, which was covered by a flat stone 2 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, had been made before the burning of the body, which had no doubt taken place over it. It would seem, judging as well from the position of the two places of burial above the natural surface, as from the inner circle of stones, that a mound had been thrown up in the first instance over the grave containing the primary interment. Upon this mound, some time afterwards, two bodies had been burnt and the remains interred by the addition of fresh material, round which enlarged mound the outer circle of stones had been placed.

CCLXX. A structure which had every appearance of being sepulchral was exhaustively examined without any trace of an interment being discovered. It consisted of a circular space 40 feet in diameter inclosed by a mound made of stones and earth, 7 feet wide and about 2½ feet high, having a doubtful opening through it on the west. At a distance of 4 feet S.E. by S. from the centre was a circle, 4½ feet in diameter, of small stones set on edge and inclosing a space paved with flat stones, immediately beneath which was much burnt earth and four pieces of calcined flint. Three feet N.E. of the first was a second and similar circle, but only 3 feet in diameter. Two pieces of calcined flint were found at the southern part of the inclosure. I am quite unable to suggest any explanation of the purpose of this structure. The two small circles might be supposed to be the bases of huts, such foundations not being uncommon, and frequently having a defensive mound round them, but the size of them quite precludes such a supposition.

CCLXXI. This barrow is 60 feet in diameter, 3½ feet high, and was made of clayey soil with some stones near to the centre. At a distance of 16½ feet S.W. by S. from that point, and 1 foot 4 inches above the original surface, were two cinerary urns, inverted and placed 3 inches apart. They were standing in a line N.W. and S.E., the larger one being to the N.W. One foot and a half S.W. of the space between them was a deposit of burnt bones in a circular hollow 9 inches in diameter, and sunk 8 inches deep below the surface of the ground. The body had been burnt on the spot, the hollow having been made before the burning had taken place. The space which had been occupied by the funeral pile was 4½ feet in diameter. The bones in the larger urn were those of an adult, probably a woman; and among them were twelve jet beads (fig. 12). The bones in the



Fig. 12. Jet Beads from Fylingdales, Yorks. ½

smaller urn, as well as those in the hollow, were of an adult. The larger urn, which is rudely made and quite plain, is 10 inches high (the overhanging rim is

of unusual proportions, being $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep), 8 inches wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom. The smaller urn, similar in make and want of ornamentation to the other, is 7 inches high (the overhanging rim being 3 inches deep), $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom. The beads, which had formed a necklace, are, nine of them, of globular shape, a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and three fusiform, one just over 1 inch long, the others each $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long. At the centre was an oval grave, N.W. and S.E., 1 foot 7 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, and lying upon them at the north side was an "incense-cup," reversed, and having some pieces of charcoal in it. On the bottom of the grave was a large quantity of charcoal. The body had been burnt on the spot, the grave having first been made. The "incense-cup" (fig. 13) is of globular form, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the middle, and 1 inch at the bottom, which is slightly cupped. The inside of the lip has three encircling lines, and the outside has two similar ones. Below is a band of triangles, alternately placed, each filled in with parallel diagonal lines; below are two encircling lines. All the pattern, which extends to the middle and widest part of the cup, has been made by a sharp-pointed tool. Two feet and a half to the south of the grave were some unburnt bones, including a human tooth. Among the material of the mound were two round scrapers, a portion of a flake, and several chippings of flint, all unburnt.



Fig. 13.
"Incense-cup" from Fylingdales, Yorks. $\frac{1}{2}$

The present barrow, like No. CCLXIX. suggests that it had been increased in size by placing secondary burials upon the surface of the original mound, which had been made over the primary interment in the grave, and covering them with additional soil.

CCLXXII. This barrow is 21 feet in diameter, but the original height could not be ascertained on account of the stones, of which it had been principally composed, having been almost entirely removed. It has a circle of stones round the base. At a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet S.W. of the centre was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, widely scattered on the original surface of the ground, and having among them a piece of calcined flint and three sherds of pottery. At the centre, in a hollow, lying N.W. and S.E., 2 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot wide, and 9 inches deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They were intermingled with

the soil filling in the hollow, and with them was a portion of a calcined flint flake.

CCLXXIII. This barrow is 40 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and made of stones and earth. There were many evidences of fire throughout the whole of the mound, and a great quantity of charcoal. At the centre was an oval grave, lying W.N.W. and E.S.E., 2 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. Upon the bottom was a large quantity of charcoal, and above it the burnt bones of an adult. The grave had been made before the body was burnt, the funeral pile, the site of which occupied a space 5 feet in diameter, having been erected over it.

The burials in the barrows just described, as is the rule in this part of Yorkshire, were after cremation; the only exceptions being the few unburnt bones found in one of the barrows, No. CCLXXI., and these scarcely seemed to represent a regular interment. As might be expected in a district where the material is so abundant, jet was found, though only in one instance. At Peak House (Raven Hall) already mentioned, are preserved two jet studs, found in a barrow near to those I opened, and a jet ring from another barrow of the same group.

Parish of Lythe.

The district on the east of Cleveland to the north of Whitby is prolific in various remains of primitive occupation. Implements of flint and other stone have occurred in sufficient abundance, though bronze has not often been met with. Megalithic structures, at one time more frequent, have still to some extent survived the destructive operations of farming and building, though many are known to have disappeared within the memory of persons still living. Barrows have crowned most of the heights, though few have escaped the unintelligent and acquisitive hands of the curiosity hunter, who has left no record of the facts he might have observed, or the objects he procured. Of the very few which have not been completely ransacked, I examined two in the township of Goldsborough and parish of Lythe.

CCLXXIV. This barrow had been much ploughed down, and to some extent dug into, probably for the sake of the stones of which it was partly composed. It is 63 feet in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, and was made of earth and stones. At the centre was a cist, partly destroyed. The stones of which it was made were sunk to a depth of 9 inches beneath the original surface level. It had a direction

W.N.W. and E.S.E., and was 3 feet 9 inches long and 1 foot 3 inches deep, the width being uncertain on account of the absence of the stone or stones which had formed the south side; the covering stones had also been removed, the bottom consisted of the clayey subsoil. There were no bones left in it, but at the west end was a "food-vessel." The vase is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom. The ornamentation has been made by the application of the corner of a square-ended implement, and by the pointed end of possibly the same tool. The pattern will be best understood by the figure engraved (fig. 14). Close to the vase was a small water-rolled pebble, and on the bottom of the cist were some pieces of jet, one piece of calcined flint, and many bits of charcoal. Two feet east of the cist was a circular hole, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter and the same in depth, and 2 feet further east was a second hole of similar size and depth; they contained nothing besides earth.[a] At a distance of 12 feet E.N.E. from the cist, measuring from centre to centre, was a grave lying N.N.E. and S.S.W., 4 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet wide at the top, 1 foot 6 inches at the bottom, and 2 feet deep. It was sunk into the subsoil nearly to the depth of the slabs of stone with which it was lined; the covers had been removed. There was nothing left in it beyond soil, except a single piece of calcined flint and a few fragments of charcoal.



Fig. 14. "Food-vessel" from Lythe, Yorks. ½

In the material of the barrow was much burnt earth and charcoal throughout the whole area. There were also found two round scrapers, one unburnt, the other burnt, and several chippings of flint, burnt and unburnt, also a square block

[a] Similar holes are not infrequent in barrows, and usually contain nothing beyond the filling in with the material of which the barrow itself is composed.

of sandstone, 9 inches by 8 inches and $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, having a pit hollow on each face and on one side; of these, two are $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and one $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the three being all $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep; they showed very distinctly the marks of the tool with which they had been made.[a] Besides these were a fusiform bead of jet, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, and a pretty jet ring, which has an outer diameter of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch and an inner one of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; the remains, doubtless, of ornaments associated with an interment, possibly made in the grave, and of which the rest had been carried off when the barrow was discovered either in ploughing or otherwise.

CCLXXV. Another barrow not far distant is 54 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and was made of earth. At the centre, on the original surface of the ground, was a space, lying N.E. by N. and S.W. by S., about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 2 feet wide, which had been covered with wood, the bark being especially distinguishable. Upon this there can be little doubt that a body had been placed, the bones of which had disappeared through the action of various agencies during a long course of years.

Among the material of the mound were charcoal and some burnt stones, several burnt and unburnt pieces of flint, and a flint implement, unburnt, probably intended for a knife, $2\frac{1}{5}$ inches long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide.

WILTSHIRE.

Parish of Aldbourne.

That part of England in which the barrows about to be described are situated is extremely rich in evidences of occupation at different periods before the conquest of Britain by the Romans. Nor does the interest connected with it cease with these indications of habitation by the earlier people, for it was the scene of important events during the civil war of the seventeenth century, and tradition and the discovery of relics still point to places where these events occurred. A large portion of the land is high swelling downs, and though much of this has been brought under the plough, enough remains in its pristine condition to show what was the aspect of the country in days before agriculture had made much

[a] Stones with similar pit markings have occurred in barrows in many different localities. In one upon Wass Moor, North Riding, I found above twenty. See *British Barrows*, p. 342.

progress. A tract of land such as this afforded, in the absence of forest and in the dryness of the soil, as well as in the defensive nature of many places within its area, most of the requirements for early settlement. The sepulchral and other remains still existing within the district supply abundant proof that its advantages were not neglected. The great camps of Badbury and Uffington are within a few miles of the barrows about to be noticed, and in the adjoining parish of Lambourn is a very large number of grave mounds, including the group called the Seven Barrows, but which includes about twenty. Wayland Smith's Cave, made historic by the genius of Scott, is a burial-place of still earlier times than those when the ordinary round barrows were erected. It constitutes a passaged-chamber, once covered by a large mound, of which sufficient traces still remain to show its shape and size. The White Horse, to whatever date it may be assigned, can certainly claim to be of a remote antiquity; and though we may not be inclined to admit that Ashdown, in Lambourn parish, is the scene of Alfred's great victory at Aescesdun, which local enthusiasm would fondly hope to prove, enough of interest centres in the district to make it one of high importance to those who have regard to the ancient landmarks of our country and their teaching.

In the parish of Aldbourne, and especially upon the Warren Farm, are a number of barrows, all of which, in association with Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., I examined. The four to be first described, as well as three others, are situated upon a ridge of chalk, called, from the shape of the mounds, Sugar Hill Down; lying between two valleys, which converge about a mile to the south at the village of Aldbourne. The first four, situated on a piece of the downs which has never been cultivated, are placed so close to each other that the surrounding ditches of three of them are confluent, while that at the base of the fourth is but a few feet distant from that of the neighbouring barrow. They are placed in a direction N.N.W. and S.S.E., and, measuring from the outside of the first to the same point of the fourth, they extend over 472 feet. All of them are enclosed by an encircling ditch; and three stand upon what may be termed a platform, a space upon which no added material has been placed, and which lies between the ditch and the mound itself. With the exception of that to be first described, they had been, more or less, opened at the centre; in one case, even as far as to the bottom of a part of the central grave; but in no case had the primary interment been discovered.

CCLXXVI. This barrow, that the furthest to the north, of a beautiful bell-

shaped form, is 60 feet in diameter, and 11 feet high; the platform on which it stands being 16 feet wide, and the surrounding ditch 12 feet wide and 3 feet deep. The lower part of the mound was made up with almost unmixed earth, though there was a little chalk interspersed. This reached to a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original surface level. Laid upon this was a layer, about 9 inches thick, of dark coloured mould, the remains probably of what had originally been turfs; above this was a layer of the ordinary soil of the adjoining land, 10 inches thick, having above it a layer of chalk, in some parts quite unmixed, in others having a little earth among the chalk. It was thicker at some parts than at others, being sometimes quite 2 feet thick at the sides, but never above 8 inches thick at the middle. Above the chalk layer was earth with chalk intermixed, and clayey sand in irregular layers, and over all a covering of chalk about 3 feet thick. At the central part of the mound, and 6 feet above the original surface, was a bed of sarsen stones laid in a circular form, 4 feet in diameter. Immediately above this were two other similarly formed beds of stones, the highest one, much larger than those beneath, being 12 feet in diameter. Between the beds of stones was a layer of charcoal, and on the upper one a smaller quantity and somewhat scattered. The stones comprising the upper bed, for a space of 6 feet in diameter at the middle, showed abundant signs of fire. Four feet east of the centre, and 2 feet above the original surface, was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, laid in a round heap, 16 inches in diameter. At the centre, on the level of the natural surface and spread over a space of about 3 feet in diameter, were many burnt bones, and beyond them a large quantity of charcoal and wood ashes. Below this was a grave, lying N.W. and S.E., 1 foot 8 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 2 feet deep. It contained the burnt body of an adult; and at the north side, where the bones of the skull were placed, was a small plain vessel of pottery. It is cylindrical-shaped, narrowing a little to the top, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the bottom. Among the bones were seven amber beads and a small round flat piece of the same material, a bone pin with a perforated head, and a flint flake, both unburnt. The beads are five of them barrel-shaped, varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, and two fusiform $\frac{3}{8}$ inch and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. The pin, the point of which is wanting through decay, is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long. Among the material of the mound, here and there were many bones[a] of ox and pig, an oval flint scraper, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide,

[a] In this as in all other cases, if not specified to the contrary, bones of animals must be understood to be in a broken condition, done designedly in order to extract the marrow.

several chippings of flint, and twelve pieces of pottery, among them part of the bottom of a "drinking-cup."

CCLXXVII. This barrow, whose surrounding ditch was in contact with that of the last, is 68 feet in diameter, and still 7 feet high. The platform on which it stands is 23 feet wide, and the ditch 8 feet wide and 2½ feet deep. The mound was composed of earth, with chalk intermixed, and some sarsen stones. It had been completely gutted from the top, the opening having at one point gone down to the bottom of the grave; the interment, however, had not been discovered, on account of the grave having been only partially excavated. It was situated at the centre of the barrow, and had a direction N.W. by W. and S.E., by E. being 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet deep, sunk into the chalk rock. At the north-west end, and 1 foot above the bottom, was a bronze dagger (fig. 15), and at the middle and on the bottom were the much-decayed remains of a skeleton, in too imperfect a state to enable the position of the body to be ascertained; placed with the bones was a triangular-shaped arrow-point of flint, with a tang, 1⅛ inch long and ⅞ inch wide. Also in the grave were some disturbed bones not belonging to the skeleton just mentioned. This, it is probable, was a secondary interment, during the course of which the previous occupant of the grave, with whose body the bronze dagger may have been associated, had been displaced. It is quite certain that the disturbance was not due to those who in recent times had opened the barrow, for the bones were beyond the limits of the excavation made by them. The bronze dagger is 3½ inches long and 1¼ inch wide, where the handle ended on the blade. It has three rivet holes, but no rivets, these having probably been made of wood or some other perishable substance. In the material of the mound was a large piece of a greenstone axe, much corroded, and a sherd of thick thong-marked pottery.



Fig. 15. Bronze Dagger from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

CCLXXVIII. This barrow stands close to the south of the last, the ditch surrounding it uniting with that of the other. It is 70 feet in diameter and 12 feet high; the platform, which has had some additional soil laid upon it, causing it to slope towards the ditch, is 10 feet wide, the ditch being the same width and 2½ feet deep. The barrow was made of earth and chalk intermixed, but with pure chalk here and there, principally on the west side. Unlike the other barrows, there

were no sarsen stones in it. The whole of the original surface beneath the mound was thickly strewn with charcoal and wood ashes. Immediately W.S.W. of the grave, to be presently mentioned, was a small mound of chalk, 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 9 inches and 1½ foot high, made no doubt of the material taken out of it. The grave itself was at the centre, and had an oval form, with a direction N.N.W. and S.S.E., 3 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, among which was a bone pin, calcined, 3⅝ inches long, having a square head, perforated. Among the material of the mound were a saw, three round scrapers, two of them large, and numerous chippings of flint, also seven sherds of pottery, including a piece of a "drinking-cup," ornamented with parallel encircling lines of toothed impressions.

CCLXXIX. This, the last barrow of the four, and that the furthest to the south, was placed 32 feet from the last one, and a little out of the line towards the west. It is 82 feet in diameter, 12 feet high, with a ditch round it 8 feet wide and 2½ feet deep. There was no platform, the mound rising from the edge of the ditch, but it is possible that it had originally stood upon a platform like the other three, but had been increased in size until it extended over the platform to the ditch. This process appears to have been partly carried out in the last-described barrow, where the platform had lost its flat surface by additional earth placed upon it. A small opening had at some time been made at the top of the barrow, which was carried down for a depth of four feet. When this opening was made a body had been discovered, part of the skull and some vertebrae being found among the earth thrown back again. The mound was made of earth, with some chalk and a few sarsen stones. Twenty-four feet south of the centre, and 2 feet below the surface of the barrow, was part of a skull. There were no other bones, nor did it appear that anything except this fragment of skull had ever been buried there. At the centre, and 1½ foot above the surface level, were the bones of a young pig, and beneath them four sarsen stones placed on the top of the grave. This, which had somewhat of the form of an hour-glass, was N.W. and S.E., 4 feet long, 2 feet wide at the S.E. end, 1 foot 6 inches at the N.W. end, and 13 inches at the middle, being 1 foot 4 inches deep. It contained the burnt bones of an adult, placed at the middle of the grave, having a single piece of plain pottery close by them.

Among the material of the mound were several bones of ox, goat or sheep, and pig, and many flint chippings.

CCLXXX. This barrow, one of singular interest, was situated on the slope of the hill, about a hundred yards to the west of the four just described. It is 90 feet in diameter, and still, though much ploughed down, 6 feet high. If it once had a ditch surrounding it, all trace has disappeared. It was composed, with the exception of the cairn of stones, of earth, with some admixture of chalk and sarsen stones. The central part consisted of a pile of sarsen stones, without any soil among them, due probably to their having been originally covered over with turfs. Many of the stones showed by their red colour that they had been subjected to the action of fire. This cairn was 28 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. Beneath it at the centre was a space from which the turf had been removed down to the chalk rock, lying north and south, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and in it was a deposit of burnt bones, with which were associated a number of articles of various kinds. The bones were underlaid by wood and covered by a layer of charcoal and wood ashes, no doubt collected from the funeral pile. At the south end of the deposit of bones was an "incense-cup" and what seems to be its cover (fig. 16). When discovered the two vessels were found broken into numerous pieces and compacted together in a shapeless mass, the clay having become quite soft. This under the careful and skilful hands of Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, has resolved itself into the two beautiful and curious vessels which will be best understood from the figures. The cup is of a type which has already, though on rare occasions, been met with in Wiltshire and the immediately adjoining districts; but which, so far as I know, has not been discovered elsewhere.[a] It is well made, of fine paste, and delicately and tastefully ornamented. Like all the vessels of the same type, it has two small holes perforated at the foot, the purpose of which it is difficult to understand. The other vessel, which is of unique form, is of a somewhat enigmatical nature. It appears to have been used as a cover for the "incense-cup," though originally it may itself have been intended for a similar purpose. The two vessels, however, had been so intimately connected when placed with the interment that, as has already been stated, they formed when found a single mass. The cover is made of the same paste as the cup, but is of much thicker fabric, so much so as to make it doubtful if it can have been intended in the first instance to act as a cover for such a cup. It is ornamented in the same fashion, but has a round knob in place of the flat foot,

[a] Similar vessels are engraved in Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, and in Thurnam's *Ancient British Barrows* (*Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 363, figs. 44, 45; p. 364, fig. 46).

which is perforated as if for suspension.[a] Also among the burnt bones and close



A. B. C. D.

Fig. 16. "Incense-cup" and cover from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

A. Incense-cup. B. Bottom of cup.
C. Cover of Incense-cup. D. Inside of cover.

[a] The paste of which most of these peculiar "incense-cups" are made, and which, in this instance, was common to the cup and cover, is different from any I have seen used in the manufacture of other sepulchral vessels. It is of a fine but soft nature, does not, when baked, produce a hard ware, and is of a dark chocolate colour. These qualities, taken in connection with the form of the vessels and the character of the ornamentation, and also with the limited area in which they have been found, appear to point to a common source of manufacture.

Dr. Thurnam, in *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 362, speaking of this class of vessel, says, "In taste and ornamentation they agree so closely with the drinking-cups, that the two species of fictile vessel may be regarded as the work of the same artificers." With this opinion I cannot agree; the two classes, both in fabric and ornamentation, as well as in the nature of the paste, appear to me to differ very materially, in fact in these particulars they have very little in common.

to the two vessels and to each other were some pieces of a small bronze knife, and of two bronze awls or prickers,[a] all much decayed and apparently having passed through the funeral fire. Still among the burnt bones were seven beads, once, no doubt, forming a necklace. Three are of vitreous paste of a whitish-green colour, narrow and ribbed;[b] two being each $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, the third $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; two are of amber, one barrel-shaped, the other fusiform; the sixth, barrel-shaped, is made of lignite, possibly from Bovey Tracy; and the seventh, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, is formed from a portion of the stem of an encrinite (*Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*). Close by the beads were a large flat ring of lignite (fig. 17) $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide at the outer circumference and 1 inch at the inner; a pendant ornament of the same material (fig. 18); a conical button $\frac{7}{8}$ inch diameter, perforated at the back for attach-



Fig. 17. Lignite Ring from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½



Fig. 18. Lignite Pendant from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

ment, made of a material like Kimmeridge shale; a cast of a cardium shell; and a small polished black pebble of hematite. The two last articles have a very glossy surface, and look as if they had been kept about the person as objects of curiosity and value, and after death buried with their owner. Among the bones was a single flint chip, unburnt. Beyond the north end of the bared space above mentioned, and 6 inches from the outside of it, was a second "incense-cup" (fig. 19) with a few scattered burnt bones. The vessel is of the same form as the first, and like it has two perforations at the foot; the ornamentation also is similar, but neither is the paste so fine nor the fabric so good. It is 2 inches high, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom of the foot.

[a] Similar implements are engraved in *British Barrows*, fig. 39, 40.

[b] Similar beads are engraved, Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, pls. iii. xii. Thurnam, *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. figs. 186, 187, 188.

There is one particular in which it is of much interest, and which has not hitherto, I believe, been observed in pottery from a British barrow. The impressions forming the pattern, and which have been made by a sharp-pointed tool, probably a bronze pricker, have been filled in with some white material like finely powdered chalk applied when in a semi-liquid state.[a] This white material was certainly not the result of the vessel being in contact with chalk, for the surrounding earth was very dark coloured and without any admixture of chalk whatever.



Fig. 19. "Incense-cup" from Aldbourne, Wilts. ¾

Among the ashes covering the bones were six flint flakes, unburnt, and among the sarsen stones were many bones of ox and pig, some ox teeth, two arrow-points, one a barbed one, imperfect and unburnt, the other triangular and partially calcined, and the end of a boar's tusk, which showed signs of having been fashioned. In the earth above the cairn of stones were nine sherds of pottery, including two pieces, thong-marked, of large vessels, and a fragment of a "drinking-cup," with toothed impressions, filled in with white matter like that of the "incense-cup," and some flakes and chippings of flint, all unburnt.

CCLXXXI. The two barrows now to be described were situated nearly half a mile apart, on the same ridge of uncultivated down on which the group of four, above described, was placed, but a mile to the north of it. The first is 60 feet in diameter, and 7½ feet high, having a ditch round it at the base, 6 feet wide and 2 feet deep. It was composed of earth and chalk, and among the material forming the lower part of the barrow was a large amount of charcoal, burnt earth, and

[a] I have observed the same feature in pottery from Laibach, Carniola, and Jablowski, district of Swiec, Poland, exhibited in the Salle d'Anthropologie at the Paris Exhibition, 1878; from Alambra, Cyprus, (Cesnola, p. 94); on vessels and spindle-whorls from Hissarlik, and on spindle-whorls from ancient graves near Bogota, United States of Colombia.

some pieces of burnt stone. The presence of the charcoal, burnt earth, and stone is probably due to its having been taken from the site of the funeral pile, where the surface soil would be affected by the fire, and coming first to hand would naturally form the bottom part of the mound. At the centre in an oval grave, W.N.W. by E.S.E., 2 feet 2 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches wide, and 1 foot 4 inches deep, was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, having among them an unburnt flint flake.

Among the material of the barrow were some ox bones and flint chippings.

CCLXXXII. This barrow, which proved to be, like the last but one, of much interest, had been placed upon a rounded swell of the down, which rose about 5 feet above the ordinary level. The diameter of the artificial part was 60 feet, that of the whole mound being 80 feet, with a surrounding ditch at its base, 8 feet wide and 3 feet deep. The barrow itself was 8 feet high, and was composed, with the exception of the cairn to be presently described, of chalk, which extended from the top to a depth of above 2 feet, and below that of earth with some chalk. Commencing at a point 6 feet north-west of the centre, and extending over that part and for 7 feet down the slope on the south-east side, and 2 feet below the surface of the mound, was a quantity of burnt matter, charcoal, earth, and flints. Immediately beneath this the summit of a pile of sarsen stones made its appearance, which was 12 feet in diameter, and 5 feet 9 inches high. Outside the limits of the cairn the original surface was thickly strewed with charcoal, but as the underlying soil showed no signs of having been subjected to the action of fire, the site of the funeral pile could not have been there. This cairn, as was the case in that before mentioned, had no mixture of earth among the stones, which were quite free from soil, and presented, when completely uncovered, a very striking appearance; some of the stones were of large size, one being as much as 2 feet 9 inches long. Beneath the cairn at the centre was a grave, lying N. by W. and S. by E., 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot 7 inches deep. A foot below the top of the grave were ten small sarsen stones, which covered a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult. They were placed at the north side of the grave, and upon them were laid a bronze knife and a bone pin. The knife, which is very thin, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. It has had two rivets, one of which, together with a small portion of the handle plate, was wanting when found. The handle has ended in a straight line upon the blade, and not in the ordinary lunar-shaped form. The pin, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, which is stained of a beautiful green colour from the oxidation of the knife, is unburnt.

Among the material of the barrow were a fragment of, apparently, a cinerary

urn, marked with lines of impressions of twisted thong, and numerous flakes and chippings of flint, all unburnt.

The next three barrows were situated on the high uncultivated down on the opposite side of the valley, and about a mile to the west of the four first described; a fourth was on the slope of the hill 1½ mile north-east of the group of three.

CCLXXXIII. This barrow, which was 62 feet in diameter, and 8 feet high, stood on a platform 16 feet wide, surrounded by a ditch 12 feet wide and 3 feet deep. It was made of very soft earth with a little chalk, the result, probably, of portions of the underlying rock coming away with the turfs, of which the mound appeared to have been almost entirely composed. At the centre was a grave of an oval form, the sides of which sloped, making a dished hollow. It lay W. by S. and E. by N., and was 3 feet 2 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. In it at the west end was a deposit of the burnt bones of an adult, among which was a bone pin, 4⅛ inches long, calcined, of uncommon form (fig. 20).[a] Also among the bones was the point of another pin, and at the east end of the grave in the very fine soil which filled it at that part, a fragment of what may have once been a barbed arrow-point of flint, unburnt.



Fig. 20
Bone Pin from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

Among the material of the barrow were five scrapers of flint, unburnt, and a burnt one, many flakes and chippings of unburnt flint, and three pieces of pottery.

CCLXXXIV. The next two barrows, which stood so close together that they touched each other, were situated 200 yards south of the last. The first, that furthest to the west, is 64 feet in diameter, 8 feet high, and was made of earth with a good deal of chalk, especially on the west side. At the centre was a grave, which was covered by a domical mound of chalk, 3½ feet in diameter and 1 foot high. It extended beyond the grave on the east side, and had been excavated from the rock in making the grave. To the west of the grave, and occupying a space 6 feet in diameter, the surface soil was much discoloured by the action of fire and was covered with wood ashes, having doubtless been the site of the funeral pile. The grave was circular, 1 foot 9 inches in diameter, 1 foot 8 inches deep, and contained the burnt bones of an adult man placed on the west side and

[a] Dr. Thurnam engraves two pins in his paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 433, figs. 126, 127, which, though somewhat resembling this, are of very inferior make.

about midway in the grave. Among the bones and near the top of them were a bone pin with a perforated head, now $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long, but which has lost a portion at the pointed end, a bone article of uncertain use, 2 inches long,[a] probably a dress fastener (fig. 21), both unburnt, and a wrist-guard (fig. 22), which, with a pendant (fig. 23) found near the bottom of the deposit of bones, had both passed through



Fig. 21.
Bone Dress Fastener from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$



Fig. 22.
Wrist-guard from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$



Fig. 23.
Pendant from Aldbourne, Wilts. $\frac{1}{1}$

the funeral fire. The wrist-guard, of fine-grained stone, has probably when first made been twice its present length, and after being broken has been re-worked at one end. Two holes for fastening it have been drilled from each side, a third has been commenced at the newly-fashioned end, whilst the fourth has not been begun. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. The pendant, of the same stone as the guard, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide.

Among the material of the mound were some bones of ox.

CCLXXXV. The adjoining barrow is 50 feet in diameter, 2 feet high, and was made entirely of earth. At the centre was a circular grave, 2 feet 7 inches in diameter and 1 foot 2 inches deep, which contained the burnt bones of an adult. On the top of the bones was placed an "incense-cup," reversed, and among them were a few pieces of a beautiful vessel of similar paste, form, and ornamentation to that found in a preceding barrow (CCLXXX.). It could not have been when

[a] Similar articles are engraved in Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, pl. ix.; and Thurnam, *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii. p. 440, fig. 139.

deposited a perfect vessel. Also among the burnt bones were thirteen beads (fig. 24); ten barrel-shaped, of bone; one the same shape, of shell; one fusiform,



Fig. 24. Beads from Aldbourne, Wilts. ½

of jet; and one flat, of lignite; constituting the necklace of the buried person, probably a female. The "incense-cup," which is of globular form, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, 3 inches at the middle, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch at the bottom. The ornamentation, which covers the whole vessel, and is made by impressions of twisted thong, consists of an encircling zigzag line, having beneath it two bands of lines arranged herring-bone fashion.

CCLXXXVI. This barrow, situated about a mile to the north-west of the last and on the slope of the hill, is 80 feet in diameter and still, though much ploughed down, 7 feet high. It was formed principally of earth with a little chalk intermixed, and had originally been covered with chalk, some remains of which were left on the sides. There were also some indications that it had been once surrounded by a ditch. At the centre in a grave, lying W.N.W. and E.S.E., 3 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet 7 inches wide, and 1 foot 4 inches deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They had been inclosed, except on the top, by wood, and between the wood and the side of the grave, a space, about 8 inches wide, was filled with wood ashes and charcoal. On the top of the bones was laid a bronze knife, which has two rivet-holes but no rivets in them; it is 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide at the place where the handle finishes on the blade.

Among the material of the mound were one long scraper, two round ones, a large flake and some smaller ones of flint, all unburnt.

Parish of Hinton.

CCLXXXVII. This barrow, the only one on Hinton Down, is 68 feet in diameter and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The outer part of the mound was chalk, beneath

which was brown-coloured earth with some chalk among it, overlying a layer, 12 inches thick, of dark-coloured mould, which rested on the original surface of the ground. The barrow had the appearance as if a space of the surface had been pared, and the turfs thus procured then laid down to form the bottom part of the mound, upon which had been placed earth taken from beneath the turf, having over all chalk taken from a still lower level. Three feet west of the centre, and 2 feet beneath the surface of the barrow, the body of an adult male Saxon was discovered, laid on the back at full length, with the head to south, the arms being placed alongside the body. On the left side and close to the head was an iron spear-head, with the point upwards. At the centre, in an oval grave, N.W. and S.E., 3 feet 4 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot deep, were the burnt bones of an adult. They were deposited at the middle of the grave, on the bottom; and on the top of them, at the S.E. side, was a bronze dagger (fig. 25), which had, apparently, been placed there in a wooden sheath. It is 4 inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide where the handle in lunar form joins the blade, and has two rivets in the blade. Another rivet had fastened the two plates of the handle, which had, apparently, been of ox horn. All round the grave on the original surface was a quantity of charcoal, the remains of large branches of trees.

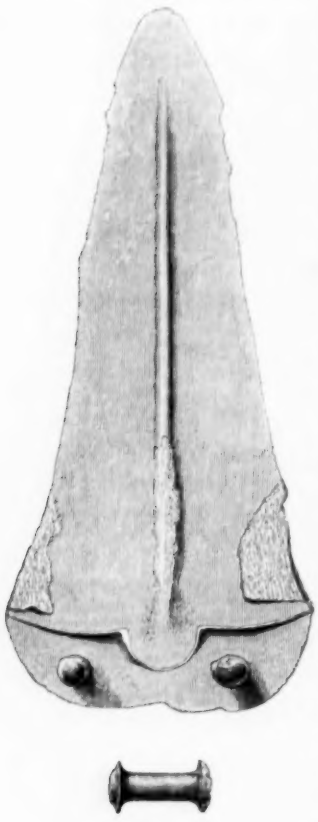


Fig. 25.
Bronze Dagger from Hinton, Wilts. ½

There are some important features in the barrows of this part of England, and which are illustrated by those just described, in which they differ materially from the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, a district corresponding in many respects to the downs of Wiltshire, as also they do from the burial mounds in other parts of England. One feature in which they differ is not easy to account for. In the Wiltshire barrows, though many of them are of a large size, it is the rule to find only a single interment, a central one, and usually of a burnt body in a small grave. In the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, on the contrary, the rule is to find several interments in a barrow, though this does not hold good in every case,

as also the converse does not in Wiltshire. Indeed, in several instances, in the larger and more conical-shaped barrows of the wolds, corresponding in this respect to those in Wiltshire, it is frequently found that only a single burial has taken place. Still, in spite of these exceptions, it may be said that, as a rule, the wold barrows contain many, the down barrows few interments.

Another important feature in which the Wiltshire barrows differ from those of the wolds and other parts of Britain is the comparative abundance of gold, which has hitherto been only found once on the wolds, and then merely in the shape of the plated rivet-heads of a wrist-guard, and rarely in other districts. In Wiltshire it has been met with in many of the sepulchral mounds, and, in some instances, as decorative articles of considerable size. The presence of amber is another proof of the greater wealth of the people of the Wiltshire downs than of those of the wolds, where, however, it might have been expected to have been in use, as it is found, and not unfrequently, on the adjoining sea-shore. Glass, though not quite wanting in Yorkshire, has only occurred once; but, in Wiltshire, as, for instance, in the barrow No. CCLXXX. beads of that material have on several occasions been associated with an interment. Weapons and implements of bronze, which accompany burials throughout the whole of Britain, are found in Wiltshire in much more abundance and of a larger size than in most other districts, though in form and other features they are almost identical. It is also a remarkable fact that while the other classes of sepulchral vessels of pottery are found equally abundant in the barrows of both counties, the "food-vessel," so common in Yorkshire and elsewhere, is entirely wanting in Wiltshire.

BERKSHIRE.

Parish of Lambourn.

On the extreme limits of the parish of Lambourn, adjoining to that of Letcomb Bassett, are two barrows, situated close to each other, and within 300 yards to the S.E. of two others in the latter parish, all of which I opened.

CCLXXXVIII. The first one in Lambourn parish is 50 feet in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, having lost something of its height by cultivation. It had, originally, like the adjoining one, been surrounded at the base by a ditch, evident remains of

which still remained. It was made of chalk and earth. It proved to be a very enigmatical mound, and one which I cannot explain except upon the theory that such memorials, as cenotaphs, were erected in those early times. There was no appearance as if it had been previously opened, except to a very trifling extent. At the centre was a circular hollow, 4 feet in diameter, and sunk into the chalk rock to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was filled in principally with chalk, having here and there a little earth, and from the way in which the chalk was placed in regular layers overlying the earth, it appeared impossible it could have ever been disturbed since it was first filled in. There was, however, no trace of a body, either burnt or unburnt, having been deposited in it, though the nature of the material with which it was filled was of such a kind as generally tends to the preservation of bone, and, moreover, two pieces of animal bone found in it were in a perfectly sound condition.

Among the material of the mound were some bones of ox and potsherds of the ordinary kind.

CCLXXXIX. This barrow, which stood so near to the east of the last that its surrounding ditch almost touched that of the other, is 62 feet in diameter and still 5 feet high. It consisted principally of earth with a little chalk. Six feet E. by S. of the centre, and one foot above the original surface, was a circular hole,10 inches in diameter and 6 inches deep, entirely filled with charcoal. Around the centre the ground surface was covered for a space above four feet square with charcoal and wood ashes, and, though the soil was not reddened, I think it probable that this was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was an oval grave, lying N.E. and S.W., $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 9 inches deep. In it were placed the burnt bones of an adult man, and upon them were laid side by side two perforated hammers, the one of stone (fig. 26), the other made from the shed antler of a red deer (fig. 27), having part of the burr still left, but with the outer parts removed over the whole surface; they showed no signs of having passed



Fig. 26.
Stone Hammer from Lambourn, Berks. $\frac{3}{4}$



Fig. 27.
Deer's Horn Hammer from Lambourn, Berks. $\frac{3}{4}$

through the funeral fire. The stone hammer is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, that of deer's horn $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches long. Still upon the bones was an "incense-cup," perforated near the top with six small holes in pairs. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and has a rounded bottom. It is ornamented on the flat top of the rim by two encircling zig-zag lines, and on the widest part of the vessel by a similar line, made like those on the rim by a sharp-pointed instrument. At the side of the deposit of bones on the N.W. and touching them was a bronze knife. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and has a tang for insertion into a handle, 1 inch long. Upon the original surface, 4 feet south of the centre, and quite unconnected with an interment, was a small vessel of pottery, not quite perfect, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the mouth, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch at the bottom. It is ornamented over the whole surface with vertical lines of dots.

In the material of the mound were found, a very sharp pointed pin, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, made from the leg-bone of a bird, some bones of ox, and several potsherds of the ordinary kind.

The conjunction of two hammers of different material is an unusual occurrence, and to whatever use that of horn had been applied, that of stone can only be considered as a weapon of war, for which purpose it is well adapted. Implements of stone and bronze have not unfrequently been met with connected with the same burial, showing the concurrent use of the two materials, still every additional instance is of value as evidence of the fact.

Parish of Letcomb Bassett.

CCXC. This barrow was much ploughed down, and its area had probably been increased in consequence; it is now 100 feet in diameter, 5 feet high, and was made of earth with some chalk. It had been extensively used by badgers, two of whose skeletons were discovered, and to their burrowing is to be attributed the disturbed condition of some burnt bones found near the centre, on the original surface. The bones were much scattered, and with them was a well-shaped barbed arrow-point of flint, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, which possibly had originally been associated with this cremated interment. Around the centre some charcoal and wood ashes were found on the surface level, but it is doubtful if that was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was a circular grave sunk into the chalk rock to a depth of 2 feet 3 inches; it was 1 foot 2 inches wide at the top and gradually narrowed to a width of 9 inches at the bottom. The upper part was filled in with earth and chalk for a depth of 9 inches, and below that was pure chalk covering

the bones, which were beautifully white and quite free from any admixture of charcoal or other matter. They are those of an adult. Nine feet south of the centre, on the original surface and extending over above three feet, was a layer of dark-coloured unctuous soil, in which were many bones of ox and pig.

In the material of the mound were some ox bones and three potsherds.

CCXCI. Fifty feet east of the last was a smaller barrow, 48 feet in diameter and only 9 inches high. It had been either designedly opened on some previous occasion, or the burials had been discovered when the mound was ploughed. Both burnt and unburnt bones were found near the centre, laid there without any order, after they had, apparently, been moved from the place of their original deposit. There was no grave.

Some bones of ox and pieces of pottery were met with among the material of the mound.

Parish of Childrey.

CCXCII. This barrow is placed on the verge of the chalk escarpment overlooking the Vale of the White Horse, about 50 yards to the N.E. of the Ridgeway and between the two great earthworks of Uffington and Letcomb Castles. The position it occupies is a very prominent one, and the view seen from it is varied and extensive. The eye passes over a rich and well-wooded champaign country, with church towers and spires rising from amongst the trees, which mark the sites of numerous villages, until it rests in the far distance on the Oxfordshire hills, there bounding the landscape. The parishes are long and narrow, the church and houses placed near the foot of the hill, where the springs take their rise, and the outlying parts stretching on one side into the flat land of the valley, and on the other on to the upland of the down. A corresponding arrangement of the parish is found in similar districts in Sussex and Yorkshire. Each settlement of Saxon or Angle had in this way the necessary requirements of water, wood, and dry pasture within its own borders, as well as the better soil, where were collected together the tofts and crofts of the village, and the common field and meadow. Nor is it improbable that some at least of the present villages represent the sites where the older people, who created the barrows, had their habitations, for it is difficult to regard the strongly constructed earthworks on the downs as more than places of temporary resort in times of danger and attack. Their distance from water and the difficulty of providing it would in itself render them quite unsuitable for ordinary and peaceful occupation.

The barrow is 94 feet in diameter, and, though much ploughed down, 5½ feet high. It was made of earth and chalk. At a distance of 6 feet S.E. by E. from the centre was a large sarsen stone, laid about 8 inches above the original surface, and beneath it was a smaller one. The larger stone was 3 feet by 2 feet and 3 feet thick, the smaller 13 inches by 7 inches and 6 inches thick. Extending for about 3 feet in all directions from the centre, the original surface was covered with charcoal, with, here and there, a few pieces of burnt bone. There was no reddening of the soil, which is the usual result of a fire having been kindled upon it; but, nevertheless, I incline to think this was the site of the funeral pile. At the centre was an oval grave, N.N.E. and S.S.W., 2 feet 8 inches long, 2 feet 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches deep, over which was a covering of chalk stones, about 8 inches thick. The grave was almost entirely filled with charcoal, among which, but not laid together, were some burnt bones, the remains of the person in whose memory the barrow had been thrown up, and to which it is probable the other bones, found scattered on the surface round the centre, also belonged. It is rare to find so few of the bones remaining, where, as in this case, the burning had not been excessive; nor do I remember ever to have seen a grave so entirely filled in with charcoal as this one was.

In the material of the barrow were found a round, roughly-flaked, scraper and a flint arrow-point, 1⅛ inch long and ⅞ inch wide, triangular in shape, with the base hollowed, a form rarely met with in England though, perhaps, the commonest one in Ireland.

The interment in this barrow is an instance of the infinite variety, within certain limits, which is found in connection with the burials of these people. Some barrows are large, others small; some contain a single burial, others several. One barrow is high and pointed, another is flat. One has a ditch round the base, and sometimes within it, another close by has no such surrounding. One has a circle of stones encircling it, or within it, another where suitable stone is equally abundant has no circle either without or within the mound. One barrow is made entirely of chalk, another adjoining is made of earth, while a third is composed of earth and chalk. One barrow has among the material of which it is made numerous fragments of pottery, or implements and chippings of flint and other stone; another, all other circumstances being the same, has nothing of the kind. Again, one barrow is full of broken animal bones, while its neighbour has not a single bone in it. Barrows are frequently found in groups, but as frequently a single one occurs. As a rule they are placed on high ground, but not unfrequently they are in low situations. The way in which the body has been interred is

equally varied. Sometimes, whether of man, woman, or child, it has been buried, unburnt, by inhumation; at other times it has been burnt. Sometimes the burnt bones are enclosed in an urn; at other times in a grave or cist, or simply placed in the ground; and, on some occasions, in an urn itself placed within a grave or cist. Sometimes the burnt bones occur without any admixture of charcoal or earth; at other times, as in this instance, among charcoal or earth. Sometimes they are placed together in a small heap, at other times scattered, and that over an area of several feet. Sometimes a weapon, implement, or ornament has passed through the funeral fire with the body of its owner; but again, on the other hand, the same things are associated with a burnt body but have not themselves been burnt. At one time a bone pin or other dress fastener seems to have been in use on the body when it was placed on the pile; at another time a similar article is found unburnt among the burnt bones, and must have been put there after they were collected from the place of burning. The same variety exists where the body has been interred without having been burnt. Sometimes the body has been laid on the right side, at other times on the left. The head also is found pointing to almost every point of the compass. The hands are found up to the face, in front of the chest, stretched out from the body, laid under the head, on the hips, or down the side. The body is almost universally laid on the side in a contracted position, but the measure of the contraction is very different. Sometimes various articles have been buried with the body, burnt or unburnt; but more frequently nothing appears to have been placed in the grave associated with the body. A common accompaniment of burnt and unburnt bodies is a vessel of pottery, but it is quite as common not to find one. With one body remains of food are found, with another there is no sign of such provision having been made. Though generally burnt and unburnt bodies are not found associated, yet sometimes it is certain that they have been buried together, and at the same time. But, indeed, so varied are the circumstances attending interments, that it would be scarcely wrong to say that no two burials are in every respect alike.

CCXCIII. This barrow, situated about a mile S.W. of the last, was much ploughed down and had also been previously opened. It is 50 feet in diameter, and now only 9 inches high. It was made of earth and chalk, and, apparently, had originally had a surrounding ditch. At the centre was a grave, N.E. and S.W., 2 feet 9 inches long, 1 foot 9 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, having, at the south-west end a circular hole, 1 foot 8 inches wide, sunk into the chalk to a depth of one foot below the bottom of the grave. The grave had, no doubt, contained the cinerary urn, the remains of which, with the burnt bones it had



Fig. 28. Cinerary Urn from Childrey, Berks. ¼

once contained, were found scattered over a space about 4 feet square. A single round bead of lignite, one of a necklace, the rest of which had been carried off by those who first dug into the mound, was found at the same place as the bones. The urn (fig. 28) is 16½ inches high, 1 foot wide at the mouth, and swells towards the middle, decreasing to 6½ inches at the bottom. The overhanging rim, which is 4½ inches deep, has on the inside of the lip four encircling lines of twisted thong impressions, and on the outside three similar lines, beneath which is a band of triangles, 1¾ inch deep, alternately placed, each filled in with parallel diagonal lines; beneath are two encircling lines and then a band of triangles, similar to that above, but 1½ inch deep; below are three encircling lines; the rest of the urn is plain.

Parish of Brimpton.

CCXCIV. CCXCV. On a piece of ground which has never been under cultivation, and which is situated in a district sterile and little adapted for any process of agriculture, are six mounds, five near to each other, the sixth being about a quarter of a mile away. They have every appearance of being sepulchral, so far as the exterior is concerned. They vary in size, the largest being 90 feet in diameter and 7 feet high, the others somewhat smaller; they were composed of gravelly sand. They are not conical, as is usual in barrows of their

dimension, but flat on the top. Some have a surrounding ditch at the base. I quite exhaustively examined two, the largest being one, without finding the slightest trace of an interment or any indication that they had been intended for places of sepulture, which on the whole I am inclined to think they were not. It is not impossible they may have been defensive, but though the flat top leads itself to such an explanation of their purpose, I cannot say that I regard it as probable.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Parish of Warkworth.

CCXCVI. The valley of the Coquet, from its source to where it flows into the sea, a few miles below the grand medieval castle of the Percies at Warkworth, abounds with varied remains of its early occupants, among which places of sepulture are not unfrequent. A short distance from the burial mound of which I am about to give an account, a cist containing a skeleton, with which a "drinking-cup" was associated, was discovered in 1858, on the banks of the river Coquet, a short distance from its mouth.[a]

Immediately south of the river's mouth, on the sea-coast opposite Coquet Island, in quarrying the sandstone rock in 1883, a sepulchral cairn was met with which contained a large number of burials, both of unburnt and of burnt bodies. It was only after the greater part had been removed that I was made acquainted with the discovery, but I had then, through the obliging kindness of Messrs. Green and Douglas, to whom the quarry belonged, an opportunity of examining that portion which still remained intact, and I also obtained from the workmen a fairly accurate account of what they had met with and observed. I am, therefore, able to give a description, necessarily incomplete, of what had been a very interesting sepulchral mound.

It consisted of a cairn, made of cobble stones from the neighbouring sea-beach, placed upon a thin layer of vegetable mould with clayey soil beneath, overlying the rock. The cairn had been about 40 feet in diameter, and 5 feet high. It was situated on the low bank there bounding the sea-beach, about 70 yards from its edge, and was entirely concealed under a deposit of blown sand, 9 feet thick, and therefore rising 4 feet above the top of the cairn. Though when discovered it was but a short distance from the sea, it is evident that when first erected it must have been much further distant, so far indeed as to be beyond the limit of

[a] *Archæologia Æliana* (8vo. series), vol. iii. p. 36. *Cat. of Alnwick Museum*, p. 12, pl. 14A, fig. 1.

sand blown from the beach.[a] That this must have been the case appears to be proved by the fact that, whereas when discovered the cairn was buried like the adjoining ground under many feet of sand, it had been, when first thrown up, placed upon the ordinary surface mould, which had no sand upon it, and, therefore, must have been beyond the range to which sand blown from the sea-shore extended.

It had contained, so far as I could ascertain, about twenty cists of the usual kind and several deposits of burnt bones, an unusually large number of interments in one sepulchral mound. There were also seven vessels of pottery, one of which I found myself.

I will now proceed to describe the cairn and its contents as I found it at the time of my visit, when, though the greater part had been destroyed during the work of quarrying, a portion was still left undisturbed, and when some of the cists, though they had been opened, had not been removed. What I think must have been the central and primary interment had been contained in a cist sunk to a depth of 2 feet 4 inches through the surface soil, broken stone, locally called "rab," and solid rock. It had a direction W. by S. and E. by N., and was 3 feet 7 inches long, 1 foot 11 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, being formed of four side stones and a cover. The interment was of an unburnt body, the head of which had been placed at the east end. The bones were too much decayed to enable any further account of their position being given. In the cist were also a small bronze knife, now in the British Museum by the gift of Messrs. Green and Douglas, and a "food-vessel." This, which has three perforated ears, is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches high and 16 inches in circumference, presumably at the widest part. It is covered over the whole surface, including the inside of the lip of the rim, with a herring-bone pattern. The knife (fig. 29), which has been much reduced in size by use and whetting, is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, and has three rivets still remaining intact. There was also in the cist a small piece of flint, now lost, but which, from the description given me by the man who found it, appeared to have been flaked into shape. Upon the cover of the cist, which was found broken through the middle, was a deposit of burnt bones overlaid at a height of 6 inches by a slab of sandstone larger than the cover stone of the cist and



Fig. 29. Bronze Knife from Amble, Northumberland. ½

[a] There are many indications of the encroachment of the sea along this part of the coast, among others are the remains, below high-water mark, of the shafts of ancient coal workings.

placed at the level of the original surface. Just beyond the east end of this cist was a small and rather irregularly shaped one, having one side about 16 inches long, the other being about 12 inches; the two ends were closed each by a single stone. It was covered by cobble stones and contained the much decayed bones of a child. Three feet to the south-west of the first cist, and 1 foot 3 inches above the original surface of the ground, was a deposit of burnt bones, those of an adult, laid in a round heap about 10 inches in diameter. Six feet S.S.W. from the same cist was a smaller one, E. and W., 2 feet long, 1 foot 2 inches wide, and 1 foot deep. It was made of four side stones and a cover, and was placed on the top of the broken rock underlying the surface soil. There were, when I saw it, some burnt bones lying about it, evidently not in their original place of deposit, from which I am inclined to believe it had contained a burial after cremation. I could, however, obtain no distinct account from the workmen, except that there was a "pot" in it. This vessel (fig. 30), which has been given to the British Museum by Messrs. Green and Douglas, is $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the top, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. It is coarsely made, and in shape is something like a cinerary urn. On the inside of the lip of the rim is a band of diagonal lines, and on the upper part of the vessel for a space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches a herring-bone pattern of five rows, the remaining part of the vessel being plain. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed instrument.



Fig. 30.
"Food-vessel" from Amble, Northumberland. ½

To the east of the cist just described had been two others, both destroyed before my visit, but which the workmen told me were similar in form and construction to those still remaining, and each containing a "pot." These, now in the possession of Mr. G. H. Thompson, of Alnwick, are "food-vessels." One, which is rather roughly made, is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in circumference at the widest part, and is ornamented on the upper part with a band of vertical lines, between one band above and two beneath of inclining lines; the lower part has lines irregularly crossing each other and forming no definite pattern. The other, which is better made and ornamented, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 18 inches in circumference at the

widest part. The upper part has nine lines encircling it, beneath which are three bands of vertical lines, the middle one being placed between three encircling lines above and three beneath. All the lines are made by impressions of twisted thong. Thirteen feet S.S.W. from the cist first described was one, the bottom of which was at the same level as the cover of the first. It had a direction W. by N. and E. by S., and was 2 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide, and the same deep. The workmen had no recollection of any bones, but there was a "pot" in it. Six feet north of the first cist, and 1 foot 6 inches higher than the stone which covered the deposit of burnt bones lying on the cist cover, was a "food-vessel," now in the British Museum, which almost touched the south-east corner of another cist, the bottom of which was formed by the surface soil. It was N.E. and S.W., 3 feet 10 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, being made of four side stones and a cover, and having the joints filled in with clay. It contained the much decayed bones of an adult, of which sufficient remained to show that the body had been laid on the left side with the head to the east. On the bottom of the cist was some charcoal, an invariable accompaniment of an interment by inhumation. Close by the "food-vessel" were some teeth just traceable, and a little further away were remains of bones in the same decayed condition, all indicative of the interment of an unburnt body, with which the vessel had almost certainly been associated. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the top, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the bottom. The inside of the lip has a herring-bone pattern upon it. The outside has a band of diagonal lines with four encircling lines beneath; then follows, for a space of 3 inches, a herring-bone pattern, having beneath three encircling lines; the remaining space of one inch is plain. All the lines have been made by a sharp-pointed tool.

For the following description I am indebted to an imperfect account given of the cairn by Mr. George H. Thompson, in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1882-1884, p. 523. From the same account, which has engravings of a skull and of four of the "food-vessels," I have obtained the measurements and descriptions of some of the vases. The first cist discovered was a much larger one than any of the others. It was 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, and the same in depth, and was made of four side stones and a cover, brought, as was shown by their water-worn appearance, from the neighbouring sea-shore. It was placed on the original surface level, and contained the skeleton of a large man laid on the left side. The head, which was in a fair state of preservation, is markedly brachy-cephalic. Another cist, the precise situation of which has not

been recorded, had a direction N. and S., and was 4 feet long, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet deep. Unlike the others it had the bottom formed of small flag-stones. It contained, besides the scanty remains of an unburnt body, a vessel in shape like a cinerary urn, 6 inches high, and 20 inches in circumference. The ornamentation, which is confined to the upper part, consists of a herring-bone pattern made by impressions of twisted thong.

A portion of what had been a large cinerary urn has been preserved. It must have been, when complete, about 11 inches high, and $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and had been ornamented on the upper part by a herring-bone pattern.

A bronze blade, now unfortunately lost, about 18 inches long and 2 inches or $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with a central ridge, is said to have been found in the cairn. The description seems to apply to a dagger of larger size than is ordinarily found with an interment.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Parish of Snowshill.

CCXCVII. This barrow, one of more than ordinary interest, was opened in January 1881. It is situated in close proximity to an ancient roadway, the Bugghilda Streete of a charter,[a] and still called, in part of its course, Buckle Street. The barrow was placed on the ridge of the hill, about half a mile south-west of the village of Snowshill, in a field in which are other two barrows, both opened probably long ago, and of the result of which examination no record has been kept. Another barrow not far distant, two miles south of Broadway, is said to have contained bronze spear-heads and other articles, from which it may be inferred that the burial had been one of the bronze period.

The barrow under notice was 66 feet in diameter, and, though reduced by ploughing, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. At the centre, and partly sunk below the level of the natural surface, was a cist formed of four slabs of stone set on edge, with a single stone for a cover. It was 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. It contained the much-decayed skeleton of, presumably, a man, with whom were associated two bronze daggers, a bronze pin, and a perforated axe-hammer of stone. As these are all engraved, it will not be necessary to describe them minutely. One of the

[a] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 61.

daggers (fig. 31) of an uncommon form, is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide where the handle joins the blade. It is a very strongly made and powerful weapon. The blade has a tang, in the end of which is a rivet to attach the handle termination of bone or some other material now wanting from decay. The lower part of the handle is formed by a bronze ferrule, and is fastened on to the blade by two rivets which pass through the tang, one on each side.



Fig. 31.
Bronze Dagger from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. ½

Similarly shaped daggers, but without the ferrule, have been found in several places in England, and one, from Stratford-le-Bow, is engraved in Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements* (fig. 325). I am not aware of the existence of a dagger with a tang and ferrule, but one very similar to the present was among the weapons and implements of the Arreton Down hoard, found near Newport in the Isle of Wight about 1735. It is figured, from a drawing made soon after the discovery, in a paper by Mr. Franks, in *Archæologia*,[a] and again in Evans *l. c.* (fig. 324).



Fig. 32.
Bronze Dagger from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. ½

The other dagger (fig .32), not so strongly made, but still a serviceable weapon, is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the place where the handle terminates, in the usual semi-lunar form, on the blade. It has one bronze rivet at the middle of the handle-end of the blade, and two circular-shaped notches through which, probably, wooden pegs were passed to further strengthen the attachment of the handle. Daggers not very unlike this formed part of the Arreton Down hoard.

[a] Vol. xxxvi. Plate xxv., 2.

The pin (fig. 33) is $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, the head being $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch wide. Somewhat similarly-formed pins have been found in barrows in Wiltshire, one of which is engraved in Hoare.[a]

The stone axe-hammer (fig. 33) is beautifully made and bears a high polish. It is $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the cutting edge.

The burial in this barrow appears to have belonged to an early time of the use of bronze, though not perhaps to the earliest. The daggers are really such, and not knives, like so many so-called daggers found in barrows, and which seem to be the first articles of the kind made after the introduction of this metal. The similarity of the daggers of the present barrow to those found at Arreton Down appears to point to the barrow and the hoard belonging to the same date. The axes of the Arreton Down hoard are not of the simple type without any flanges, modelled upon the form of the stone axe, and intended to be handled in the same fashion, but show an advance in manufacture in the same way as the daggers of this barrow do when compared with the smaller and simpler knives of the earliest period of bronze. The concurrent use of stone and bronze, though shown in many instances where implements of the two materials have been found associated with an interment, receives a valuable illustration from this burial.[b]



Fig. 33.
Bronze Pin from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. $\frac{1}{2}$



Fig. 34.
Stone Axe-hammer from Snowshill, Gloucestershire. $\frac{1}{2}$

[a] *Ancient Wilts.* Vol. I. Pl. xxiv.

[b] For the details of this account I am indebted to the *Archæological Handbook of the County of Gloucester*, by G. B. Witts, C. E., who has kindly supplemented by letter the information therein contained.

II.—*On a Sculptured Cross at Kelloe, Durham.* *By the* Rev. J. T. Fowler, *M.A., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Durham.*

Read January 24, 1889.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* for April 6th, 1874,[a] it is mentioned that the Durham Archaeological Society had "undertaken to give an account of a very curious cross at Kelloe, sculptured with subjects relating to the Invention of the Cross." This undertaking has not yet been carried out, but we have recently had a drawing made, and this I send for exhibition at one of our meetings, in the hope that some further information may be brought to bear upon it. It will at once be seen that the cross is of Norman, not Saxon date. It had been broken up and used as walling material, but on the discovery of the pieces they were put together again and fixed up against the inside of the chancel wall. where they now are. We were told by the then rector, who had this done, that the back is quite plain, from which, and from its being so thin, it would seem to have always stood against a wall, as at present, or at any rate not to have been an outdoor cross. The material is a fine greenish grey sandstone. The sculpture for the most part speaks for itself. In the transverse arms of the cross we have the inscription, IN HOC VINCES. The uppermost subject is that of an angel revealing to St. Helen in a dream where the cross would be found. Below this are two figures, one probably representing St. Helen, to whom the church is dedicated. One of these holds the cross, the other (apparently) a book, casket, or

[a] Second Series, vi. 181.



Sculptured Cross at Kelloe, Durham.
Elevation, and view of one side.

reliquary. Below, we have St. Helen, with drawn sword, giving to Judas, the Jew, his choice of life or death in order to make him tell the exact place where they were to dig. He is represented spade in hand, while at the same time two swathed corpses are lying with crosses,[a] possibly those of the two thieves, on their breasts, and one has come to life at the touch of the true cross, and is holding up the right hand as in benediction. The artist has put the title on the cross, forgetting that owing to the title having become detached it was only by a miracle that the Holy Cross could be identified. He has also introduced the sun and moon. An interesting feature in this cross is that it has a number of cavities, apparently intended to contain relics, protected by crystal or glass. These are, in the centre and four arms of the cross, five; over the middle of the curtain behind St. Helen, one; and over the two central figures, three; nine in all. I should be glad to know more about them. There are also two iron eyes fastened in with lead, as if there had been some contrivance to hold a lamp or candles to burn before the principal relic, probably a portion of the *lignum crucis*. These are a little below the lowest arm of the cross, above the angel, and just discernible in the cut.

Altogether this cross presents so many interesting features that I have much pleasure in bringing it before the notice of the Society.

The drawing of the cross was made by Mr. N. Hamlyn, of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham.

[a] These are scarcely visible in the woodcut, but quite distinct on the stone.

III.—*On an Astrolabe Planisphere of English make.* *By the Worshipful* Chancellor Ferguson, *M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.*

Read January 24, 1889.

I have the honour to exhibit, through the kindness of the owner, Mrs. Rimington of Tynefield, Penrith, a planispheric astrolabe of English make. It was included among the antiquities and curiosities exhibited at a recent art and industrial exhibition held at that place, and my attention was drawn to it by a member of the committee, who asked by what name it should be catalogued. I must own that I guessed rather than knew that the object was an astrolabe, but as to its uses I was profoundly ignorant; I borrowed the instrument and endeavoured to inform myself. I found this difficult to do, as the treatises on astrolabes are rare and scarce, and it is impossible to obtain a sight of some of them without a visit to London: this I was unable through illness to undertake.[a] The standard work on the subject is Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe; addressed to his son Lowys*, and dated 1391. This has been most ably edited for the Early English Text Society[b] by Professor Skeat, and to it I am much indebted. There is also an earlier edition by Mr. Brae, in 1870, which I have not seen. There is a valuable paper in *The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xii. entitled *Remarks on an Astrolabe*, by Robert Taylor, M.A., which gives a description of an astrolabe of English make, the property of Mr. Hyett of Painswick House, Gloucestershire. A paper on the astrolabe, by the late Octavius Morgan, F.S.A., is also interred in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv., under the title of *Supplementary Observations on an Astronomical and Astrological Table Clock, together with an account of the Astrolabe.* No diagrams are given with this paper, and the instrument exhibited was defective and of foreign make. Astrolabes have at various times been exhibited at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Archaeological Institute,[c] but the exhibitors have not attempted to describe their exhibits.

[a] Mr. Octavius Morgan, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 261, refers to the following as scarce: *A Mirror for Mathematics, a Golden Gem for Geometricians, a sure Safety for Saylers, and an auncient Antiquary for Astronomers and Astrologians.* By Robert Tanner, Gent. Practitioner in Astrologie and Physic. London, 1587.

The Description of a Planispheric Astrolabe, constructed for Sháh Sultán Husain Safaúr, King of Persia, by W. H. Morley, Williams and Norgate, 1856, is also rare, only 100 copies having been printed for private distribution.

[b] Extra series, xvi.

[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, iii. 27, 520. *Archaeological*

The astrolabe planisphere I now exhibit to the Society (Plate III.) wants two of its members, the rewle and the label; these I have replaced by rude imitations, not by way of restoration or reparation, but by way of illustration for the information of the few Fellows of the Society who may be as ignorant about astrolabes as I was until recently. The screw and nut which hold the parts of the instrument together are also modern and clumsy;[a] this duty would be originally discharged by a pin with a large head at one end, and a slot at the other through which a cotteril or wedge passed to hold it in place; this wedge is sometimes made into the shape of a horse, and is so called. The technical name of the central pin is the "alchitot," "axis," or *clavus*,[b] and it passes through the astrolabe from the back.

The principal part of the instrument consists of a heavy disc of brass $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter; there is a loop on the circumference with which a ring is connected by a turet or swivel, forming the handle by which the instrument hangs freely from the thumb of the right hand when used for taking altitudes.

The "front" of the instrument has a rim about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth and about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in height. The rim is marked with three circles: the outermost is the Circle of Letters, A to Z, twenty-three in number, as J, V, and W are wanting. A small ✠ at the zero point, immediately under the handle, makes twenty-four divisions, which represent the twenty-four hours of the day. The two inner circles represent the degrees of the quadrants, from zero to 360°.

The broad depressed centre of the "front" is the "womb;" the body of the instrument, without the detachable pieces, being the "moder" or "mother." In the instrument, as described by Chaucer, the surface of the womb should have on it three circles, the *Tropicus Cancri*, the *Aequinoctialis*, and the *Tropicus Capricorni*, and two cross-lines from north to south and east to west.

On the womb of the instrument now exhibited there are faint circles in positions of *Aequinoctialis* and *Tropicus Capricorni*, but *Tropicus Cancri* is wanting,

Journal, xii. 292. See also *Archaeologia*, xxxiii. 8, 84, and 293, and xxxiv. 1, and 258: "Observations on an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries"; and xl. 343, "An Account of a Pocket Dial or Nocturnal."

[a] This pin is coeval with the rewle and label, and I have had their date, 1888, scratched upon all the three: the pin of 1888 supplanted a similar pin, only rather shorter, evidently modern, and of a different coloured metal to the rest of the instrument. This pin will not fit into the astrolabe, if put in, as it ought to be, from the back side: when I first saw the instrument, this pin was inserted from the front, and the *rete* was on the back of the instrument, clearly showing that the parts of the instrument had been put together by some person who did not understand it.

[b] *A Treatise on the Astrolabe, by Geoffrey Chaucer.* Early-English Text Society. Extra Series, xvi. p. 8, n. edited by Professor Skeat.



AN ASTROLABE PLANISPHERE OF ENGLISH MAKE.

and there is a circle just outside *Aequinoctialis*, which I do not understand. The cross-lines are absent. I may remark that this instrument is intended for use by an expert, the names of the various circles, etc. not being engraved upon it, as on the astrolabe described by Chaucer, and drawn by Professor Skeat.[a]

Into the womb fit three loose discs of thin metal, engraved on each side, and each having a tooth which fits into a hole undercut in the rim of the moder, and keeps them from revolving with the "rete," which will be presently described. These discs are called by Chaucer the "tables," and the engravings on them represent the stereographic projections of the sphere for the following places, whose names and latitudes are engraved thereon: Berwick, latitude 56°; Newcastle, latitude 55°; York, latitude 54°; Nottingham, 53°; Oxford, 52°; and Dover, 51°. These latitudes are only rough approximations. From the towns selected, which judiciously divide the length of England, it is obvious that the astrolabe now exhibited could be used for taking observations at any place in that country: we may also conclude that the instrument is of English make for use in England.

Each projection has the north and south and the east and west lines, the last of which is called the *horizon rectus*, and is so marked on the tables of Chaucer's astrolabe, but not on those of this instrument, which, as I have stated before, is for the use of an expert, and not of a beginner like Chaucer's son, "litell Lowys." Each projection has also delineated on it the *Tropicus Cancri*, the *Aequinoctialis*, and the *Tropicus Capricorni*, the last being the circle nearest the edge of the disc or table. The relation of these lines to one another is the same for all places. The other lines vary with the latitude: there are the *almucantars*, or parallels of altitude, parallel with the horizon; the first *almucantar* is the *horizon obliquus*, separating the upper from the lower hemisphere; the centre of the inner *almucantar* is the zenith; then there are the *azimuths*, vertical circles which pass through the zenith, and cut the *almucantars*; they are not continued below the first *almucantar*. Lastly, below the *Tropicus Cancri* are the *embelif* lines, which divide the three circles below the horizon into twelve equal parts. The *almucantars* in the astrolabe now exhibited are drawn one for every second degree, that is there are forty-five of them, as in the astrolabe described by Chaucer, but there are only sixteen *azimuths*, as against Chaucer's twenty-four.

There is a fourth loose plate, called the *rete*, "net," *volvellum*, or "spider." It is a skeleton-plate, a plane projection of the heavens north of the *Tropicus*

[a] *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, etc. *ut ante*.

Capricorni. It consists chiefly of two circles : the outer represents the *Tropicus Capricorni* (this circle is cut away in one place for convenience), the inner represents the ecliptic with the signs of the Zodiac. A denticle or tooth on this, between Capricornus and Sagittarius, is called the "almuri." Small wavy tongues denote, by their points, the positions of certain fixed stars, in this case twenty-three in number, whose names are engraved on the framework of the *rete*. The *rete* is placed on the moder, over one or other of the discs or tables just described, upon which it revolves freely. It is said to be in its primary position when the almuri is opposite the small cross on the circle of letters on the rim of the moder.

The following is a list of the fixed stars named on the *rete*, so far as I can read them; some of the names are much rubbed, particularly those within the Zodiac, probably done by the thumb in turning the *rete* round. The travelling of the label over the *rete* would account for the illegibility of the names on the little central circle. The list must be received with caution. I do not pretend to be a luminary on fixed stars; and for the modern names I am indebted to Professor Skeat's edition of Chaucer.

WITHOUT THE ZODIAC.

On the outer circle :

1. Deneb Algedi :
   The Goat's Tail, δ Capricorni.
2. Batukaito :
   The Whale's Belly, ζ Ceti.
3. Alhabor :
   Sirius, the Dog Star, marked by the figure of a dog's head, the star being at the tip of the tongue.
4. Corvus :
   Otherwise Algorab, γ Corvi.
5. Alchim^{e} :
   Alchimec, *Spica Virginis*, α Virginis.
6. Alacrab :
   Calalacrab, or *Cor Scorpii :* the star being at the tip of the dragon's tongue.

On the cross pieces :

7. Alfard :
   Alphard, *Cor Hydrae*, α Hydrae.
8. Algomeiza :
   Procyon, α Canis Minoris, the Little Dog.

9. Rigil:
   Orion's Foot, β Orionis.
10. Aldeb[illegible]:
   Aldebaran, α Tauri, or the Bull's Eye.
11. Menkar:
   The Whale's Nose, α Ceti.

WITHIN THE ZODIAC.

On the central circle:

12. Vrsa:
   Dubhe, α Ursae Majoris.
13. Alg[enib]?:
   α Persei.

On the outer circle:

14. Hu. eq^{i}:
   Mentichel, *Humerus Equi*, α Andromedae.
15. Name worn out. May, from the position, be Mirach, β Andromedae.
16. Alaioc:
   Probably Alhaioth, or Capella, α Aurigae.
17. Name worn out It seems to end in *mle*.
18. Alram:
   Alramech, Arcturus, α Bootis.

On the cross pieces:

19. Delfin:
   β Equulei.
20. Altah:
   Altair, α Aquilae.
21. Wega:
   α Lyrae.
22. Alhawe:
   Alhaue, α Serpentarii.
23. Elfeca:
   Alpheca, α Coronae Borealis.

In front of the *rete* revolves a moveable pointer, called the label, a thin rule of brass, with half the breadth cut away from each end, so as to give a straight edge in the line of the diameter. This is called the Line of Trust.

The label now on the astrolabe I exhibit is, as I have said, modern, added temporarily by me by way of illustration; it is not shown on the Plate. Eastern

and foreign astrolabes did not, it would seem, have labels, and this one may not have had, but the astrolabe described by Chaucer has a label. The present specimen so closely corresponds with Chaucer's description as to make it certain that it once had a label, which probably was only placed on the instrument when wanted, or more probably was detached when not wanted.

Thus far we have been dealing with the "front" of the instrument; we now have to deal with the back, on which are engraved ten concentric circles, and the north-south and east-west cross lines. The two outer circles represent the 360 degrees of the circle, and the inner circle is actually divided into that number; the outer one into groups of 5° each, or 72 divisions in all. The degrees are numbered in tens up to 90 in each quadrant, the zero points being at the extremities of the east-west line. The next circle is divided into twelve, and represents the signs of the zodiac, whose names are engraved in old-English letters; while the next circle is also divided into twelve divisions, each of which is subdivided into the thirty degrees pertaining to each sign. The fifth circle is divided into 365 divisions for the days of the year, and lines drawn from the ends of the last day of each month divide the sixth circle into months, each of which is divided, as near as may be into periods of five days, numbered in tens as near as may be.

The seventh circle gives the names of the months; the eighth circle gives a list of forty-eight festivals of the Church, four for each month; the ninth gives the days on which they fall, and the tenth their Sunday letters.

In the centre of the rings is the scale of *umbra recta* and *umbra versa*, each divided into twelve equal parts and numbered.

The rule revolves upon the back of the astrolabe, and is similar to the label, but has sights, which are sometimes hinged to fold out of the way. The rule now on the instrument is, as I have said, modern, for illustration only: it is not shown on the Plate. This is called the *Alidad*.

The following is the list of festivals given on the back of the instrument:

FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
January	1. Circ' dñi	Circumcisio Domini.
	6. Ephī	Epiphania Domini.
	13. Hillar'	Hilarius.
	25. Paul	Conversio S. Pauli.
February	2. Pur' Mar	Purificatio B. V. M.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
	14. Valē	Valentinus.
	22. Pet'	Cathedra S. Petri in Antiochia.
	24. Mat	Matthias.
March	2. Cedde	Cedda
	12. Greg'	Gregorius.
	21. Bn̄dic	Benedictus.
	25. Marie	Annunciatio Dominica.
April	4. Amb'	Ambrosius.
	14. Tibur	Tiburtius.
	23. Geor	Georgius.
	25. Marci	Marcus.
May	3. C^{n}cis	Inventio Crucis.
	6. Johan	Johannes ante Portam Latinam.
	19. Dūst'	Dunstanus.
	26. August	Augustinus Anglorum Ap.
June	5. Bonef	Bonifacius.
	11. Barn	Barnabas.
	24. Joh̄	Nativitas S. Johannis Bapt.
	29. Pe pa	Petrus et Paulus.
July	7. The	Transl. S. Thomæ.
	15. Swithn	Transl. S. Swithini.
	22. Magda	Maria Magdalena.
	25. Jaco	Jacobus.
August	1. Pet'	Festum S. Petri ad Vincula.
	10. Laur'	Laurentius.
	15. Mari	Assumptio B. V. Mariæ.
	24. Bartho	Bartholomæus.
September	8. Mari	Nativitas B. V. Mariæ.
	14. Cruc'	Exaltatio Sanctæ Crucis.
	21. Mathi	Matthæus.
	29. Micha	Michaelis.
October	9. Dioni	Dionysius.
	13. Edwar	Translatio S. Edwardi R. et Conf.
	18. Luc'	Lucas.
	28. Simō Ju	Simon et Judas.
November	1. Sc̄ōꝝ	Omnium Sanctorum.

	As engraved on the astrolabe.	Expanded as in the calendar.
	11. Martī	Martinus.
	25. Kat'	Katherina.
	30. Andre'	Andreas.
December	6. Nicħ	Nicolaus.
	8. Mari	Conceptio B. V. Mariæ.
	21. The	Thomas Ap.
	25. Nat' dñi	Nativitas Domini.

From Chaucer it would appear that every astrolabe should have a calendar of festivals, but Mr. Taylor points out that only two English ones have, viz.: the Sloane one in the British Museum, which has forty-eight, and the one described by Mr. Taylor, which has thirty-six.[a] The three calendars, viz. those just mentioned and the one on this astrolabe, differ considerably in the selection of festivals given, and it is to be wished that some expert in hagiology would examine the three calendars and endeavour to ascertain the principle of selection.[b] The astrolabe now exhibited is the only one that gives St. George's Day. I have put the lists in an appendix.

With so small an instrument it is difficult to be very accurate, but I have carefully examined the astrolabe now exhibited with a magnifying glass and a straight edge, and find that it shows the sun as entering the first point of Aries (the vernal equinox) early on March 12th; in 1888 it entered at 4 a.m. on March 20th. Chaucer, in his account of the astrolabe makes the sun enter Aries on the 12th of March, and we may conclude that the astrolabe now exhibited is about the same date as that described by Chaucer in 1391, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. That it is of English make is undoubted; and hence its great value, as only about half a-dozen English astrolabes appear to be known.

It would be superfluous to load this paper with the list of the operations which can be performed with an astrolabe. Professor Skeat's edition of Chaucer and Mr. Taylor's paper are in the library, while Mr. Octavius Morgan has given in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 263-4, a list of them to which he adds:

"We here see that our forefathers had invented and constructed a very clever and useful instrument, and one which was remarkably portable, and there is probably no one instrument of modern time by which so many operations could be performed and so much knowledge acquired."

[a] See Mr. Taylor's paper, *ut ante*, p. 15.

[b] Mr. Taylor's gives the lists of the festivals in the Sloane astrolabe and the one he describes.

APPENDIX I.

Lists of Festivals.

	From the Astrolabe described by Mr. Taylor.	From an Astrolabe (from the Sloane collection) in the British Museum.	From the Astrolabe described in this paper.
January	Circumcision Epiphany Vincent	Circumcision Epiphany Hilary Vincent Paul	Circumcision Epiphany Hilary Paul
February	Purification Scolastica Chair of St. Peter	Purification Valentin Chair of St. Peter Matthias	Purification Valentine Chair of St. Peter Matthias
March	Cedda Gregory Annunciation	Gregory Benedict Annunciation	Cedda Gregory Benedict Annunciation
April	Ambrose Elfege Mark	Ambrose Tiburtius Mark	Ambrose Tiburtius George Mark
May	Philip Dunstan Aldhelm	Philip Holy Cross John ante P. L. Dunstan Augustine	Inventio Crucis John ante P. L. Dunstan Augustine
June	Barnabas Alban Peter	Barnabas John Baptist Peter	Boniface Barnabas John Baptist Peter & Paul

LISTS OF FESTIVALS—*continued.*

	From the Astrolabe described by Mr. Taylor.	From an Astrolabe (from the Sloane collection) in the British Museum.	From the Astrolabe described in this paper.
July	Thomas Margaret James	Martin Margaret James	Thomas Swithin Magdalene James
August	Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew	Peter ad Vincula Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew	Peter ad Vincula Laurence Assumption B. V. M. Bartholomew
September	Nativ. B.V. Mary Matthew Michael	Giles Nativ. B. V. Mary Holy Cross Matthew Michael	Nativ. B. V. Mary Ex. S. Crucis Matthew Michael
October	Denys Luke Simon	Remigius Denys Luke Simon	Denys Edward Conf. Luke Simon and Jude
November	Martin Hugh of Lincoln Katherine	All Saints Martin Edmund Katherine Andrew	All Saints Martin Katherine Andrew
December	Conception B. V. M. Thomas Nativity	Nicholas Lucy Thomas Nativity	Nicholas Conception B. V. M. Thomas Nativity

IV.—*On the Sculptured Doorways of the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey.*

By W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A. Assistant-Secretary.*

Read January 31, 1889.

At the west end of the great abbey church of SS. Peter and Paul at Glastonbury are the ruins of a chapel of very remarkable character.

It was built on the site of a *vetusta ecclesia* dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of very great antiquity, which was consumed by fire, together with the great church and nearly all the abbey buildings, in 1184.

As the *vetusta ecclesia*, from its sanctity and the number of relics it contained, was a holy place much resorted to by pilgrims, its reconstruction was forthwith commenced, and carried out with such speed that "about 1186" it was ready for consecration by Reginald, bishop of Bath.

The new building was a detached structure, complete in itself, and was not connected with the great church until some fifty years later. How this was effected, and how still later the chapel, in a most ingenious manner, was actually furnished with a crypt throughout its area, have already been ably explained and described by the late Professor Willis,[a] and I need not enter upon the subject here. I should however state that the learned professor has proved beyond all doubt that the proper name of the building is the "chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary," and that its modern appellation of "St. Joseph's chapel" has no earlier authority than Hollar's view in the 1655 edition of the *Monasticon*, entitled "Josephi sacellum."

The portion of the Lady chapel built after the fire of 1184 is in plan a simple parallelogram, about sixty-three feet long and thirty-three feet wide within. It consists of four bays, and has a rich doorway on each side in the third bay. These doorways, though built at the same time, differ considerably in ornamentation.

The north doorway (Plate IV.),[b] which was the principal entrance to the chapel, had a semicircular head of five orders, the innermost of which is now completely broken away. The second and fourth orders have a rounded section, and were carried by detached jamb-shafts with carved capitals. The other three orders, on the other hand, had a hollowed section, and were continued without break down to the ground on each side.

The orders of the doorway are entirely covered with very rich carving, executed

[a] *The Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey.* Cambridge, 1866.

[b] An excellent drawing of the doorway is published in vol. IV. plate xxxiv. of *Vetusta Monumenta*, and by the kindness of our Fellow the Rev. J. A. Bennett, I am able to exhibit a careful drawing on a larger scale recently made for him by a friend.

with great spirit. The two remaining continuous orders are filled from end to end with a wonderful variety of foliage, with beasts, birds, human, and other figures intermingled. These appear to be devoid of any meaning, and are simply the creation of the carver's fancy and skill. The second and fourth orders are also covered with carvings, but with a manifest intention to represent a group of incidents. The treatment of the two series differs; the second order having the groups more or less connected together by foliage, while the fourth order has the subjects placed in pointed oval loops with the intermediate spaces filled in with foliage.

Beginning on the dexter side of the second order, we have

1. A figure of a woman kneeling.
2. An angel standing, with outstretched wings.
3. Two women embracing.
4. A large group, unfortunately much mutilated. Under arches, denoting the interior of a house, is a figure in bed, with another sitting at the head, and some subject, now broken away, at the foot.
5. An angel with outspread wings standing between a seated figure on his right, and another figure (broken) and a dog on his left. Beyond is a third figure, much broken, which may refer to this subject.

6, 7, 8. Three standing figures, with crowns on their heads.

9. A crowned figure, seated.

The fourth order has eighteen loops, containing

1. The standing figure of a king, much broken.
2. A standing figure, the head lost.
3. A kneeling figure, somewhat damaged.
4. A figure of a woman seated, holding a child.

5, 6, 7. Each of these contains a man on horseback, all riding away in the same direction.

8, 9, 10. In each of these loops is a person lying in a bed. Over the first figure is an angel appearing out of a cloud, while the other two have apparently curtains looped up on each side.

11. A man in armour with a shield, and holding a club or mace.
12. A king seated.
13. A knight in ring-mail striking with his sword at some object held in his left hand.
14. A knight in chain-mail with a small figure impaled on his sword.
15. Two women, seemingly weeping or in great distress.
16. A person in bed; above, the hand of God issuing from a cloud.
17. This is broken, but an animal or beast of burden can be made out.
18. A man carrying a burden.



NORTH DOORWAY OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

The meaning of these subjects has hitherto baffled the efforts of local archaeologists, who have supposed them to illustrate some legend or legends connecting Glastonbury with Joseph of Arimathea. Not being imbued with any such notions, I, at Mr. Bennett's request, examined the sculptures myself a few months ago, with the result that I found they represented simply the Gospel narrative of Our Lord's birth, etc., as narrated partly by St. Luke and partly by St. Matthew.

Beginning with the second ring, we have (1) and (2) the Annunciation; (3) the Salutation; (4) the Nativity, the broken figures at the head and foot of the bed being intended for Joseph, and the ox and ass; (5) evidently represents the angel appearing to the shepherds, and (6), (7), (8), the three kings enquiring of (9) Herod, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?"

The narrative continues in the series of loops with (1), (2), (3), the three kings offering gifts to (4) the Virgin and Child; (5), (6), (7), represent the three kings riding away, while (8), (9), (10), shew their being warned of God in a dream that "they should not return to Herod," but depart "into their own country another way;" (11) is a sergeant-at-mace attending on (12) Herod, "exceeding wroth" at being "mocked of the wise men," and (13) and (14) represent the carrying out of the cruel command to slay "all the male children that were in Bethlehem," etc. The two women in (15) denote the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy: "A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children; she refuseth to be comforted, because they are not." Loop (16) represents the angel appearing to Joseph in a dream, and bidding him, "Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt," and (17) clearly once shewed the Blessed Virgin and Child riding on an ass, while in (18), Joseph was represented carrying the baggage. It is, however, equally possible that these three last loops may represent the return from Egypt after the death of Herod.

I do not remember to have seen it noticed that at one time, as is shewn by the marks of the roof, etc., this door was protected by an outer porch, now destroyed.

The south door (Plate V.) resembles its fellow in having five orders in the head. The four outer orders correspond to those in the other door, and are similarly hollowed and rounded alternately. The innermost order of this door is also hollowed, and, like the other hollowed orders, was carried down to the ground on each side. It is now, however, broken off at the springing on both sides. The first, third, and fifth orders, viz., the hollowed ones, are filled with a most beautiful band of foliage, without figures, and almost early-English in character. The second and fourth members are particularly interesting as showing that the carving of the doorway was never completed. The former was intended to have eight sunk panels, probably with intermediate foliage, but only two panels are finished, containing respectively the Creation of Eve and the

Temptation; the rest are not even outlined. The latter order is quite plain, without any vestige of carving of any kind.

These Glastonbury doorways should be compared with the splendid doorways of the same date at Malmesbury Abbey.[a] The remains of the great west door at the latter place are exceptionally interesting. Not only has it the same scheme of decoration as the southern of the Glastonbury doors, but one of the orders is similarly left uncarved, while the other has subjects in loops with intermediate foliage of precisely the character which the Glastonbury door was intended to have had. The great south door at Malmesbury, one of the most splendid examples in the kingdom, strongly resembles the Glastonbury north door, though its general character is somewhat earlier in appearance. The three orders with scriptural subjects in loops are however quite in the style of the Glastonbury door, and were perhaps wrought by the same carver at a subsequent date to the narrow members, which have thoroughly Norman ornament.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks on the position of the altar and reredos in the Glastonbury chapel.

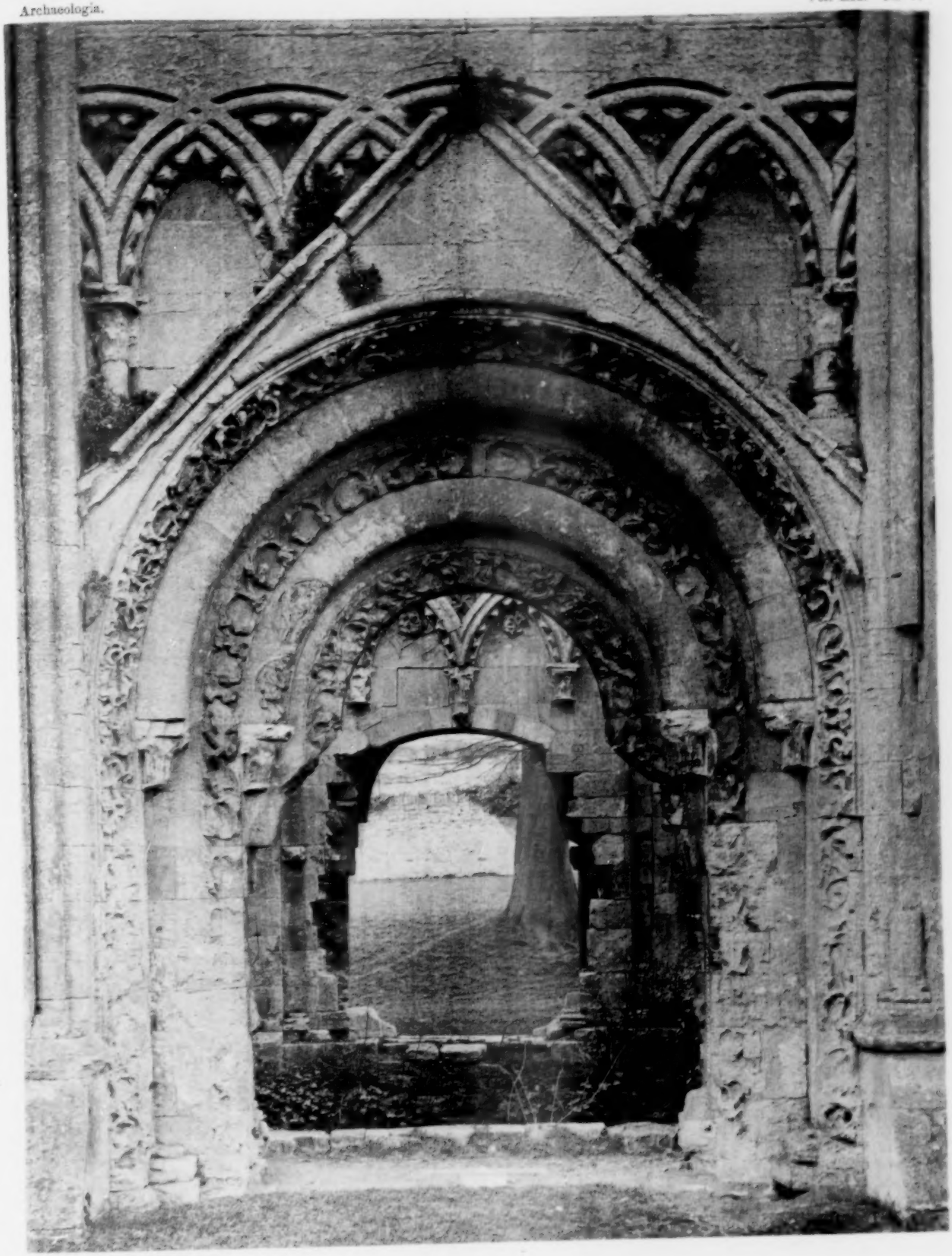
Professor Willis, in his admirable description of the chapel published in 1866,[b] in speaking of the arrangements of altar and reredos says, "There are no traces of the abutments of such a partition, or reredos, against the present walls," but he indicates what he considered their probable position. Mr. James Parker, also, in describing the building in 1880,[c] expressed regret that there have not been "handed down to us sufficient remains of the walls shewing the position of the reredos and the general arrangements of the chapel."

Now whether or not the walls of the chapel in 1866, and again in 1880, were covered with ivy, I do not know, but at the present time the marks not only of the reredos but also of the fence-screen to the west of it are plainly visible on both sides. The position of the reredos is clearly indicated by the holes for the timbers remaining in the jambs of the arch that separated the chapel proper from the Galilee afterwards connecting it with the great church. This is almost on the line suggested by Professor Willis. Twenty feet further west, on the line between the first and second bays, are the notches for the rood-screen, with, immediately to the west of it, the large holes for the ends of the rood-beam. Between the screen and the reredos the walls on each side have a row of holes as if for timbers, some ten feet from the original floor-line, and beneath these are a number of pin-holes, as if for fixing up some piece of furniture, perhaps cupboards for the display of relics.

[a] Also figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, v. plates vii. and viii.

[b] Page 58.

[c] *Trans. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxvi., pt. 2, p. 43.



SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

V.—*Roger of Salisbury, first bishop of Bath and Wells*, 1244-1247. *By the* Rev. C. M. Church, *M.A., F.S.A., Sub-Dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

Read February 7, 1889.

The episcopate of Roger of Salisbury, first bishop who bore the title of Bath and Wells, is short, but memorable in the annals of the church of Wells.

It was the time when the rule of election of the bishop by the joint action of the two chapters of the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells was authoritatively and finally settled, and the style of the bishop, *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis*, was officially adopted.

There are two documents, original and unpublished, in the manuscript records of the chapter library at Wells, which are the historical landmarks on the subject in the time between the death of Jocelin and that of Roger his successor, 1242-1247:

(*a.*) The first is dated July 1242. It is an *inspeximus* of all the documents which recorded the election of bishops Reginald and Jocelin to the see of Bath, attested by bishop Jocelin and by William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, and William de Ralegh, bishop of Norwich.

(*b.*) The second is the "pacification" between the two chapters—the charter by which the rule of the bishop's election, the *norma eligendi*, was settled, under the authority of pope Innocent IV. It was drawn up by bishop Roger, styling himself "bishop of Bath and Wells," confirmed by the seals of the two chapters, and afterwards ratified by the prior and convent of Bath in their chapter-house, August 19, 1246.

I propose to give in this paper a sketch of the chapter history between the dates of these two documents, as far as it is contained in the registers of the dean and chapter of Wells.

The church of secular canons at Wells had at this time hostile rivals on each side, in the Benedictine houses of Bath and Glastonbury. These convents claimed earlier and more hallowed traditions, and looked with jealousy on the fostering care bestowed on Wells by later bishops, and by Jocelin especially.

Savaric had laid violent hands on Glastonbury; Jocelin had withdrawn his hold, but in so doing he had attached to his see four principal manors ceded by the abbey as the price of independence. He had made Wells to be the *sedes præsulea* of the diocese, and the primacy of Bath had become little more than
1242. nominal; and shortly before his death he had taken measures with the view of securing to Wells the pre-eminence he had given to it in his lifetime.

He had bequeathed his body to the church of Wells. This choice of Wells as the place of burial consecrated Wells as the first church of the diocese, and made a great breach in the traditionary honour of the church of Bath, which for the last hundred and fifty years had been the burial-place of the bishops of the see of Somerset.

Again, he had, as it were, left testamentary directions as to the election of his successor in the first of these two documents just mentioned, setting out the precedents of election sanctioned by papal authority, and determining the rule of election for the future.

That charter[a] recorded:

(*a.*) The sanction of pope Alexander III. to the election of bishop Reginald, by act of the Wells chapter alone, in 1174.

(*b.*) The papal confirmation of the rights of the Wells chapter to be the sole electors, but also the decree that a settlement with the chapter of Bath for joint election should be made.

(*c.*) That settlement, as exhibited in the process of election of bishop Jocelin in 1206.

The canons of Wells appear to have trusted to the strength of these authoritative precedents, and not to have anticipated any independent action on the part of the chapter of Bath on the death of bishop Jocelin.

But the Bath chapter had determined to attempt the recovery of their

[a] Vide Appendix A.

position by securing the election of a nominee of their own to the see as soon as vacant.

Reverting to the evil tradition of success in the election of Savaric by secret diplomacy, without the knowledge of the Wells chapter, they thought by a like surprise to secure the election on this occasion before the chapter of Wells was prepared to act.

Jocelin died on the vigil of St. Edmund, king and martyr, November 19. November, 1242.
That day was marked by a violent storm, which Matthew Paris[a] thinks worthy of record, when the Thames burst its banks, and boats were plying in Westminster Hall. It was a day of letting out the waters of strife between the two chapters of Bath and Wells.

While the canons were laying Jocelin in his grave in the middle of the choir of the church of Wells, the Bath monks, acting with the secrecy and promptitude of a small and united executive, had already sent a deputation to the king, then at Bordeaux, to obtain for themselves alone the licence to elect.

On November 22, the Saturday after the feast of St. Edmund, a deputation was sent by the chapter of Wells to Bath: the two archdeacons, William of Bytton, archdeacon of Wells, Walter de St. Quintin, archdeacon of Taunton, and William of Maidstone, canon and proctor, to announce the vacancy, and to arrange for joint action in the coming election. They were received with coldness, and pretexts for delay were made. Finally, they discover that the Bath chapter had already acted independently. They protest, and threaten appeal to Rome.[b]

The public protest of the chapter is put out after their return by the canons resident, on the feast of St. Lucia, December 13.[c]

Nearly a month, however, had passed before the non-resident members of the chapter, summoned from the different parts of the diocese, are gathered together on December 19, nominally to proceed to the election of a bishop, but warned that they are summoned hastily to take action against the plots of the Bath monks. Again they send a deputation to Bath, to remonstrate and protest; their proctors, Hugh de Romenal, the subdean, and Luke de Membury, with four vicars, Richard of Bytton, John of Chard, William of Brugges (Bridgwater), and David, a clerk. The subdean reads the letters of the chapter in the hall, before the prior and some of the monks, but to no purpose. They heard, but did not listen; or

[a] *Hist. Angl.* iii., 467 (R. S.); *Chr. Maj.* iv., 330.

[b] R. i., f. 73. [c] R. i., f. 75

listening, did not answer. "Again and again, yea, thrice," the subdean remonstrates and warns against separate and illegal action. The monks were content silently to await the result of their diplomacy, and the canons return again fruitless. Then the chapter in council make their united protest, and take action. They appoint the dean, John Sarracenus, a nominee of Rome and one of the pope's chaplains, and canon Robert de Marisco as proctors, to act for the chapter in petitioning the king for the *congé d'élire*, and for carrying the appeal to Rome. They write letters to influential friends in England, to Walter de Gray, a canon *(fratrem et concanonicum)*, archbishop of York and chancellor, to the bishop of Caerleon, one of the council of the regency, and to Sylvester de Everdon, also a canon, the keeper of the exchequer (*custos scaccarii*). They commission Philip de Gildeford, a canon, to carry the letters from the chapter to the king, and he is instructed to obtain the help of Peter Chaceporc, Hugh de Vivone, and Godfrey de Ulward, men about the king.[a]

January 1242-3. Meantime, members of the Bath deputation were already at Bordeaux, and the king had granted to them the *congé d'élire* on January 6. As soon as the king's letters arrived in Bath on January 30, the monks send formal notification to the canons that the election of the bishop will take place at Bath on February 6. The canons are invited to be present and to hear the nomination, 'though,' say the monks, 'the canons have no rights there by law or custom, and by this invitation they do not mean to derogate from their own rights, nor to attribute any rights to the canons of Wells in the election.' "Oh the intolerable insolence of these shameless monks," is the outburst of our chronicler—"Tanta erat impudentissimorum monachorum effrenata et intolerabilis insolentia."[b]

February 1242-3 Notwithstanding, the canons once more with much meekness and forbearance, on the Feast of St. Agatha (February 5), the day before the meeting, write letters asserting their equality of rights in the election, their protest against the separate action of Bath, and their appeal to the apostolic see, and "by the advice of some good men, in the hope of preserving the peace of the two churches, they a third time send their proctors, and with them the three archdeacons, to arrange some common action." Again they are treated with cool contempt, the prior refuses conference. They present themselves at the hour of vespers at the door of the choir, begging that they might address the assembled convent. This is refused by those named as prominent among their adversaries, Master Robert of Thetford, Henry of Bath, and Simon the physician. The monks are made to file out from

[a] R. i., f. 73, 74, 75.

[b] R. i., f. 75. Archer, f. 139

the church into the cloister, the doors of the choir are shut in the faces of the canons, and they are left protesting before the precentor and two servants of the convent. Next morning (February 6) the monks invite the canons to join in the election; they indignantly refuse. Then, in a scene which must have been exciting, the monks proceed to the election; the precentor excommunicates those who would impede the election; the canons protest to the last. The monks nominate as bishop-elect Roger, precentor of the church of Salisbury, and announce that they present him as elect to the king. Forthwith, the Wells proctors proceed to Salisbury to lay their case before the chapter of Salisbury, and to implore the precentor not to accept this illegal nomination. There, after much altercation, the precentor cautiously replies to their question, that he will wait to see if he is canonically elected, and finally he accepts.[a]

So ended the first act; by sharp practice and high-handed effrontery the monks had so far carried the day. The canons might have taken to themselves the promise "the meek spirited shall possess the earth." But they had other resources. The papal see was now vacant, and in anticipation of the papal election the canons gird themselves for the struggle with their adversaries in the Roman chancellery. A chapter is summoned for the first Monday in Lent, February 27, to consult on the state of affairs and the urgent needs of the church. Letters are written to the dean announcing the citation of the chapter, describing the fraudulent action of the chapter of Bath, urging him to use his best endeavours at Bordeaux that the king shall not confirm the election of Roger pending their appeal to Rome, and finally to work for their interests in the Roman Curia, of which "he knew the ways better than they did." They send the subdean to consult with William of York, provost of Beverley, a man of wise counsel and a brother and fellow canon, and they write letters to the king himself, imploring him not to confirm the Bath election.[b] The king throughout held himself neutral between the two parties. He had given the *congé d'élire* to Bath in January "saving the rights of the chapter of Wells." About the same time he had written to the chapter of Wells that he had no intention of interfering with the rights of the dean and chapter, and invited their application to him in turn.

In March the dean and Robert de Marisco were at Bordeaux, and on March 10 the king writes to the chapter of Wells that he has given to them the *congé d'élire* "if it could be without prejudice to the rights of Bath," and he recommends them to make choice of a fitting person useful to the state.[c]

On April 25th the king's writ had arrived at Wells, and with it a letter, dated April, 1243.

[a] R. i., f. 65. [b] R. i., f. 76, 77. [c] R. i., f. 78.

March 24, brought by canon John of Dyrham, in which the king promises that he will do nothing to the prejudice of the chapter during the appeal.

It was now the turn of the canons to make boast of the king's licence to elect. They notify formally to the chapter of Bath that they had received letters from the king empowering them to elect, and they summon the monks to Wells for Trinity Monday (June 8) as the day of election, but if the time and place is not convenient they will meet their deputation at Ferenton (Farrington Gurney), the usual place of conference, on the vigil of St. Philip and St. James (April 30) to arrange.

Whether this communication was answered at all or not, the Wells deputation went out to Farringdon on the day they had named. It must have been a goodly company who on that spring morning rode up the Bath road and over the long back of the Mendip Hills. We have the names of the dignitaries and their followers. There were the two archdeacons of Wells and Taunton, Hugh the treasurer, the two proctors, their clerks, and their "vallets;" Nicolas the clerk, and Gilbert de Lentenay, vallet of the archdeacon of Wells; Master Robert de St. Quintin and Wileminus, clerks, and Vigeroys, vallet of the archdeacon of Taunton; David the clerk, and Dudeman, clerk and vallet of Henry the treasurer; R. de Guertrie, vallet of the subdean; Thomas, the huntsman (*venator*), of the late bishop Jocelin, and his vallet Henry of Priddy; Robert Marmion, *armiger* of the archdeacon of Wells.[a]

But not one of the Bath chapter was there to meet this goodly array of dignity. Doubtless the canons felt themselves flouted by the monks, but both parties knew well that they were making an empty flourish of the king's writ, and that the battle must be fought in the Roman court. The canons, trusting to their diplomacy at Rome, had no intention of acting on the king's *congé d'élire*.

June, 1243. There was a full meeting of canons in chapter on Trinity Monday, June 8, again summoned formally for the purpose of electing a bishop. First sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon all who should reveal the greater or lesser secrets of the chapter, especially upon any of the chapter who should maliciously impede the election, or should aid the adversaries, the monks of Bath.[b] Then they write a long letter to the king, and another letter to the queen,[c] full of gratitude, but respectfully declining to act on the king's licence and to proceed to election of the bishop, because they had made their appeal to the apostolic see

[a] R. i., f. 78 *in dors.*

[b] R. i., f. 64.

[c] The city of Bath was part of the queen's dowry. Rymer, *Fœd.*, i., 420.

against the unlawful action of the chapter of Bath. In a postscript they commend to the king's favour John Mansel, a canon, as a friend of the chapter, and beg for the king's gracious consideration of their case.[a]

On June 24, 1243, cardinal Sinibaldi, a Genoese, was elected pope, and consecrated on June 29, under the title of Innocent IV.[b] As soon as the news arrived at Wells, the chapter met on July 31, the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,[c] to address the pope and to state their case. They notify that they have nominated as their proctors in the Roman chancellery the dean, John Sarracenus, and canon John de Offinton. A public notification is made at the same time of their appeal having been lodged at Rome. The proctors are implored to act with the greatest zeal in the cause of the chapter. The chapter empowered the dean to borrow first 100 marcs for expenses in the Roman court; then 100 more; and the sub-dean holds five deeds for a loan of 220 marcs. This is the first instalment of the vast sums borrowed in this litigation, which afterwards amounted to 2600 marcs. Letters are written by the chapter to powerful men at Rome, petitioning for their favour; we know the names of some, and the price of their assistance. Two cardinals are named: John de Colonna (de Columbariis), one of the most powerful of the cardinals, whom M. Paris[d] describes as "a vessel of pride and insolence," one of the papal champions against the emperor; another was Otho, the late legate apostolic in England in 1237. We shall find in the items of expenditure the honorarium of a cardinal entered as 50*l.*[e] During the autumn and winter of 1243 the decision of the pope is awaited, and there were frequent communications between the chapter and their proctors at Rome. In September of this year (*circa festum S. Michaelis*)[f] instructions are given very explicitly to the dean of the line he is to take and of the means he is to employ. The precedents contained in bishop Jocelin's charter, viz. the letters of pope Alexander III. and the instruments of Jocelin's election, were sent to the proctors. Resting upon these precedents, they say the chapter might have claimed the sole election, but they will be content if equal rights with Bath according to the precedents of Jocelin's election be secured to them. The proctors, accordingly, are to press urgently that the election of Roger shall be set aside, and that all safeguard be taken that in future

July, 1243.

September, 1243.

[a] R. i., f. 78, 9. [b] M. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 472. [c] R. i., f. 79.

[d] Vide *Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.* ii., 479: "Vas superbiae et omnis contumeliae cui inter omnes cardinales genere, castris, et possessionibus secularibus erat potentissimus." He died next year, Feb. 9, the Octave of the Purification.

[e] R. i., f. 98. [f] R. i., f. 94.

the election shall be common to both the chapters. Divers suggestions are then made as to the best or most practicable course for securing freedom of election and perfect equality of rights. Arbitration is suggested, but to no one in England, "because of the power of the great men who will intrude themselves into any election." If it should be in France, let it be to the dean or chancellor of Paris; or to a commission appointed by the pope, of whom certain persons are named as acceptable judges, *e.g.* in England, the bishops of Worcester and Norwich; the bishop, dean, and archdeacon of Lincoln; the archdeacon of Sudbury in Norwich, or of Huntingdon in Lincoln diocese. If in France, to the provost of St. Adomar (St. Omer), in the diocese of Tournay (Morinensis), or to the dean and *magister scholarum* in the diocese of Noyon (Novionensis), or to the archdeacon of Rouen.

Four points, *quatuor articuli*, are specified on which they are to obtain the papal decision:

(*a.*) What should be the place of prior election?

(*b.*) And of installation?

(*c.*) What should be the style of the bishop?

(*d.*) Which of the two sees should have the priority?

These instructions are accompanied by a characteristic letter to the dean, which reveals the spirit in which they worked, and the importance they attached to the object. He is told to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness (*facere amicos de mammona iniquitatis*), and to spend money freely. "We love our honour more than our money," "and all our money is offered" to gain powerful friends in the court, in order that the adversary shall not prevail, and that a decision to the honour of St. Andrew, "who protects and will repay, may be obtained."[a] They give the dean leave to return when he has done all for the cause, and assure him of their gratitude (*grates copiosissimas*). At the same time they took the opportunity of putting into the hands of their proctors some other minor matters of litigation. They desire the appointment by the Roman court of the judges they have named to adjudicate their quarrel with Glastonbury and Athelney about neighbouring moors, and the ratification of Jocelin's arrangement of the union of the provostship of Combe and Winsham.[b]

April, 1244. The papal arbitrament came in April 1244. In a letter addressed to archbishop Boniface, and to the clergy and people of the diocese, the pope confirmed the

[a] R. i., f. 94.

[b] R. i., f. 96.

election of Roger. In another letter of April 1,[a] addressed to the prior and convent of Bath, the pope set forth generally in the preamble the solicitude of the holy see to cut off or shorten litigation, for the sake of the appellants. In this case, in order to avoid the evil of a protracted vacancy of the see, the election of Roger is confirmed. But to put an end to strife in future elections, it is decreed that from henceforth the dean and chapter of Wells shall have an equal voice and rights in all things appertaining to the election of the bishop.

This award was equitable and reasonable. Roger, the precentor of Salisbury, the nominee of the Bath chapter, was a good choice. He is described by Matthew Paris as a good man, a scholar and a theologian, *vir eleganter moribus et scientiâ theologiæ præditus*. The monk of St. Alban's implies that the pope was influenced in the speedy confirmation of Roger by the wish to provide for a kinsman in the precentorship he vacated, and that Martin the legate had laid hands on the precentor's benefice immediately on his nomination as bishop elect for some nephew of the pope.[b] The Wells registers give no authority for this gossip of the day.

The temporalities of the see were restored by the king to Roger, as bishop elect, on May 10, 1244, but he was not consecrated until September 11. September, 1244.

On September 11, Roger was consecrated bishop of Bath in the chapel of the convent of St. Mary, in Reading, where Jocelin had been consecrated nearly forty years before.[c] The chancellor, treasurer, and archdeacon of Wells, the subdean, and others of the canons were present. The pope's decree of award in the arbitration between the appellants was read. Innocent set aside the protest of the Wells chapter against the election of Roger, but reserved his answer to the questions on the four points, *quatuor articulos de formâ et modo eligendi pontificis*, for a future time. The mandate of consecration to William de Ralegh, bishop of Norwich, was then read.

The Wells chapter made their protest by their proctors against the installation of the bishop in the church of Bath rather than that of Wells, and appealed to the pope's decision on the four points of detail (*de quatuor articulis*).

Four months after, in January 1244-5, the result of the diplomacy of the Wells proctors at Rome appeared in the answer which came from the pope at Lyons on these four controverted points.[d] In a letter dated Lyons, January 3, 1244-5, addressed to the dean and chapter of Wells, the pope ordained: January, 1244-5.

[a] Quoted in Appendix C.

[b] Matt. Par. *Chr. Maj.* iii. 285.

[c] R. i., f. 80.

[d] Vide Appendix C. R. iii., f. 108, *in dors.*

(*a.*) That the throne of the bishop should be in each of the churches of Bath and of Wells;

(*b.*) That the election should take place in each church in turns, first, in Bath, the next time in Wells;

(*c.*) That the installation should take place in the same church in which the election had been held;

(*d.*) That the style of the bishop in charter and on seal henceforward should be "Bishop of Bath and Wells," *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis, utriusque ecclesiæ episcopus, nominetur Bathoniensis videlicet et Wellensis, et sic in sigillo contineatur ipsius.*

A few months passed, during which Roger had entered peaceably on his office.

But perhaps from fear of offending his supporters at Bath, who had promoted his election at such cost, the bishop had not yet added "Wells" to his episcopal style and seal. The Wells chapter made complaint to the pope that his mandate had not yet been carried out in this particular.

May 14, 1245. In May following Innocent wrote again from Lyons[a] a letter terse and peremptory addressed to bishop Roger, in which he reminds him of his former mandate, ordering the assumption of the full title of "Bath and Wells." He learns from the dean and chapter of Wells that the mandate in this particular has been disobeyed, and orders that forthwith the title of Wells as well as Bath shall be borne by him, and inscribed on his seal. Very soon after this the bishop must have adopted the double style. Charters and grants made by him occur in the registers dated early in the following year, as early as January 19, 1245-6,[b] in which he bears the double title of Bath and Wells.

Pacification of August, 1246. Acting still further on the tenor of this mandate, bishop Roger set himself to draw up a scheme of pacification,[c] by which the claims of the two chapters were finally conciliated, and their joint and equal action in each particular case most carefully adjusted. In a charter dated from Stawey in Chew, August 13, 1246, in which he officially assumes the title of "bishop of Bath and Wells," he recites his solicitude to cut off all further causes of controversy between the two chapters, and their joint engagement to abide by his mediation and award. He then cites the two bulls of pope Innocent IV. upon which his award was based, the one dated from the Lateran, March 23rd, 1244, the other from Lyons, January 3, 1244-5, and proceeds to make order for the joint action of the two bodies on equal

[a] Vide Appendix C. [b] R. i., f. 67. [c] Appendix B.

terms under all the possible occasions on which they will be called to co-operate in the election of the bishop, from the moment of the vacancy to the last acts in the consecration and installation.

The charter of pacification was formally accepted, signed, and sealed by the prior and convent of Bath on August 19, 1246;[a] and on August 26 (Sunday after the beheading of St. John Baptist), Thomas the precentor was sent over to Wells by the convent of Bath with the deed attested and confirmed in their chapter house.

So the long controversy was brought to an end—the *norma eligendi*, the process of election by the two chapters of Bath and Wells, was finally established, and thenceforth it was acted upon on all occasions. It held good without any further attempt on either side to evade or dispute conditions, until the dissolution of the convent of Bath in the sixteenth century. Wells was then left the sole seat of the bishop, the one cathedral church, but the title of the bishop remained unchanged to witness to the ancient primacy and continued importance of the city of Bath.

"So Roger," says our Wells annalist, "was the first of all the bishops who bore the title of 'bishop of Bath and Wells' (*Rogerus primus omnium Bathoniensis et Wellensis nuncupatus*)." So for the first time in 1246 the bishops who had borne in succession the title of "bishops of Somerset" from the time of Edmund son of Alfred to William Rufus, of bishops of Bath for a century and a half from John of Tours to the death of Jocelin of Wells, and for more than twenty years of that time were bishops of "Bath and Glastonbury" under Savaric and Jocelin, now and henceforward invariably assumed the double title from their twin churches of Bath and Wells, held under one pastoral staff, the two cities at the foot of the Mendip Hills on either side, where well forth the springs of life-giving and healing waters on the north side and on the south, like the famed fountains of Homeric lay:

"One, with hot current flows, and from beneath
as from a furnace clouds of steam arise.
The other," (the great fountain of St. Andrew at Wells,)
"like crystal clear, and cold as winter snows."[b]

[a] *Orig. Doc.* 45, 46, 47.

[b] Hom. Il. xxii. 149.

ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ,
ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

I have sketched out the stages in the controversy, whereby the style and title of the bishop of the see were authoritatively determined. But the sketch is incomplete without a short notice of the enormous expense which this litigation must have caused to the two bodies engaged.

It may well be matter of surprise how these appeals to Rome could be carried on by small local communities, so great must have been the difficulties of travel, and the expenditure of money involved, in journeys by land and sea to and from Rome, in legal expenses in the Roman courts, in the purchase of support and favour of great men and influential ecclesiastics.

We have some little insight into the expenditure of this lawsuit in the chapter minutes of loans authorised, of debts incurred, and of the resources from whence the money was drawn for repayment.

The first mention of a loan of 420 marcs authorised by the chapter has been noticed in the letters addressed to the dean and proctor at Rome in September 1243.[a]

In the next summer, 1244, the dean probably was on his return home, and the chapter had appointed two fresh proctors, the archdeacon of Taunton Walter de St. Quintin, and Hugh de Romenal the subdean. They go out in October 1244, with authority to make a second loan, equal to £360 of our money,[b] and carrying with them the instructions consequent upon the consecration of Roger.[c]

October 8-10, 1244.

April, 1245.

In April, 1245, the dean returned to Wells, and gave into the hands of the chapter the letters and documents he had taken with him, or had received at Rome from the chapter; among others he produced the receipt for £50 from cardinal Richard,[d] as "a gift from the chapter," and two sets of letters from merchants at Florence about a loan of 200 marcs which had not been raised, and the letters withdrawn.

October, 1245.

Early in October the subdean, who had either come home or had delayed his departure for Rome, was sent to London bearing letters of credit for negotiation of other and larger loans to the amount of 1400 marcs to discharge debts at Rome and in the Roman courts, also to treat about another previous loan of 1200 marcs from merchants of Siena and Florence.[e]

So far the chapter seem to have been revelling in unlimited credit. Next month came the time for meeting their liabilities, and they did it manfully. On November 25, 1245, in a chapter in which dean and subdean, treasurer, and other

November, 1245.

[a] Vide p. 7.

[b] The loan was for £100, and 390 marcs—so estimated by Archer (f. 147) and that may be multiplied at least by fifteen or twenty, to give an approximate value in modern times.

[c] R. i., f. 95. [d] R. i., f. 98. [e] R. i., f. 98.

canons who had been employed in these transactions were present, the whole body of the canons was called to face the payment of a debt of 1775 marcs contracted in the Roman courts, payable in five years from the Feast of the Purification, February 2, following. They were asked severally if they consented to mortgage their own annual receipts from the chapter estate year by year, until this sum was paid. They unanimously assented, praying only for two conditions, that the surplus, if any, should be divided after payment of debt, and that the incoming dividend of 200 marcs in the next month from the new corn should be divided among the canons.[a] If the proportionate money value at the two periods is considered we realise how lavish had been the expenditure in this litigation.

November 11, 1248.

We may glance at the sequel in the years after Roger's death. Two years later, or in the first year of the next episcopate, the chapter was again summoned to provide for "the intolerable debts" of the church. An assessment of one-fifth on all prebends for seven years was ordered, the goods of all defaulters to be distrained, and the persons excommunicated.[b]

January 12, 1263-4.

Yet let us look on another fifteen years; the mortgage of the common fund of the chapter, the assessments on prebends, private gifts from local patriotism and devotion, the endowments of particular altars, had come in, to the recovery of the church, and in his last year bishop William of Bitton, in 1263, could thank God that the church was so nearly relieved from the late burden of debt that he could make over once again the sequestrations of vacant benefices which had been conceded to him, as to his predecessors, by the chapter for his lifetime, to the fabric fund of the chapter.[c]

The progress of the remarkable and rapid recovery of the church of Wells from the pressure of heavy debt belongs to another chapter in the history of the church of Wells, but when we are surprised at the cessation of work upon the fabric of the church for the time between bishop Jocelin and bishop Burnel, let us take into account the causes which had been at work to cripple the resources and consume the energies of both bishop and chapter in the intervening time.

Roger died December 21, 1247, and was buried at Bath. The monks carried to his grave the bishop whom they claimed as their own, the last bishop to be buried amongst them.

Both chapters had paid heavily. The monks of Bath had gained a barren victory in the election and consecration of their candidate. But the fruits of victory rested with the chapter of Wells. They had established their right to

[a] R. 1, f. 97. [b] R. 1, f. 69. [c] R. 2, f. 15 in dors. R. 3, f. 11 in dors.

equality in the election; and the bishop, whose illegal election they had opposed, became their patron to guard their rights from future invasion. Moreover, they had won over the bishop to admit their independent privileges and separate jurisdictions, and to confirm them in their estates. During the vacancy of the see they had found their strength, and had exercised their independence in the struggle to establish their rights alike against the rival chapter and the bishop. Under bishop Roger there was the first assertion by the chapter of that separate and co-ordinate power of jurisdiction in the government of the church which in no long time brought about collision between bishop and chapter.

Roger's short episcopate of three years was followed by the episcopate of William de Bitton, the archdeacon of Wells, and the leader of the chapter of Wells in the struggle with Bath, nominated by the Wells chapter, elected with all due and legal formalities by the two chapters without any attempt at opposition from Bath, and consecrated at Rome, June 14, 1248.

APPENDIX A.

Inspeximus. 1242. *Original Documents Nos.* 39, 40, 41. *Penes Decanum et Capitulum.*

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit J[ocelinus] Bathoniensis. W[illelmus] Exoniensis. et W[illelmus] Norwicensis Dei gratia episcopi salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod inspeximus quedam instrumenta autentica, et etiam ipsa originalia que nobis ex parte Decani et capituli Wellensis fuerunt exhibita, quorum transcripta prout inferius continentur de verbo ad verbum absque adjeccione et diminucione ad ipsorum peticionem presenti carte inseri fecimus in hec verba: Brewer 1224-44. De Ralegh 1239-1245. Recital.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis Decano Archidiaconis et Capitulo Wellensi salutem, et apostolicam benediccionem. Intelleximus ex litteris vestris, et ex testimonio plurium magnarum personarum. nichilominus innotuit nobis quod vos recepta libertate celebrandi eleccionem in ecclesia vestra dilectum filium R[eginaldum] Archidiaconum Saresberiensem unanimiter et concorditer in pastorem vobis et episcopum elegistis. Cum autem idem electus pro sciencia et literatura sua, et pro fervore devocionis quam circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam gerere comprobatur, carus nobis sit plurimum et acceptus, et conversacio sua se nobis commendabilem reddat, unanimitatem vestram et concordiam super hoc commendamus; volentes vos in proposito vestro stabiles et firmos existere, et in omnibus que spectant ad commodum et profectum ecclesie vestre, et prefati electi vestri inveniri unanimes et concordes. Unde quia predictum electum sicut virum providum et discretum, literatum et nobis valde devotum ferventer in Christo diligimus, et libenter quantum secundum deum possumus ad ejus commodum intendimus, et honorem, discrecioni vestre per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatinus ei sicut electo vestro omni contradiccione et appellacione remota debitam obedienciam et reverenciam impendatis, et ejus monitis et mandatis humiliter et devote parere curetis. Ita quod ipse in vobis filialem subjeccionem inveniat, et nos obedienciam et devocionem vestram in hac parte debeamus non immerito commendare. Datum Anagnie. xiiij kalend. Maij. Ratification of Wells Election of Reginald. 1174.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis, Decano, Precentori, Archidiaconis, et capitulo Wellensis ecclesie salutem. et apostolicam benediccionem. Justis filiorum ecclesie peticionibus nos convenit libenter annuere, et eas effectu prosequente complere, ut cum a sede apostolica quod racionabiliter postulant fuerint assecuti ei debeant omni tempore firmiori devocione adherere, et ejus honori et exaltacioni fervenciori studio invigilare. Eapropter dilecti in domino filii racionabilibus votis et desideriis vestris grato concurrentes assensu vobis et per vos ecclesie vestre canonicas consuetudines, libertates quoque et immunitates, et episcoporum vestrorum elecciones sicut eas a ducentis retro annis usque ad tempora bone memorie Johannis quondam episcopi vestri, qui sibi in bathoniensi ecclesia sedem constituit habuisse noscimini auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Ratification of Wells right of election

Ita tamen ut idem episcopo a vobis eligendo tractari debuerit ne inter vestram et predictam ecclesiam aliqua possit imposterum de eleccione controversia suboriri, vos et monachi ipsius ecclesiæ ad electionem tractandam, et faciendam conveniatis, et cum inde perfectam honestam et Agreement for joint action recommended.

ydoneam conveneritis, tu, fili Decane, secundum antiquam ecclesie tue consuetudinem ipsius eleccionis debeas sollempnem pronunciacionem habere, ut persona electa Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo examinanda et promovenda sine contradiccione qualibet presentetur. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum licet hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis infringere, vel ei aliquatenus contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Anagnie . vj. idus. Januarij.

Agreement.

¶ *Item pacem postmodum factam inter ecclesiam Wellensem et ecclesiam Bathoniensem super eleccione Episcopi sui inter eos communiter facienda :*

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti Amen. Facta est hec pax subscripta inter ecclesiam Bathoniensem . et ecclesiam Wellensem . et conventum Bathoniensem . et capitulum Wellense super eleccione pontificis utrique ecclesie prefitiendi vacante episcopatu. Videlicet quod cum secundum deum et consuetudinem regni de eleccione tractari debuerit prior et monachi Bathonienses, et Decanus et Canonici Wellenses, in loco ydoneo proper hoc convenient, et de eleccione futuri Episcopi communiter tractabunt. Et cum communiter in ydoneam personam convenerint, prior Bathoniensis debet denuntiare ex parte utriusque ecclesie, et postulare personam de communi assensu electam. Si vero prior Bathoniensis vel monachi, vel Decanus Wellensis, vel canonici, in eleccionem episcopi contra predictam formam in aliquo proruperint diffinitum est et concessum ex utraque parte quod irritum sit et inane quicquid fuerit ab eis contra hoc super eleccione attemptatum. Si vero partes communiter consenserint in personam prioris Decanus Wellensis ejus eleccionem debet denuntiare et postulare. Eodem modo convenit inter partes, quod si ecclesia Bathoniensis caruerit priore, tempore eleccionis quod Decanus Wellensis eleccionem illius in quem partes consenserunt denuntiabit et postulabit. Decanus vero et capitulum Wellense non impedient quo minus episcopus illorum prius in ecclesia Bathoniensi intronizetur quam in Wellensi, nec procurabunt quod prius intronizetur in Wellensi quam in Bathoniensi. Convenit etiam inter predictas ecclesias quod nunquam contra hanc formam pacis utentur aliquibus privilegiis impetratis vel impetrandis. Hec autem omnia fideliter observandas tam prior et conventus Bathoniensis quam Alexander Decanus et capitulum Wellense juraverunt . et sigillo utriusque confirmaverunt.

Election of Jocelin at Bath.

¶ *Item instrumenta utriusque ecclesie vacante tunc ecclesia Cantuariensi directa summo pontifici super eleccione domini Jocelini episcopi sui communiter inter dictas ecclesias facta, videlicet instrumentum ecclesie Bathoniensis in hæc verba :*

Sanctissimo patri et domino Innocentio dei gratia summo pontifici devotissimi sui Robertus Bathoniensis ecclesie prior et totus ejusdem ecclesie conventus salutem, et tam promptum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum. Cum pie recordacionis episcopus noster Savaricus viam universe carnis fuisset ingressus convenimus in unum nos et Decanus et capitulum Wellensis ecclesie ad quos una nobiscum episcopi nostri noscitur electio pertinere, ut de profitiendo nobis episcopo communiter tractaremus. Tandem vero post diutinam et diligentem deliberacionem communi omnium hinc inde voto et desiderio in Magistrum Jocelinum clericum ecclesie nostre et canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum industrium litteratum et honestum vota nostra contulimus ipsum in pastorem, et episcopum animarum nostrarum invocata sancti Spiritus gratia

solempniter eligentes. Pedibus itaque vestre paternitatis provoluti quanta possumus devocione supplicamus quatinus eleccionem nostram concurrente tam cleri quam populi voluntate celebratam et principis assensu subnixam auctoritate apostolica confirmare dignemini, ne si ecclesie nostre diutius pastoris provisione caruerint irreparabilem quod deus avertat tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus jacturam incurrant. Ego Robertus prior . s[ubscripsi] ⁜ Ego Aluredus . s . + Ego Vicentius . s . + Ego Hamo . s . + Ego Hugo . s . + Ego Johannes subprior . s . + Ego Aurtianus . s . + . Ego Martinus Camerarius . s . + Ego Adam . s . + Ego Reginaldus . s . + Ego Ricardus . s . + Ego Willelmus thesaurarius . s . Ego Ricardus subsacrista . s . + Ego Willelmus . s . + Ego Anselmus succentor . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Serlo subcellerarius . s . + Ego Robertus granatarius . s . ✠ Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Nicholaus . s . + Ego Arnaldus . s . + Ego Urbanus cellerarius . s . + Ego Radulfus infirmarius . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Marchus . s . + Ego Willelmus sacrista . s . + Ego Walterus refectorius . s . + Ego Johannes custos operis . s . + Ego Johannes eleemosinarius . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Symon precentor . s . + Ego Johannes tercius prior . s . + Ego Fulco . s . ⁜ Ego Willelmus . s . ⁜ Ego Hugo . s . + Ego Johannes . s . + Ego Walterus . s . + Ego Robertus . s . + Ego Johannes . s . ✠ In hujus itaque rei testimonium robur . et majorem firmitatem huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

¶ *Item instrumentum ecclesie Wellensis in hec verba:* Election at Wells

Sanctissimo patri et domino karissimo J. dei gratia summo pontifici. Devotissimi sui Alexander Wellensis ecclesie Decanus . et totum ejusdem ecclesie capitulum. Salutem et tam promptum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum. Cum pie recordacionis episcopus noster Savaricus viam universe carni fuisset ingressus convenimus in unum nos et prior et conventus Bathoniensis ecclesie ad quos una nobiscum episcopi nostri noscitur eleccio pertinere ut de prefitiendo nobis episcopo communiter tractaremus. Tandem vero post diutinam et diligentem deliberacionem communi omnium hinc inde voto et desiderio in Magistrum Jocelinum canonicum nostrum virum industrium litteratum et honestum vota nostra contulimus ipsum in pastorem et episcopum animarum nostrarum invocata sancti spiritus gratia solempniter eligentes. Pedibus itaque vestre paternitatis proveluti quanta possumus devocione supplicamus quatinus eleccionem nostram concurrente tam cleri quam populi voluntate celebratam et principi assensu subnixam auctoritate apostolica confirmare dignemini ne si ecclesie nostre diutius pastoris provisione caruerint irreparabilem quod deus avertat tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus jacturam incurrant. Ego Alexander Wellensis Decanus . s . + Ego Willelmus [de Sancta Fide] 1185-1208 precentor Wellensis . s . + Ego .[a]H . Wellensis Archidiaconus . s . + Ego .[b]R . Cancellarius Wellensis . s . + Ego . T . Thesaurarius Wellensis . s . + Ego W . Cancellarius domini Regis . s . + Ego .[c]P . Archidiaconus Bathoniensis . s . + Ego .[d]W . Archidiaconus Tantoniensis . s . + Ego .[e]T . Subdecanus Wellensis . s . + Ego .[f]A . Succentor Wellensis . s . + Ego Abbas Beccensis Canonicus Wellensis . s . + Ego Abbas Muchelnensis Canonicus Wellensis . s . + Ego . R . Archidiaconus Wyntoniensis . s . + Ego Magister . R . de Lechel[ade] . s . + Ego Stephanus

[a] Hugh de Welles 1204-10. [b] ? Richard de Kenelworth. [c] ? Peter.
[d] William de Wrotham 1264. [e] Thomas de Dinan 1199. [f] Adam ?

Ridel . s . + Ego Magister Amandus . s . + Ego . P . Canutus . s . + Ego . J . Chauvel . s . + Ego . T . de Lond[on] . s . + Ego Reginaldus Butun . s . + Ego Magister . W . de Tantonia . s . + Ego . R . de Tresgoz . s . + Ego Magister . T . de Heselle . s . + Ego . S . de Elmeham . s . + Ego . T . de Toreaco . s . + Ego . H . de Welles . s . + Ego . J . Capellanus . s . + Ego . P . de Inglesh̃ . s . + Ego . A . Scottus . s . + Ego Hugo de Wylt̃ . s . + Ego Arnisius de Constantiis . s . + Ego Mauricius de Berkele . s . + Ego Johannes de Bohun . s . + Ego Iterus de Wandesti . s . + Ego Philipus de Lucy . s . + Ego . R . de Tymbresh̃ . s . + Ego . R . preciosus . s . + Ego . R . de Staweya . s . + Ego . R . de Camera . s . + Ego . W . de Sarum . s . + Ego . H . de Wyflescumba . s . + Ego . A . Lugdunensis . s . + Ego . H . de Berkele . s . + Ego . T . de Cycestria . s . + Ego . J . de Rameshẽ . s . + Ego Magister . R . de Wyltoñ . s . + Ego . T . de Dundeñ . s . + Ego . W . de Dinre . s . + Ego . J . de Calna . s . + Ego . R . de Bathonia . s . + Ego . N . de Welles . s . + Ego . H . de Traco . s . + Ego . R . de Berch̃ . s . + Ego . R . de Sanf̃ . s . + Ego . S . de Torn[aco] . s . + Ego Willelmus de Cerda . s . + . In hujus itaque rei testimonium robur . et majorem firmitatem huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

¶ *Item litteras testimoniales quorundam Episcoporum Anglie super electione sic communiter facta summo pontifici directas in hec verba :*

Sanctissimo in Christo patri J . dei gratia summo pontifici. Humiles et devoti filii sui W . de Londoñ G . Roffensis H . Exoniensis H . Saresberiensis E . Elyensis G . Coventrensis M . Wygorniensis J . Norwicensis W . Lincolniencis S . Cicestrensis et . P. Wyntoniensis Episcopi salutem et cum omni devocione ac reverentia debitam domino et patri obedientiam. Noverit sancta paternitas vestra quod cum venerabilis frater noster Savaricus bone memorie Bathoniensis episcopus concessisset in fata et tam Bathoniensis quam Wellensis ecclesia sua fuisset viduata pastore, Prior et conventus Bathoniensis et Decanus et capitulum Wellense ad quos jus eligendi episcopum pertinere dinoscitur in unum pariter convenerunt, . habitaque prout moris est super electione episcopi diligenti tractatu, pari tandem voto et unanimi assensu in magistrum Jocelinum canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum providum, litteratum et honestum, consenserunt ipsumque invocata sancti Spiritus gratia, in pastorem et episcopum suum canonice et solempniter elegerunt. Cui nimirum electioni illustris rex Anglie Johannes suum adhibuit benignus assensum. Quia vero Cantuariensis ecclesia suo noscitur orbata pastore supplicamus sancte paternitati vestre quatinus nuntios dictarum ecclesiarum benignius admittentes prenominato electo munus confirmacionis conferre dignemini.

¶ *Item similiter litteras testimoniales eorundem episcoporum directas super hoc domino . J . Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali tunc venienti legato in Angliam in hec verba :*

Venerabili patri et domino karissimo J . dei gratia Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali apostolice sedis legato W . Londoniensis G . Roffensis H . Exoniensis H . Saresberiensis E . Eligensis G . Coventrensis M . Wygornensis J . Norwicensis W . Lincolniensis S . Cicestrensis et P . Wyntoniensis Episcopi salutem et sincere devocionis affectum. Noverit paternitas vestra . quod cum venerabilis frater noster Savaricus bone memorie bathoniensis Episcopus concessisset in fata . et tam Bathoniensis quam Wellensis ecclesia suo fuisset

viduata pastore, prior et conventus Bathoniensis et Decanus et capitulum Wellense ad quos jus eligendi episcopum pertinere dinoscitur in unum pariter convenerunt, habitaque prout moris est super eleccione episcopi diligenti tractatu . pari tandem voto et unanimi assensu in magistrum Jocelinum canonicum Wellensis ecclesie virum providum litteratum et honestum consenserunt ipsumque invocata spiritus sancti gratia in pastorem et episcopum suum canonice ac sollempniter elegerunt, cui nimirum eleccioni illustris rex Anglie Johannes suum adhibuit benignus assensum. Quia vero Cantuariensis ecclesia suo noscitur orbata pastore supplicamus paternitati vestre quatinus nuntios dictarum ecclesiarum benignius admittentes . prenominato electo munus confirmacionis conferre dignemini.

¶ *Item litteras domini regis super assensu suo dicte eleccioni prestito directas domino . J . Sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali . tunc venienti legato in Angliam, qui omnibus predictis instrumentis receptis et visis vacante tunc ecclesia Cantuariensis vice domini pape dictam eleccionem sic communiter factam confirmavit. Tenor vero predictarum litterarum domini regis talis est :*

King's missive.

Venerabili patri in Christo J . dei gratia sancte Marie in via lata diacono cardinali et apostolice sedis legato J . eadem gratia Rex Anglie dominus Hybernie Normannorum et Aquitanorum comes Andegavorum salutem et debitam cum devocione reverentiam. Mittimus ad vos dilectum et fidelem nostrum magistrum Jocelinum ecclesie Wellensis canonicum a decano et capitulo Wellensi et priore et conventu Bathoniensi ad regimen episcopatus Bathoniensis de assensu nostro canonice et sollempniter electum paternitati vestre supplicantes quatinus eleccionem suam confirmare velitis. Teste Domino P . Wyntoniensi episcopo apud Dokemerfelde, xx^{o}iii^{o} die Aprilis.

Commissioners warranty under seal.

In omnium vero predictorum testimonium presenti scripto sigilla nostra apponi fecimus. Datum Mense Julii Anno incarnacionis dominice Millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo secundo.

On the flap: W. scripsit.

APPENDIX B.

Pacification. 1246. *Original Documents penes Decanum et Capitulum. Nos.* 45, 46, 47.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Th. Prior et Conventus Bathoniensis salutem in domino.

Litteras venerabilis patris domini Rogeri Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopi nostri super reformacione pacis inter nostram et Wellensem ecclesias inspeximus in hec verba.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Rogerus miseracione divina Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopus salutem in domino sempiternam.

Mediator Dei et hominum dominus Jhesus Christus a patre procedens sibique coeternus et consubstantialis existens, ut nos primorum prevaricacione parentum dampnatos a potestate seductoris eriperet, et summo patri genus reconciliaret humanum in se inmortalis existens et impassibilis, homo factus se passibilem exhibuit et mortalem, et demum voluntariam resolutus in mortem professionis diverse fidei christiane rectores instituit. ut sicut ipse semper cum patre unus extitit non divisus, nos in fidei et caritatis unione conservent, hos quidem juditiali gladio reprimentes, illos suavitate moderaminis demulcentes.

Both chapters consent to award.

Nos igitur licet inmeriti in partem hujus sollicitudinis evocati que jam premisimus sollicitius attendentes, et pii magistri doctrinam pacificam totis viribus amplectentes, questiones quasdam et . controversias pridem subortas earumque materias inter ecclesias Bathoniensem et Wellensem quibus disponente domino presidemus amputare penitus affectantes, de consensu et voluntate dilectorum in Christo filiorum Prioris et Conventus Bathoniensis et Capituli Wellensis qui ordinacionibus apostolicis super eleccionem pontificis prefitiendi ecclesiis memoratis communiter inter ipsas ecclesias perpetuo fatienda ipsamque eleccionem contingentibus per Decanum et Capitulum Wellensem impetratis ac promulgatis salvis et in suo robore per omnia duraturis a quibus Capitulum Wellense sollempniter et publice tam viva voce quam per litteras suas patentes se per tractatum ordinacionem supposicionem dicto vel facto seu etiam quocumque alio modo in nullo velle recedere protestati sunt consimili a Priore et Conventu Bathoniensi super ordinacionibus supradictis protestacione premissa. Quibus etiam protestacionibus salvis per omnia super inferius annotatis se provisioni et disposicioni nostre subjecerunt. Quibus ordinacionibus apostolicis ab Innocentio papa quarto per Johannem Sarracenum Decanum et Capitulum Wellensem impetratis una videlicet sub datum Laterani decimo Kalendarum Aprilium, pontificatus ejusdem anno primo, alia vero sub datum Lugduni tercio Nonarum Januarii pontificatus ejusdem anno secundo, sicut nec possumus obviare nolentes, sic inter dictas ecclesias in nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi providendum duximus et disponendum, videlicet quod utraque ecclesia denuntiet alteri quando primo sciverit Episcopatum vacare, item major illius ecclesie presens in qua occurrit eleccio ea vice fatienda denuntiabit cum qua convenit et fieri poterit celeritate Capitulo illius ecclesie in qua non fuerit adtunc eleccio fatienda diem quo debeant convenire apud Ferntoñ per procuratores suos litteratorie constitutos ad ordinandum hinc inde procuratores suos ad curiam domini Regis sine more dispendio destinandos pro petenda communiter licentia eligendi, qui simul eant veniant ad dominum Regem petant et redeant termino competenti tunc ibidem ab eisdem communiter statuendo quo dominum Regem possint adire et utraque pars eat sumptibus ecclesie sue cum litteris procuratoriis ecclesie sue in quibus contineatur quod procuratores suos propriis nominibus eorum expressis destinant ad dominum Regem una cum procuratoribus alterius ecclesie similiter propriis nominibus eorum expressis ad petendum communiter ab eodem licentiam eligendi prout ad utramque ecclesiam similis spectat eleccio, et hoc ipsum coram domino Rege

Papal bulls on the case.

Award.

pariter protestentur litterasque suas simul domino Regi presentent, hujus tamen peticionis pronuntiacionem et priorem litterarum suarum porrectionem habeat procurator illius ecclesie in qua tunc fuerit eleccio fatienda. Licentia vero eligendi optenta, major presens illius ecclesie in qua ea vice non fiet eleccio per litteras Capituli sui denuntiabit Capitulo alterius ecclesie sine more dispendio diem certum quo convenient procuratores utriusque ecclesie loco superius assignato ad providendum communiter certum terminum competentem, ad quem et infra quem utraque ecclesia omnes de Capitulo suo in regno existentes qui eleccioni interesse debent volunt et possunt faciant et valeant commode convocari. Cum autem partes die et loco sic sibi ad eligendum prefixis convenerint, invocata Spiritus sancti gratia secundum formam canonicam quam eis Deus tunc inspiraverit communiter ad eleccionem procedant. Quod si forte primo die eleccioni faciende prefixo partes non poterunt concordare cum communi accione trium vel quatuor dierum secundum quod fuerit necesse procedant donec per aliquam formam canonicam eleccio vel postulacio ibidem fuerit celebrata. Eleccio itaque celebrata major ejusdem ecclesie presens et potens ibidem incipiat *Te Deum laudamus*, et dicat collectam que fuerit dicenda super electum. Idemque sollempniter denuntiet clero et populo sicut negocii series se habet fideliter nomine utriusque ecclesie eleccionem factam, assistente sibi tunc ibidem majore alterius ecclesie leganturque ordinaciones pæpales tunc ibidem et hec eadem scriptura. Decretum autem eleccionis incontinenti communiter et sollempniter unum fiat loco quo tunc celebrata fuit eleccio, et ibidem mox post publicacionem consignetur sigillo ejusdem ecclesie, et cum celeritate qua fieri poterit per nuntios communes utriusque Capituli fideles transmittatur ad alteram ecclesiam in qua ea vice non fit eleccio sigillo statim illius ecclesie consignandum, et sub sigillis ipsorum procuratorum inclusum fideliter conservetur nisi quotiens communiter necesse fuerit illud presentari vel exhiberi iterato sub sigillis procuratorum recludendum et conservandum per procuratores ecclesie in qua tunc non fit eleccio usque ad necessariam ipsius exhibicionem. Presentetur autem eleccio celebrata domino Regi per procuratores et litteras procuratorias utriusque ecclesie . et in utrisque litteris fiat mencio de communi eleccione et presentacione, cujus presentacionis pronuntiacionem et priorem litterarum suarum porreccionem habeat procurator illius ecclesie in qua tunc non fiebat eleccio simul tamen eant veniant ad dominum Regem et redeant . et cetera fiant ut supra in peticione licentie eligendi scriptum est, et super assensu regio optento super eleccione facta et de persona electa nomine utriusque ecclesie impetrentur littere regie dirigende domino Cantuariensi, vel alii presidenti et confirmandi protestatem habenti. Quod si eleccioni dominus rex suum assensum adhibere distulerit vel denegaverit nomine utriusque ecclesie et sumptibus et per procuratores earundem prosecucio dicti fiat negocii hujusmodi sumptibus et aliis quibuscumque circa eleccionem vel ipsius eleccionis negocium qualitercumque contingentibus factis et fatiendis ab electo confirmato vel consecrato, et possessionem temporalium optinente . utrique ecclesie reddendis. Item fiat presentacio electionis electi et decreti domino Cantuariensi vel alii presidenti et confirmandi

potestatem habenti. et peticio confirmacionis eiusdem ab eodem simul per procuratores utriusque ecclesie. Quam peticionem et decreti presentacionem primo fatiat procurator illius ecclesie in qua ea vice eleccio facta fuit. Examinenturque super eleccione et electi persona et meritis ijdem procuratores et alii qui fuerint presentes de utraque ecclesia. Et si fuerit eleccio confirmata major illius ecclesie in qua non fuerit eleccio celebrata qui presens fuerit et potens incipiat *Te Deum laudamus*. et dicat collectam que fuerit dicenda super electum. Optenta itaque confirmacione fiat presentacio eleccionis confirmate et electi domino Regi prout superius scriptum est in presentacione eleccionis facte fatienda eidem, nonineque utriusque ecclesie impetrentur littere domini Regis super possessione temporalium optinenda, et fidelitatem fatiat electus domino Regi nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item neutra partium procurabit quocumque modo aliquod impedimentum quo minus altera partium admittatur ad eleccionem et ad omnia alia ipsam eleccionem contingentia prout ordinatum est per dominum papam et utrinque concessum. Item omnia que dicta sunt circa electionem observentur in omnibus et per omnia circa postulacionem si per postulacionem procedatur salvo jure canonico statuto circa naturam postulacionis. Procuret autem utraque dictarum ecclesiarum cum apud eam fuerit eleccio fatienda omnem securitatem et tranquillitatem in villa sua personis alterius Capituli illuc ad eleccionem venientibus et familie eorundem compescantque suos ab omnibus probris injuriis et contumeliis inserendis eisdem. Item fiat postulacio consecracionis a consecratore per procuratores utriusque ecclesie et nomine utriusque. Pronuntiacionem autem postulacionis predicte habeat major presens illius ecclesie in qua ea vice non fiebat eleccio assistente sibi majore alterius ecclesie qui presens fuerit leganturque tunc ibidem ordinaciones papales et hec scriptura. Item professionem suam fatiat electus nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item in examinacione in consecracione sua et in aliis contingentibus ipsam consecracionem stet a dextris electi major illius ecclesie qui presens fuerit in qua illa eleccio facta non fuit, et major alterius ecclesie presens a sinistris. Item offitia episcopalia vicissim et successive fiant in ipsis ecclesiis, ut synodi, ordinum ordinacio, et crismatis consecratio, quantum in Capitulis est ipsis contrarium non procurantibus. Item in synodis et in aliis congregacionibus publicis in dyocesi fatiendis, Prior Bathoniensis sedeat a dextris Episcopi Wellensis et Decanus a sinistris, Bathoniensis e converso, in aliis vero locis cum convenerint pro disposicione Episcopi. Item quod cape abbatum benedicendorum alternatim et successive cum professionibus suis ipsis ecclesiis conferantur, et professiones ipsorum semper fiant nomine utriusque ecclesie. Item quod nec prebende Wellenses antique, nec de novo inprebendate seu ecclesie commune Wellensis, sed nec ecclesie spectantes ad jurisdictionem Decani et Capituli vel alicujus canonici sequantur processiones Pentecostes ad loca in quibus monachi Bathonienses recipiunt oblaciones Pentecostes, nisi ille tantum in quarum possessione nunc sunt.

Hanc autem provisionis et disposicionis nostre formam utraque pars sibi recitatam sollempniter approbavit, et ad ipsam per omnia et in omnibus fideliter et bona fide

inter se perpetuo observandam, seque nullo umquam tempore in aliquo contravenire pro se et successoribus suis juramento in animas omnium et singulorum utriusque ecclesie corporaliter prestito per procuratores suos hinc inde per litteras patentes Capitulorum ad hoc ita jurandum . et ad hanc provisionem et disposicionem nostram admittendum et recipiendum spetialiter constitutos, se obligavit. In cujus rei robur et testimonium Prior et Conventus Bathoniensis et Capitulum Wellense una cum sigillo nostro presenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Staweye In parochia de Chyv, Idus Augusti anno incarnacionis dominice millesimo ducentesimo. quadragesimo sexto.

Nos igitur predicte provisionis et disposicionis formam ratam habentes et gratam ei nostrum per omnia adhibemus assensum . et hoc presenti scripto nostro protestamur. In cujus rei robur et testimonium de communi consensu eidem sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum Bathonie in Capitulo nostro quartodecimo kalendarum Semptembrium anno incarnacionis dominice millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

Endorsed:—Confirmacio provisionis. (*13th cent.*)
1246. Prior et Conventus Bathonie. (*15th cent.*)
Formula electionis Episcopi per Rogerum Episcopum. (*Late.*)

APPENDIX C.

Letters of pope Innocent IV.

1.—Add. MSS. British Museum, 15355, f. 116.

Innocentius etc. Priori et Conventui Bathoniensi.

Ann. i. Epist. 567.

Preamble. 1. Prolixa litis dilatio, pacis emula, nutrix discordie, comodi parca, larga dispendii, gladii judicialis ictum non sine litigantium jactura multiplici et gravi justitie lesione suspendit, exactrix quidem sumptuum, et laborum extortrix, sic ei veritatem implicite confusione processus involvit ut vix postmodum adhibita etiam attentionis manu sollicite audeat explicari propter quod sepius litigantes post expensas inutiles et labores inanes dampnum sustinent sui juris.

Unde sedis Apostolice providentia illud circa causarum strepitus quantum est in ipsa moderantie studium adhibet, ut prorogationis detrimento vitato post debite ventilationis examen vel juste mucrone sententie decidantur, aut amicabili sopiantur concordia, seu etiam meta ipsis equa provisione figatur quatinus partium parcatur sumptibus, quieti prouideatur eorum et cuique jus suum integre conservetur.

Prayer of Wells chapter for cassation of Roger's election rejected. 2. Sane bone memorie Episcopo viam universe carnis ingresso vos dilectum filium nunc Electum vestrum, tunc precentorem Saresberiensem in Episcopum elegistis vobis tandem electionem nobis hujusmodi per Thomam et Gilibertum monachos vestros nuntios presentantibus eamque

petentibus confirmari, dilectus filius J. Sarracenus Capellanus noster Decanus Wellensis Ecclesie pro eadem ecclesia ex adverso respondit, quod cum contemptis eo et Capitulo Wellensi qui debebant de jure requiri et erant in possessione vel quasi una vobiscum Pontificem eligendi, predicta electio celebrata fuisset, confirmanda non erat sed potius irritanda.

Confirmation of Roger's election.

3. Nobis itaque ne diu maneret grex dominicus absque cura et Episcopatus ex longa vacatione grave in spiritualibus et temporalibus incurreret detrimentum, prefatum Electum eidem episcopatui sine cujuslibet prejudicio in Episcopum preficientibus, de plenitudine potestatis utriusque partis nuntii humiliter petierunt ut ne in posterum cum Episcopatum eundem vacare contingeret posset ex hoc super electione Pastoris litigium exhoriri previdere in hac parte paterna sollicitudine curaremus.

Provision for future elections.

4. Nos igitur futuris volentes obviare periculis omnemque litis materiam amputare, de fratrum nostrorum consilio ex eadem potestatis plenitudine, sic super his duximus providendum ut decetero cum Episcopatus ipse vacaverit, vos et iidem Decanus et Capitulum simul electioni celebrande de Presule intersitis pares in hoc penitus existentes, ita quod utraque partium licet forte plures sint ex una quam ex altera parem et equalem in eligendo, postulando, et alias procurando eidem Episcopatui provideri habeat potestatem. Et si earum aliqua uni vel duobus ex ipsa super hoc commiserit vices suas illius vel eorum non minus valeant quam omnes reliqui partis voces, statuentes ut electionis processus aliter habitus sit omnino vacuus et irritus ipso jure, utrique ipsarum in aliis jure salvo videlicet vestri sit electio celebranda, in qua ecclesia Sedes esse debeat Cathedralis, et fieri habeat Pontificis installatio, et etiam cujus ecclesie sit Episcopus nominandus. Datum Laterani Kalendis Aprilis anno primo. (*March 23, 1244*)

F. 153. 2.—Ann. ii. Epist. f. 185. (*Jan. 3, 1245.*)

Innocentius etc. Decano et Capitulo Wellensi.

After preamble reciting the former judgment of March 23, 1244:

Nos periculis futuris occurrere ac Bathoniensi: et Wellensi Ecclesiarum paci et tranquilitati plenius consulere cupientes . . . . . statuimus, ...

Ut cum Episcopatus ipse vacaverit, prima vice in Bathoniensi alia vero in Wellensi ecclesiis, et sic vicissim semper in ipsis Pontificis electio celebretur, et utraque Cathedralis existat. Ubi autem celebrata fuerit electio, ibi primo installetur Pontifex, et utriusque ecclesie Episcopus nominetur, Bathoniensis videlicet et Wellensis, et sic in sigillo contineatur ipsius. . . . . Lugduni iii Nonas Januarii anno secundo.

F. 235. 3.—Ann. ii. Epist. 556. (*May 14, 1245.*)

Innocentius sic. Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo.

Cum juxta ordinationem nostram Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopus debeas nominari, idque in tuo sigillo debeat contineri, tu hoc pro tue voluntatis arbitrio facere denegas, prout dilectorum filiorum decano et capitulo Wellensis exhibita nobis patefecit. Volentes igitur ut talia corrigas per teipsum fraternitati tue per Apostolica scripta firmiter precipiendo mandamus, quatinus juxta prefate ordinationis tenorem Bathonieñ et Welleñ te nomines, et id apponi facias in sigillo. Mandatum nostrum taliter impleturus, quod super hoc aliter scribere non cogamur. Datum Lugduni ii. Idus Maii anno secundo.

VI.—*The Kalendar and Rite used by the Catholics since the time of Elizabeth.* *By the Rev.* John Morris, *S.J., F.S.A.*

Read February 28, 1889.

Accuracy in dating is of the first importance amongst the various contributions made by the antiquary for the use of the historian. The different commencements of the year and the introduction of the new style are well-known causes of confusion in dating events and documents; and it will perhaps not be devoid of interest if we now examine one portion of this large subject. The Catholics of this country in queen Elizabeth's time were in this matter in a peculiar position. They took their citizenship from England and their religion from Rome. The new style had been introduced by a pope, and for that very reason was not accepted in England; and indeed, apart from this, the kalendar had always been Church property, connected closely with fasts and feasts and prefixed to breviaries and missals, so that it would seem most probable that Catholics would follow the new style. On the other hand, it is plain that if they had done so they would have been exposed to a thousand practical inconveniences while living in the midst of a people who reckoned by the old style, and we cannot therefore decide the question *à priori*. Unfortunately proofs are not very numerous; but we will see to what conclusion we are brought by such proofs as we can find. And there will probably be some interest in the cognate inquiry when the English Catholics ceased to use the ancient Rites of Sarum and York, and in their stead adopted the Roman Rite.

The commencement of the year on the 1st of January and the change of style do not depend on one another; but as they were introduced together into

England, they are naturally associated in our minds, and practically we shall not be able entirely to separate them in the following discussion. We will, however, begin with the change of style.

Julius Cæsar believed the true year to be 365 days 6 hours; which is 11 minutes and some seconds in excess of the truth. He provided for the 6 hours by repeating the sixth of the kalends of March once in four years, whence every fourth year was called *bissextus*. Isidorus Hispalensis introduced the term "bissextile," by which leap-year is now known. It was a merited compliment to Julius Cæsar that the month *Quintilis* should be called by his name Julius, July. The name of *Sextilis* was changed to Augustus by that emperor, whose service to the kalendar was the amendment of an error made by the priests, who had misunderstood Cæsar's order, and intercalated a day in every third instead of every fourth year. September was renamed after Germanicus, and October after Domitian, but happily those names have not survived.

The Nicene Council in 325 fixed the vernal equinox on the 21st of March. If it had not been for Cæsar's miscalculation of the true length of the day, it would, of course, have continued so for ever; but by the year 1582, though the kalendar still marked the equinox on the 21st of March, it really was on the 11th. The error had accumulated to ten days; or, in other words, between the years 325 and 1582 there had been ten leap-years or intercalated days too many.

The belief in the sixteenth century was, that the excess of the Julian year over the true year amounted to one day in 134 years. Pope Gregory XIII. rectified the error of the past by omitting ten days; and he provided for the future by enacting that for three centuries after 1600, every hundredth year was not to receive an intercalary day, as by the Julian system it would have had, but the 4th hundredth year was to be bissextile. Thus 1896 will be leap-year, and then there will be seven ordinary years, 1904 being the next leap-year. According to the calculation of Gregory, it would be 26,800 years before the error of a day would have accumulated under this system.

But, according to *L'art de vérifier les dates*, this is not accurate, and the year is really 26 seconds shorter than Pope Gregory took it to be. This would bring about an error of a day every 128 years, instead of 134. The time will therefore come, if the world last long enough, when the Gregorian system of intercalation must be departed from, and a leap-year not provided for by Gregory will be omitted every 3600 years.

The Gregorian kalendar was approved by a bull of February 24, 1582. It decreed that the day following the 4th of October in that year should be the 15th

instead of the 5th. The famous St. Teresa died in the evening of that very 4th of October, and the 15th has become her festival.

The new kalendar was adopted on the day fixed in the bull by Spain and Portugal and part of Italy. France adopted it two months later, passing from December 9th to the 20th. The emperor and the Catholic States of Germany introduced the new style in 1583. After disturbances between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany, and especially at Augsburg, on account of the kalendar, it was agreed, after the peace of Ryswick in 1697, that the Protestants should adopt the reformed kalendar. This was carried into effect by the omission of 11 days between February 18 and March 1, 1700, *i.e.* 10 days *plus* the intercalary day of that year, which in old style was leap-year. Denmark, Holland, and the Protestant States of Switzerland adopted the new style about the same time. England accepted the Gregorian kalendar by Act of Parliament in the reign of George II., when it was enacted that the day following the 2nd of September, 1752, should be September 14. This change was very unpopular, and gave rise to the cry of the mob, "Give us back our eleven days." Russia still continues to observe the old style; and as it reckoned 1800 a leap-year, it is 12 days behind the rest of the world. If it keeps 1900 as a leap-year, it will then be 13 days out, and there the error will continue till the year 2100, if Russia holds out so long.

It is to be noticed that in the change from the old to the new style in any country certain days of the month were omitted but no day of the week was left out. Thus those who were observing different styles were keeping the same days of the week, though they were calling them different days of the month.

A cunning use seems to have been on one occasion made of the fact that a day of the month that was one day of the week in one style was another day of the week in the other style. Blackstone[a] says, that there is a method by which an English law-court can decide a matter of fact without a jury, called "trial by inspection." For instance, a court might decide the circumstances relative to a particular day past, by inspection of an almanack brought into court. The case he quotes is that of a writ of error from an inferior court, that of Lynn, and the error assigned was that the judgment was given on a Sunday. The judgment was dated Feb. 26, 26° Elizabeth. An almanack was brought into court, the 26th of February was ascertained to have been a Sunday, the error of fact was admitted, and the judgment was reversed. Curiously enough, Blackstone does

[a] *Commentaries*; London, 1783, vol. iii. p. 333.

not notice that in the 26th year of Elizabeth, 1583-4, the 26th of February old style was a Wednesday. In the new style, February 26, 1584, was a Sunday, and the party who wanted to quash the judgment pronounced against him at Lynn must have brought into court an almanack of the new style, printed on the continent the second year of the new style, and therefore all but the first almanack printed in accordance with it.

It is needless to say that if in addition to the day of the month the day of the week is also given, you can tell at once whether it is old style or new, as the two styles have different Sunday letters. So Mary queen of Scots wrote[a] her last requests to the king of France and dated the paper, "*Faict le matin de ma mort ce Mercredi huictiesme febvrier*, 1587." Now in 1587 the Sunday letter new style was D, and the 8th of February new style was a Sunday. The Sunday letter old style was A, and February 8 was a Wednesday. This shows that the queen of Scots, even when writing to the king of France, dated according to the old style. The year, it is to be noted, was called in England on the day of her death, 1586, but Mary calls it 1587. In doing so she was not following Scottish usages, for Scotland, which adopted new style in 1752 in union with England, changed the beginning of its year to the 1st of January in 1600 by proclamation made on December 17, 1599. But as this change was subsequent to Mary's death, she must have followed in this point the French computation. In 1563 Charles IX. published an edict that the year should commence on the 1st of January, which was accepted by the Parliament of Paris in 1567, at which time Mary was in Scotland.

Another instance of a date, exactly resembling that made use of by Mary queen of Scots, is given us by father Henry Garnet, in a letter preserved at Stonyhurst College. The letter is addressed to father Claude Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, to give him an account of the execution of father Robert Southwell, priest and Jesuit, poet and martyr. Father Southwell suffered at Tyburn, according to Stowe, on the 20th of February, 1594; according to Challoner and other Catholic writers, on the 21st. There is a picture of the martyr at Fribourg, and in the inscription the date of his death is given as March 3, 1595. This is, of course, new style, and counting back ten days we get to

[a] Labanoff, *Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1839, p. 200. Mary's will is dated "ce jourd'huy 7 febvrier 1587." The translation of Elizabeth's commission for the execution, dated Greenwich 1 Feb. 29 regni, is endorsed "Cette commission ainsi donnée, le septième jour ensuivant, qui etoit le 17 février selon le calendrier grégorien, dont aujourd' hui les chrestiens se servant," &c. *Ibid.* pp. 189, 198.

February 21 old style; and February 21 old style, and March 3 new style, were both Fridays; so that we have an independent authority giving a casting vote between Challoner and Stowe in favour of the former. Father Garnet's letter is dated the day after, "Londini, 22 Februarii, 1595"; where, as in queen Mary's case, the month and the day are old style, while the year is new style, or rather Roman.

We may now turn from the change of style to a somewhat fuller examination of the commencement of the year. Gervase, the chronicler in the twelfth century, describes to us the confusion that arose from the diversity as to the manner of reckoning the year. His words are these: "Amongst the writers of chronicles there is some dissension. For though they all intend to give the years of our Lord and the events that happened in them truthfully, they count the years in different ways, and thus introduce much confusion and falsehood into the Church of God. Some begin to compute the years of our Lord from the Annunciation, others from the Nativity; some from the Circumcision, and some from the Passion. Which are we to believe? The solar year, according to the Roman tradition and the Church's custom, takes its beginning from the kalends of January; and ends in the Christmas days, that is, at the end of December. Both computations cannot be right, when one begins the years of the Incarnation at the beginning, the other at the end of the solar year. Yet both give the same title to the years of our Lord, for they say that in the year so-and-so from the Incarnation such-and-such things were done. For these and like causes no slight dissension has arisen in the Church of God . . . . Almost all those who have written chronicles before me have taken the beginning of the following year from the Lord's Nativity . . . . I desire to follow my predecessors, and I begin the years from Christmas."

In consequence of this, Gervase places the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury in 1171, while its date, according to our computation, is December 29, 1170. The Venerable Bede says that the English began their year with Christmas, and a charter of Edward the Confessor gives an example: *Acta apud Westmonasterium 5 Kalendas Januarii die SS. Innocentium, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 1066, Indictione III.* The king died ten days after this date, Jan. 5, 1066.

The statement of Gervase, himself a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, and thoroughly well-informed, shows us that Mr. J. J. Bond, in his admirable "Handy-book," is too precise in saying that from the sixth century to the Conquest the year began at the Annunciation or at Christmas; from 1067 to 1155 on the 1st of January; and from 1155 to 1751 on the 25th of March. We can say definitely

when Lady Day ceased to be New Year's day, as we have an Act of Parliament to guide us; but we cannot date the beginning of this method of computation with such exactness as to say that it began in 1155, the accession of Henry II. Gervase is speaking of that very time, so that we must rather assume that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the custom of beginning the year on the 25th of March was gradually spreading, until it became universally prevalent.

It is worth noting that while the beginning of the year was so reckoned, the leap-years were counted by the solar year.[a] Thus Thomas Cecil wrote to his father, Lord Burghley, a letter now among the State Papers dated Feb. 29, 1571, and one of James I.'s proclamations is dated "Feb. 29, in the 17th year of our reign, 1619."

The curious fact may be added that papal bulls, and no other papal documents except bulls, are still dated with the year beginning on the 25th of March. Thus the very bull above mentioned, which approved the new kalendar, is dated Feb. 24, 1581 for 1582. And the bull of Urban VIII., suppressing the Jesuitesses, was issued on the 13th of January, 1630, that is to say 1631.

We have seen that Mary queen of Scots and father Garnet dated their letters by the day of the month in old style, though they were writing to persons abroad, who were using the new. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that amongst their fellow-countrymen Catholics used old style in the same way as their neighbours. They would otherwise have been involved in endless confusion. But it is not so easy to decide which style they followed for religious purposes.

It is possible that Easter was kept by the Catholics of England, and with it all the moveable feasts, on the same day that was observed by Catholics abroad according to new style. In a letter written by Dr. Toby Matthew, then bishop of Durham, to the lord high treasurer, to ask leave for a spy to frequent Catholic ceremonies without fear of being prosecuted for it, he says that the best time to catch the Catholics would be "between this and their Easter, being before ours." This letter is dated March 10, 1594-5. In that year Easter fell in the new style on the 26th of March, and in the old style on the 20th of April; that is, taking the ten days between the styles into account, new style Easter was thirty-five days before the other. As the rule for fixing Easter-day was the same in both styles, namely, the first Sunday after the first full moon on or after the vernal equinox, which was regarded as March 21st, it is plain that when the full moon fell on any of the ten days that intervened between the 21st of March new style and the

[a] Bond's *Handybook of Rules and Tables.* London, 1875, p. xvii.

same day old style, it was regarded according to the new style as after the equinox, and in old style before it, so that those keeping old style would have to wait for their Easter till after the next full moon.

Another element of disturbance in fixing Easter is to be found in this, that the days of the moon in the ecclesiastical kalendar, which are announced daily in the martyrology, are calculated according to the mean lunations, that is, the average period of the revolutions of the moon. The ecclesiastical new moons are thus sometimes nearly as much as three days out from the astronomical new moons. Besides, our new moons designate the first appearance of the crescent to the eye; but astronomically the new moon is its conjunction with the sun, when, of course, it is invisible to the earth, and this makes a difference of about a couple of days. This would cause a diversity of nearly a month in the observance of Easter whenever the astronomical full moon fell just after the equinox and the ecclesiastical full moon just before; and there would be the difference of a week when the astronomical full moon fell just before a Sunday and the ecclesiastical full moon after it. However, this is not very relevant to our present subject, as neither style calculated by the astronomical lunations.

Clearly Dr. Toby Matthew was speaking of the particular year in which he wrote, and of which he must have seen a new style kalendar; for he could not have meant to say that the Easter new style always preceded Easter old style. As a matter of fact, in the eighteen years from the introduction of the new style to the end of the century, seven times the two styles kept Easter on the same day; and on the other eleven years Easter new style came first. Thus in 1596 Easter-day was April 11 old style, April 14 new style, or a week earlier in new style than in the old, April 14 new style being April 4 old style.

Whether the bishop of Durham simply took for granted, without knowing, that English Catholics kept their Easter with their brethren on the Continent, or whether he had some positive information on the subject, his letter is not enough to establish this to have been their general usage, for it is contrary to every other trace that we have of the practice of that time. And first, a curious instance remains to show us that the remembrance of the old kalendar continued amongst the people even later than this. An old manuscript relative of the martyrdom of John Sugar, sent to bishop Challoner out of Warwickshire, says: "In the first year of the reign of king James in England, Mr. Burgoyne, a justice in the county of Warwick, on the 8th day of July, being Relic Sunday, sent a warrant to search the house of a Catholic dwelling in Romington for the apprehension of a seminary priest." It is true that an error has crept in here, for in 1603 July 10 was a

Sunday, and, what was more, according to the Sarum kalendar Relic Sunday, the third Sunday after Midsummer-day, must fall between the 9th and 15th of July, and never on the 8th; yet this error does not affect the point that concerns us, that in 1603 Relic Sunday was still remembered and spoken of as a date with which Catholics would be familiar.

Another example is the well-known case of father Henry Garnet, whom Sir Edward Coke at his trial accused of praying for the success of the Gunpowder Plot, by the use he made at Coughton of a verse of the hymn for the vespers of All Saints' day, 1605. Now, this was November 1, old style, as we learn from the evidence of some of Sir Everard Digby's servants, who accompanied Lady Digby to Coughton a day or two before. The hymn will have been said or sung openly in the family chapel, as father Garnet said that "the musician" was his accuser. The form of the verse quoted by Sir Edward Coke is from the Sarum breviary, and not from the Roman, which had been approved by Pius V. nearly forty years before. So was the form of the verse *Mater misericordiæ* used by Garnet at his execution. That execution too was on the third of May old style, and he said on the scaffold at St. Paul's: "Upon this day is recorded the Invention of the Cross of Christ, and upon this day I thank God I have found a cross." This was in 1606.

It was natural that the kalendar should have lived in people's memories, and they seem to have long persevered in the disciplinary practices that depended on the kalendar. There were the feast-days that were to be kept as Sundays, which for that reason were called holy-days, and besides, the fasting-days through the year. England had this peculiarity in old times that it had no abstinence-days which were not also fasts. These fasting-days were therefore more numerous in England than in other countries, as besides Lent, the Ember-days, the eves or vigils, two of the Rogation-days and St. Mark's day, all the Fridays throughout the year, excepting from Christmas to the Epiphany, and from Easter to the Ascension, were fasts.

In 1580, fathers Persons and Campion met for consultation "certain of the graver priests then remaining in London with divers principal laymen" at a little house in Southwark. On the point of fasting "the best resolution seemed to be, and most conformable to piety, reason, and union, that nothing should be altered in matter of fastings from the old customs; but in what shire soever of England (for all had not one custom, but the church of York some, and Canterbury and London others) the Catholics could remember that the Fridays or any other days or vigils were fasted, the same to be kept and continued now, and the priests

always to be the first and most forward to put it in execution; but when such knowledge or remembrance could not be had, then men not to be bound to fast, but yet commended, they that would; and this was so much as then seemed necessary to be spoken by way of counsel only, and not of commandment or authority, for direction of priests, for keeping of unity, until God should open the door for further determination by way of authority." Such is father Persons' own account of this interesting conference.[a]

Three years after this father Jasper Haywood furnishes a curious proof of how strongly the English clung to their ancient ways. On one of the Rogation days he was the guest of a gentleman whose wife was a Catholic and who himself was what the Catholics called "a schismatic"; one, that is, who went to the Protestant church but was a Catholic at heart. Father Haywood and the gentleman ate meat, the lady and others ate fish, and in consequence a discussion arose. Father Haywood argued the question against the English fasting days, and his host was so offended that he went out and brought back a copy of the Proclamation against the Priests. "Does that touch you?" he asked. "Certainly," answered Haywood; "but I am safe in your house." "That I have never promised you," said he; "and I am not so pleased with your way of living and thinking that I should risk my life and goods for you." Father Haywood was, in consequence of his want of discretion in such matters,[b] soon recalled from England.

The writer of a curious little book in the British Museum library,[c] the preface of which by I.B. is dated 1598, laments the falling off of the old observances. He says: "This slackness I perceived did grow upon divers occasions. Some pleaded ignorance: some omitted them of mere negligence: some fearing they should be accounted Papists. Few or none there were in those daies but thought it the safest way, and also sufficient, to keep such [feasts] as were then publicly bidden in churches by the ministers,[d] and none [were] then bidden by

[a] Stonyhurst MSS. Grene's *Collectan.* P. fol. 128.

[b] More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. iv. n. 11, p. 133.

[c] "A Treatise, with a Kalendar and the proofes thereof, concerning the Holy-daies and Fasting-daies in England. Printed with Licence."

[d] In the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536, one vicar in "the bidding of beads" on Sunday, October 15, did not give out St. Luke's day (18th) as a holiday, "and after mass," according to one witness, "they thought to have murdered him. Wherefore for fear of his life, he took the sacring bell into his hands, when they caused him to bid the beads again." On the previous Sunday, another witness declared, that "being in his parish church, when he heard the parish priest at the bidding of beads leave out St. Wilfrid's day (12th) for a holy day, he asked the same priest openly then why he did leave it out, for it was wont always to be a holy day there. And the priest answered that the same

them by the order of their books, but of those few saints which are expressly named in the Scriptures, al lawful pastors that would not follow their proceedings being displaced and many imprisoned; and some that otherwise were wel willing found it a great trouble and a matter of some difficulty in one family for some to keepe the holy daies and fasting daies and some others not. In conclusion, on the one side the Protestants rejected them as superstitious, and on the other side the Catholics waxed cold in these devotions; and some worldly-minded men were better contented with worke-daies than holy-daies. And yet I doubt not but al priests did their duties in saying the service of those feasts, according to their bookes, though they were not for that time commonly kept holy-daies." However, in spite of this writer's fears, the fast days continued to be observed as of old in England till in 1777 Pius VI. transferred the vigils through the year to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, and in 1781 abrogated the Friday fast. Meanwhile the abstinence on Saturdays, the Rogations, and St. Mark which Pius VI. left in force as "a pious custom descending from ancient times," which abstinence Pius VIII. took off in 1830, must have been brought into England from the continent. Of old the first and last Rogations and St. Mark were fasting days, and of the latter I. B. gives us a racy "by-word," as he calls it, that "*S. Marke carrieth his fast upon his backe*, which can be verified by no other feast but that only, for the vigils of other saints doe commonly go before them."

The abstinence on Saturdays had been introduced from Rome. This with other changes we learn by a comparison of the book before us with the "*Calendarium Catholicum* or Almanack for 1689," nearly two centuries later. Both books speak with some authority for their respective times. I. B. says for himself that "to further my purpose, about the tenth year of the late Queene,[a] I happily entered into conference of studies in the country for a time with an auncient and learned priest, who had good store of church bookes and many others fit for that purpose, who had also great experience in such matters by reason he had lived in practice thereof in his benefice in Queen Marie's time." He gives as days that ought to be kept holy in England, and were beginning to be neglected,

feast and divers others were put down for divers causes by the pope's authority and the consent of the whole Clergy in Convocation. And as soon as mass was done, all the whole parish was in a rumour for the matter, and said they would have their holidays bid and kept as they had before, and so they had ever since." Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, London, 1889, vol. ii. p. 104.

[a] This seems to indicate that, though written in 1598, this treatise must have gone through the press after the death of Elizabeth in 1603.

"S. Nicholas his day; S. George his day; the two holy Roode daies; the Wednesdaies in Easter and Whitson weeke; Good Friday; and some charged to be rased out of al church bookes, as both the Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and his feast in Christen-masse." By 1689 all these were gone into disuse except St. George and the Invention of the Cross; and "Mawdlen day, St. Mark, St. Luke, the Visitation and Conception of our Lady," given by I. B. in his table of holy days, had gone too. On the other hand, by 1689, St. Joseph, St. Anne, and St. Silvester had been inserted. The almanac of 1689 was "published by Henry Hills, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty for his household and chappell." When 1689 came, a Catholic almanac was not wanted for the chapel royal, as James II. ceased to reign on the 11th December, 1688. It is worth remarking that this almanac gives the Sundays as "past Trinity," which agrees with the Sarum kalendar, though similar almanacs for 1686[a] and 1687 reckon the Sundays "post Pentecosten" as in the Roman missal.

Prior to this date an old English custom had been recognised and permitted by Rome, though it was against the rubrics of the Roman missal and breviary. By those rubrics local octaves are not permitted between *O Sapientia* (December 17) and the Epiphany; but Urban VIII., on the 23rd of March, 1641, sanctioned "for the English and for those who visit their churches" the observance of the octave of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as it was "a most ancient English custom." The first feast granted expressly to England was that of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, on the 26th of May, with a proper mass and office. It was asked for, about 1722, by Bonaventure Gifford, bishop of Madaura and vicar apostolic of the London district; and the feast appears as a greater double in the supplement to the breviary, published in 1734 in London "*apud* Tho. Meigham *bibliopolam, via vulgo dicta* Drury Lane." This supplement contains the feast of St. George as a double of the first class with an octave, and, as this is antecedent to the decree next mentioned, it is probable that the feast of St. George was always kept as patron of England. A decree dated January 8, 1749, granted by Benedict XIV. at the request of his royal highness the cardinal duke of York, speaks of the following feasts as having been already granted to the English college at Rome and to the English province of the Jesuits, and it extended them to "all ecclesiastics of the English nation wheresoever living":

April 23. St. George, martyr, Patron of England, double of first class with an octave.
May 26. St. Augustine, Apostle of England, double of first class with an octave.

[a] This almanac has the chronogram *trIstItIa Vestra VertetVr In gaVDIVM. aLLeLVIa.*

Oct. 13. St. Edward, king, double of second class with an octave.
,, 21. SS. Ursula and Companions, martyrs, greater double.
Nov. 20. St. Edmund, king and martyr, greater double.
Dec. 29. St. Thomas, bishop of Canterbury, and martyr, double of second[a] class with an octave.

In the year 1765 a supplement to the missal and breviary was published, and in it we find a decree of pope Benedict XIV., dated January 2, 1754. This decree adds to the feasts mentioned above that of the Venerable Bede as a double on the 29th of October, with a proper mass and office. It begins thus: "*Ad pias preces . . . . (erga Ven. Bedam devotionis suæ perenne monumentum S. S. relicturi)*" etc. No doubt at that time it was not prudent to insert into a book that was to be introduced into England any mention of the Stuarts, but the words omitted evidently were *Serenissimi Jacobi III. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis*, and by *S. S.* we understand *subditis suis*, so that the feast of the Venerable Bede was asked for "by King James III. as a lasting monument to his subjects of his devotion" to that saint.

In 1774, by a decree of the Propaganda of the 21st of March, pope Clement XIV., at the request of the four vicars apostolic, from "the paternal charity with which he embraces those of the English nation who adhere to the communion of the Holy Roman Church," restored "the ancient custom, which had been intermitted on account of the state of the times," of celebrating the feasts of the following English saints—all as doubles, excepting St. Alban and the translation of St. Thomas, which are greater doubles:

Jan. 19. St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester.
March 1. St. David, bishop of Menevia.
,, 2. St. Chad, bishop of Lichfield.
,, 8. St. Felix, bishop of Dunmow.
,, 20. St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne.
April 3. St. Richard, bishop of Chichester.
May 19. St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 25. St. Aldhelm, bishop of Shireburn.
June 8. St. William, bishop of York.
,, 22. St. Alban, proto-martyr of Britain.
July 7. Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
,, 15. Translation of St. Swithin, bishop of Winton.
,, 17. Translation of St. Osmund, bishop of Sarum.

[a] In 1857 the custom was confirmed, which had prevailed at least from 1765, of keeping the feast of St. Thomas as a double of the first class by the secular clergy.

Aug. 31. St. Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne.
Oct. 3. St. Thomas, bishop of Hereford.
,, 10. St. Paulinus, archbishop of York.
,, 12. St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York.
,, 25. Translation of St. John of Beverley, archbishop of York.
Nov. 3. St. Winifred, virgin and martyr.
,, 14. Translation of St Earconwald, bishop of London.
,, 16. St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 17. St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln.
Dec. 5. St. Birinus, bishop of Dorchester.

This decree mentions that, with the exception of St. David, whose feast was kept by the Anglo-Benedictine congregation, all these saints were described in the Roman martyrology, and that "almost all of them were contained in the very ancient kalendar and missal of the church of Salisbury, which was common to most of the churches of the English province." The mass and office of these saints were to be said *de Communi;* those for St. Augustine and St. Bede being the only proper ones so far approved for England. But by a rescript of Propaganda dated July 26, 1823, Pius VII. approved, at bishop Poynter's petition, of proper offices and masses for these English saints. The prayers were drawn from the old office books and the historical lessons are from the pen of Dr. Lingard.

In 1843 Gregory XVI. granted, at the request of Dr. Wiseman, then bishop of Melipotamus, various festivals that were kept in Rome, but there is no English saint among them. In 1847 Pius IX. made St. Gregory a double of the second class, and the Venerable Bede a greater double, and in 1853 St. Patrick a greater double. In 1854 the feast of St. Boniface on the 5th of June was granted to England and Germany. In 1860 St. Eleutherius, the pope who sent missionaries to England, was made a double. Very recently a considerable number of English saints have been added, whose proper offices and masses were prepared by the Reverend Father Stanton, of the Oratory. Decrees dated August 14, 1883, and November 26, 1884, granted the following feasts, as simples, semi-doubles, or doubles:

Feb. 3. St. Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 11. St. Gilbert of Sempringham.
,, 12. St. Bennet Biscop, abbot.
,, 26. St. Ethelbert, king.
Mar. 3. St. Aelred, abbot.

April 17. St. Stephen, abbot.
,, 19. St. Aelphage, archbishop of Canterbury, martyr.
,, 24. St. Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 27. St. Egbert.
May 1. St. Asaph, bishop.
,, 13. St. Walburga, virgin.
,, 16. St. Simon Stock.
June 17. St. Botulph, abbot.
,, 23. St. Etheldreda, virgin.
2nd Sunday in July, Relic Sunday.
July 9. St. Willibald, bishop.
,, 30. St. Germanus, bishop.
Aug. 9 St. Oswald, king.
,, 18. St. Helen, widow.
Sept. 25. St. Ninian, bishop.
,, 26. St. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 30. St. Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury.
Nov. 10. St. Justus, archbishop of Canterbury.
,, 29. St. Willibrord, bishop.

There are, besides, a few English saints who are kept locally: the translation of St. Cuthbert on the 4th of September was observed in the old northern district; St. Edward, king and martyr, is kept at Plymouth on the 18th of March; the translation of St. Edmund, at Portsmouth on the 9th of June. And further, the 4th of May has become since 1887 the feast of the English martyrs collectively, and the feasts of B. John Fisher, B. Thomas More, B. Richard Reynolds, B. Margaret Pole, and others, are kept on their own days in different localities.

A few words are requisite to indicate the manner in which the English rites gave way to the Roman. It shows the vitality of local customs that the old fasts and feasts should have survived amongst the English Catholics so long. But the use of the old rites of Sarum, York, or Hereford must have been confined to the queen Mary priests, of whom there could have been but few, if any, who survived queen Elizabeth. The seminary priests from Douay, Rome and elsewhere, by whom the Catholic religion was kept alive in England, will have all learned and used the Roman rite. We have an entry in the *Douay Diary* that dates for us exactly when the students there, under Dr. Allen's presidency, first laid aside the Sarum use. Under the date[a] of the 23rd of April, 1577, we read: "In the space of five

[a] *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay.* Edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. London, Nutt, 1878, p. 118.

months twenty of our theologians were made priests. And all these celebrate mass daily according to the order of the Roman missal published by St. Pius V., having been carefully and diligently taught the rites of the same missal by the venerable priest Laurence Webb, who when at Rome conscientiously and minutely learned all its order and ceremonies."

The bull by Pius V. approving the reformed Roman missal[a] was issued in July 1570, and that approving and reforming the Roman breviary had appeared just two years before. They did not touch the authority of the Sarum, York, or other English uses, for they expressly exempted from their operation all missals and breviaries, even though authorised only by custom, provided that they had existed at least two hundred years. It was not therefore by the strong hand of authority, but by a natural death, that our venerable English uses died. It is interesting to see how long they lingered. Even after the accession of James I. a Sarum manual,[b] or part of one, was printed in 4to. by Laurence Kellam at Douay in 1604,[c] *permissu superiorum*. This charming little book consists of 168 pages small 4to. with 14 pages of annotations, in which amongst other things the words "bonnair and buxom" in the marriage service are explained.

However, this book was supplanted in ten years' time by one of the Roman rite,[d] printed in 1615, which was succeeded by a much fuller edition[e] published at Antwerp in 1626, containing a licence and approbation by John, bishop of Antwerp, dated February 18, 1621, and given in virtue of a special deputation to that effect by the pope. What with confiscations[f] and wear and tear, by

[a] The Roman Ritual was published by Paul V. in 1614.

[b] "Sacra Institutio Baptizandi, Matrimonium celebrandi, infirmos ungendi, mortuos sepeliendi, ac alii nonnulli ritus Ecclesiastici, juxta usum insignis Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. Duaci, excudebat Laurentius Kellam, typog. iurat. M.DC.IIII. Permissu Superiorum."

[c] Mr. Maskell mentions an 8vo. edition published at Douay in 1610. *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edit. vol. i. p. xci.

[d] "Missæ aliquot pro sacerdotibus itinerantibus in Anglia, ex Missali Romano Reformato. Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XV." sm. 4°. pp. 152.

[e] "Missale parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia et Ibernia itinerantibus. Ordo etiam baptizandi, aliaque sacramenta ministrandi, et officia quædam Ecclesiastica rite peragendi. Ex Pontificali et Rituali Romano, iussu Pauli PP. Quinti editis, extractus. Anno M.DC.XXVI." sm. 4° pp. 271.

[f] In searches made by pursuivants in Catholic houses, the old books were carried off as part of the "massing stuff." In the State Papers we often come across seizures of church books. Thus in 1582, a Sarum primer was taken; in August of the same year two portasses were taken from James Lessman a Franciscan friar of Mary's restored house at Greenwich; in January 1583 thirty primers from Peter Lawson, who must have been bringing in books from abroad, as he had also five hundred catechisms, fifteen Latin Testaments, forty-five books of meditation (*Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 154, n. 75, vol. 155, n. 9, vol. 158, n. 17).

this time, more than sixty years after the death of queen Mary, missals of the ancient uses must have grown very scarce in England, and the old priests were all gone who all their lives had known no other. The new Antwerp books were very handy for seminary priests to carry with them, containing as they did the *ordo* and canon of the mass, a selection of masses *de Tempore* and *de Sanctis*, and important and most necessary extracts from the pontifical and ritual. As from the pontifical the rite is given of consecrating a portable altar-stone, it is to be presumed that leave was given to the missionary priests to consecrate altar-stones for themselves in case of necessity. From the ritual all trace of Sarum use disappeared, excepting in the marriage service. The Council of Trent[a] had expressed a strong desire that all provinces should retain their own marriage ceremonies, and thus the forms of the marriage contract, with the gift of gold and silver, and the manner of putting on the wedding-ring were inserted in the extract from the Roman ritual for English use, and, with some slight modification, they retain their place in the rituals used by Catholics in England to this day.

I may conclude with the mention of a little manuscript in my possession. It is a York manual, or the greater part of one, written out by some priest for his own use in the days of Elizabeth. The form of marriage has been changed to that of Sarum by some other priest. The book, however, seems not to have been used out of York, as it formed part of the priests' library at St. Wilfrid's in that town up to the year 1881, when that library was dispersed. This would seem to imply that the Sarum form of marriage superseded that of York, even in York itself, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

[a] Si quæ provinciæ aliis, ultra prædictas, laudabilibus consuetudinibus et ceremoniis hac in re utuntur, eas omnino retineri Sancta Synodus vehementer optat. Sess. xxiv. cap. 1. De Reform. Matr.

VII.—*On a MS. List of Officers of the London Trained Bands in* 1643.

By the Hon. Harold Arthur Dillon, *Sec. S.A.*

Read March 21, 1889.

By permission of the Council of the Royal United Service Institution I exhibit a small MS. entitled *Ensignes, Trayned Bands, and Auxiliaries*, 1642. It is bound in white vellum, and at one time had strings or laces for keeping it closed. Both covers have a simple tooled and gilt double line round the edge, and in the centre a curious figure drawn in ink. It represents a sort of satyr with a tail and feet like a dragon. The front of his body is covered by an oval shield bearing the arms of the city of London in red ink. The figure holds in his hands on each side of the shield a cornucopiae, out of which rise the heads of several serpents.

The MS. consists of 77 leaves of gilt-edged paper with the "pot" water-mark. On the third leaf is the title:

"The Ensignes | Of the Regiments in the rebellious Citty of | LONDON | Both of Trayned Bands and | Auxiliaries. | Togeather with the nearest Number of | there Trayned Soldiers; taken as | they marched into Finsbury | feilds being there last | generall muster | Tuesday September xxvj. mdcxliii. | Anno pestifferæ Rebellionis."

Beneath this is added in another hand:

"Opera Gul:^{mi} Levett Arm^{ri}."

The next opening is a sort of double table of contents, with the numbers of the ensigns of the different regiments and the pages on which the ensigns and the number of men in each regiment are to be found.

The next opening but one, numbered pages 1 and 2, displays the ensigns or flags of the Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel of the Red Regiment of Trained Bands, with the names of those officers.

The flags are coloured, and the names are neatly engrossed, the rank being in print-hand, and extra notes in the manuscript hand of the period. So on through the MS. the names and ranks of the officers are given below their ensigns or flags, and occasional notes are added. At the end of each regiment is a short summary of the number of "Musketts," "Pikes," and "Officers," and a note as to when the regiment entered Finsbury Field, etc.

The flags consist of a staff with spear-head and two tasselled cords and the taffeta. In all cases the Colonel's flag is a plain one of the colour of the regiment. The Lieut.-Colonel has a similar one, but with the cross of St. George in a white canton. The Sergeant-Major has a flag like the Lieut.-Colonel, but with one distinctive mark, the 1st Captain has two distinctive marks, and so on.

These marks vary in the different regiments; the Red has wavy rays of white issuing from the lower inner corner of the canton. The White Regiment has red lozenges; the Yellow Regiment, black mullets; the Blue Regiment, white plates; the Green Regiment, white caltrops; the Orange Regiment, white trefoils slipped. The Tower Hamlets have on a red flag the words: IEHOVA PROVIDEBIT within two palms forming a wreath, and small sprays of palm in each corner, all in silver; the distinctive marks are silver plates in chief. The other flags are as follows:

The Westminster Liberty Regiment,—a red flag with silver stars.
The Southwark Regiment,—a yellow flag with blue plates.
The Green Auxiliaries,—a green flag with gold wavy rays.
The White Auxiliaries,—a white flag with red wavy rays.
The . . . . Auxiliaries,—a . . . flag with . . . wavy rays.
The Yellow Auxiliaries,—a yellow flag with blue rays.
The Red Auxiliaries,—a red flag with white plates.
The Blue Auxiliaries,—a blue flag with gold rays.
The Orange Auxiliaries,—an orange flag with . . . plates.
The Dragoons have five yellow standards, the ends slit and with rounded points, and bearing black plates according to their number.

In the Harleian Collection of MSS. there is a small volume containing a similar list of the officers, but with numerous additional notes. The flags are only shown in trick with the heraldic tinctures noted. This volume contains some other MS. notes of a similar nature, and the whole is said to be by Richard

Symonds, the author of the *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Camden Society, vol. 74).[a]

I am inclined to think that Symonds copied his list from the MS. now exhibited, and my reasons for thinking so are these: (1) The names are alike in both MSS. and so is the arrangement and pagination, but the Harleian MS. is roughly executed and not coloured; (2) The additional notes are such as Symonds might have added from his own knowledge, and in the title the word *rebellious* is omitted, but its place is left blank; (3) Inside the Harleian MS. is pasted a rude sketch of the figure described above as being on both covers of the MS. exhibited. The rough sketch has been cut from the parchment cover of the Harleian MS. and inserted when the MS. was bound up with the others.

There is also a curious difference between the two. Below the summary of the Red Regiment in the MS. now exhibited is the line:

"Was bang'd at Newbery."

This is omitted in the Harleian MS.

The ○ affixed to the names in the White and Southwark Regiments in the Harleian MS. appears to stand for "roundhead."

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing notes, Major Raikes, F.S.A. has kindly drawn my attention to chapter v. of his valuable *History of the Honourable Artillery Company*, in which he has sketched the history of the London Trained Bands at the period of the Civil War.

From this sketch the following notes may be of use as illustrating the list of officers now exhibited:

The Privy Council in 1614 directed a general muster of the City forces, and especially of the trained men enrolled about 1585. These latter were to be made into companies by the name of Trained Bands. In 1616 the Privy Council directed that there should be four regiments of these, the East, West, North, and South, each consisting of five companies.

In 1627 each of the four captains was to provide an antient of taffeta. In 1642 the Common Council ordered the Trained Bands to be increased to forty

[a] *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds.* Edited by C. E. Long, M.A. Printed for the Camden Society, 1859.

companies of 200 men each, and the Militia Committee were directed to appoint six colonels and thirty-four captains.

In August of this year twelve companies were chosen by lot to be in readiness to go out of London to join the main army for the relief of Gloucester.

On the 23rd of August six regiments, one of horse, two of the Trained Bands, and three of the Auxiliaries left London, and advancing by Uxbridge, Claydon, and Bayards Green, where they joined the main army, marched to Addington. On September 8, after some skirmishes on the way, the whole army entered Gloucester. Leaving that town on the 10th the army moved by Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Swindon, and arrived close to Newbury on the 19th. The next day the first battle of Newbury took place, and here the Red Regiment lost heavily, giving occasion for the remark in the MS. now exhibited: "Was bang'd at Newbery." The Trained Bands then returned to London, arriving on September 28th.

Major Raikes has printed the account of this expedition as related by Henry Foster, quondam sergeant to Captain George Morse.

These lists include a baronet and five aldermen, and most of the trades of a great city are represented. Thus what would be included under the name of haberdasher have eleven names; tailors, three; grocers, three; merchants, two; wine merchants, four; and dyers, two. Besides these are a confectioner, tobacco seller, sugar baker, skinner, woolmonger, woolstapler, and a soap boiler.

APPENDIX.

The Royal United Service Institution MS. is here transcribed verbatim, but the names of the officers are placed together by regiments instead of one on each page below his ensign or colour.

Additional notes from Harl. MS. 986 are inserted between square brackets [ ].

The Enfignes
Of the Regiments in the rebellious[a] Citty of
LONDON
Both of Trayned Bands and
Auxiliaries.

Togeather with the nearest Number of
there Trayned Soldiers; taken as
they marched into Finſbury
feilds being there last
generall muster.

Tuesday September. xxvj. MDCXLIII.
Anno pestifferae Rebellionis.

Trayned Bands.

			Pag:	Numb^r. pag:
[Newbery] Red	7 Enfignes		1	8
White	7 Enfignes		9	16
Yellow	7 Enfignes		17	24
	Regiment			
[Newbery] Blew	7 ——		25	32
Greene	6 Enfignes		33	39
Orenge	6 Enfignes		40	46

Additions to ye Trayned Bands.

Tower Hamletts	7 Enfignes		47	54
Westminster 7 En.	Regiment		55	62
Southwarke	9 Enfignes		63	72

Auxiliaries.

			Pag:	Numb^r. pag:
Greene	7 Enfignes		77	84
White	7 Enfignes		85	92
. . . .	7 Enfignes		93	100
Yellow 7 En	Regiment		101	109
Red	7 Enfignes		115	122
Blew	7 Enfignes		123	130
Orenge	7 Enfignes		131	138

Number of Ensignes both of trayned bands & Aux: 112

Summa totalis: pagina. 139

[a] The word "rebellious" omitted in the Harl. MS., but a blank left for it.

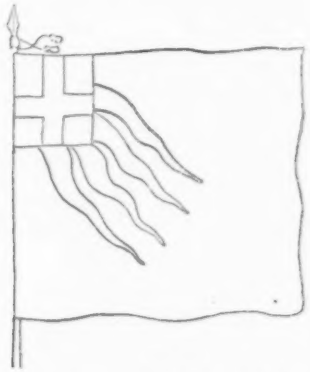
RED REGIMENT.

This Regiment was not. At the generall Muster. in ffinsbury feilds.

Musketts . . .
Pikes . . . . .
Officers about .

The totall .

[The limitts of this Regim^t^ Aldgate Marke Lane Tower Street Billingsgate]
Was bang'd at Newbery & came into London on Thursday. Sep: 28. 1643.[a]
[Came from Newbery on Thursday Sep 28 1643.]
Colonel. Thomas Atkins *Alderman.*
Colonels Captaine [or Capt. Leiftenant]. George Mosse.
Lieu^t^. Collonel. Randall Manwaring *Who grants theire Passes.* [was colonel of the Red Regt. of Auxiliaries & wt. them at Newbury]
S^r^eant Maior. Tucker. *Carried ye Prisoners out of Ely Howse to ye Shipp. afterwards was slayne at Newbery. Sep. 1643.* [Prisoners removed out of Ely House 1643, Mr. Wm Ingoldsby of Walton in Com Herts Cl. Mr. Walt ffarr Essex. Mr. John Scriuener Com Suff. Esq. Mr. Hopefill Tilden Jurate of Sandwich. Mr. Sam Daniell of Bulmer in Essex Ronsaul. Mr. Tilyard & Mr. Hall of Horney Yarmouth.
1. Captaine William Tomson. [this Tomson was leiftenant Colonel of this Regiment at Newbury]
2^d^ Captaine Edward Hooker.



Red Regiment. Third Captain's flag.

3^d^ Captaine. Laurence Bromfeild.
4 Captaine Richard Hunt [quondam servant to Capt. Ditchfeild] *a Confectioner in Bearebinder Lane, slayne at Newbery.* [this Hunt was 3^d^ Capt. at Newbery]

[a] This line is omitted in Harl. MS. 986.

White Regiment.

With this Regiment marched first into ye feild at ye General Muster.—Sep: 26.

Musketts . . .	600
Pikes	520
Officers about .	70
The totall .	1190

[7 Capt. 7 leift. 28 serjeant some 3 some 4 S'ieants]

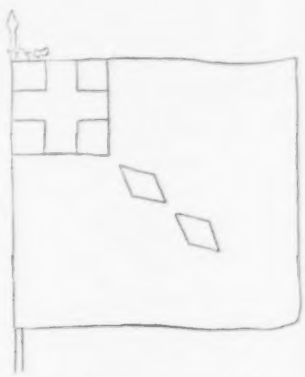
[The limitts of this Regim^t^ Cornhill Lumbard Street, Fanchurch ye upp pt. of Grace Church Street &c.]

Collonel. Isaac Pennington. [Usurper Maior 1643]

Collonels Captaine. Richard Verner.

Lieu^t^ Collonel. Robert Davies [a slopmaker for Seamen neare Billingsgate]

S^r^ieant Maior. Thomas Chamberlaine. [viol^t^ O a Merchant living neare London hall]



White Regiment. First Captain's flag.

1 Captaine Thomas Player [a hosyer & whole saleman for narrow wares living upon neare ffish street hill].

2^d^ Captaine Christofer Whichcot. *A Merchant* [Colonel of the Greene Regimt of Auxiliaries about Cripplegate].

3^d^ Captaine. William Manby *Clerke of Leathersellers Hall.*

4th Captaine Joseph Vaughan. *displaced.*

Yellow Regiment.

This Regiment marched Second into ye feild at the General Muster aforesaid & Consisted of

Musketts . . .	506
Pikes	448
Officers about .	070
The totall .	1024

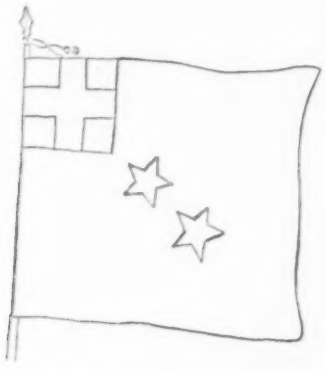
[The limitts of this Regim^t^ Cheapeside, St Pauls ch. yard: pt. of Watling Street, pt. of Newgate M^r^ket w^t^ in Ludgate Blackfriers, &c.]

Collonel. Sr John Wollaston. Knight *Alderman.*[a]

Collonels Captaine. John Brett. [a Grocer Silke painting Colo^r^ at ye Rose and Crown in Cornhill]

Lieu^t^. Collonel. Ralph Harrison. *Wollen Draper in Watling Street.*

S^r^ieant Maior. Richard Cuthbert. *A Wollen Draper in fleet street neare White Fryars-gate*



Yellow Regiment. First Captain's flag.

1 Captaine. Robert Tichburne. *A Linnen by y^e^ little Conduct in Cheapeside.*

2^d^ Captaine Walter Lee. *A Haberdasher in Ludgate,* [at the signe of ye Sun and Bowle] *did breake the Windowes of Westminster Abbey.*

3^d^ Captaine. William Hichcock. *Wollen Draper dwelling in Watling Street.*

---

[a] The words "S^r^" and "Knight" have been added in a differently coloured ink.

BLEW REGIMENT.

This Regiment was not at this Muster. but came from Newbery. on Thursday September. 28.

[It was the biggest Regim^{t} of ye Trayned Bands 1400 of them at Brainford Turnhā green.]

[Limitts of this Regim^{t}. P^{t} of Thames Street beginning at St Magnus Church and reacheth to Bread Street, Dowgate, Walbrooke, ffriday street & pt of Watling street &c.]

Collonel Thomas Adams. *Alderman* [he was not at Newbery].

Collonels Captaine. Edward Clegatt *Thames Street.*

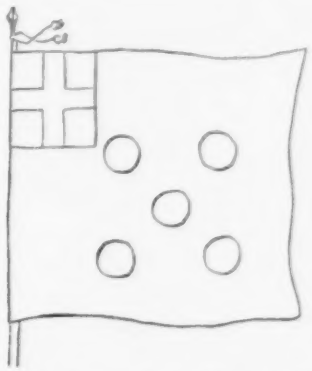
Lieu^{t}. Collonel. Francis West. [A Silke man living in Bread streete. This West was colonel of this Regimt. at Newbery, Capt. Edw. Stoning was his leiut. there and shott in the heele & dyed at Reading & buried there.]

S^{r}ieant Maior. William Underwood [a Tobacco Seller in Bucklersbury Capt Rich. Hacket p^{o}ceded this Underwood in this Regim^{t} but left them refusing the Oath of Association[a] and is now in his Maties Service] Garlick-hill & Queene Hythe Company.

1 Captaine. Edward Bellamy. [a Vintner at the Rest on Fleet bridge a ffishmonger in Thames street under the Bridge. Capt. Rich. Hacket was Capt. of this Company]

2^{d} Captaine. John Booker. *Register to the Comissioners of the Statute of Banckrupt; dwells in Wallbrooke.*

3^{d} Captaine. George Dipford. *A linnen Draper or Merchant.*[b] *ag^{t} Bow-Church.* [near Bow Church in the ch. yard]. Cheape-side Company against the Standard.



Blue Regiment. Fourth Captain's flag.

4th Captain. William Coleson. [he w^{t} his company carried the Statues in the church of Allhallowes to ye parliam^{t}, a dyer living near Dyers hall in Thames in Little Allhallowes pish tenant to Mr. H.] *of the Custome howse, dwells in Allhallowes-Barkinge.*

[a] See the Green Regiment.

[b] The words "*or Merchant.*" are an addition.

GREENE REGIMENT.

This Regiment marched. 3d into the feild at yc same general muster. wth

Musketts . . .	503
Pikes	297
Officers about .	063
The totall . .	863

[The limitts of this Regim^{t} is Coleman Street the Stocks Lothbury Old Jury pt. of Cheapeside.]

Collonel John Warner. *Alderman.*

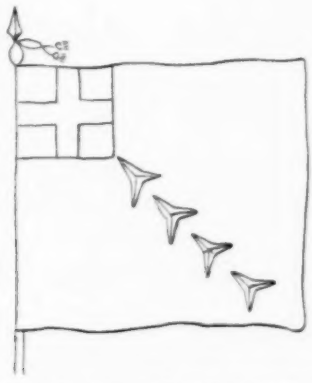
Collonels Captaine Thomas Juxon [Twas Juxon of Surrey that was killed at N.] *Slayne at Newbery on this manner. His horse was shott in ye forehead, & ran wth him violently into his Maties Army, where the horse fell downe dead, & himselfe. mortally wounded* [& left dead, but the body of ye Army leaving the place left him too and by that time he recovered his sword and was carried to London & dyed w^{t}in few days. his estate was near Godalming in Surrey wher he lived] *wthin few dayes dyed.*

Leiut. Collonel. Mathew Foster. [Vintner at the Shipp beyond Exchange putt out himself but tooke the oath of Association taken by the Capt. of the Citty for opposing all forces raysed w^{t}out consent of P.] *Vintner. put out.*

S^{r}ieant Major. Owen Roe. *A Mercer in Cheapeside.*

1 Captaine. Mathew Sheppard. *Merchant* [a Sugar baker ptner w^{t} Juxon afores^{d} in St Thomas Apostles.

2d Captaine. Francis Roe. *Brother to S^{r}ieant Mar. Owen Roe aforesaid.* [one of those Roes lived in Coleman Street.]



Green Regiment. Third Captain's flag.

3d Captaine. Robert Mainwaring. *of the Custome House living in Aldermanbury.* [hath a troope of horse besides & quitted this Capt.]

ORENGE REGIMENT.

At ye Generall Muster aforesaid there marched into the feild wth this Regiment

Musketts . . .	630
Pikes	408
Officers, about .	063
The totall	1101

This Regiment Marched ye 4th into ye feild.[a]

Collonel John Towse *Alderman* [grocer neare Mercer's Chappel].

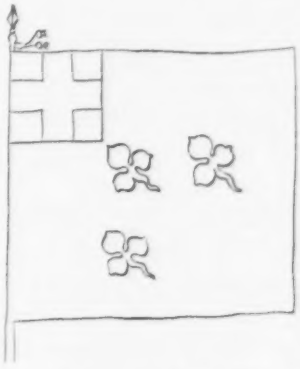
Collonels Captaine. Boswell *a Taylo^r^ in the old Baylwicke.*

The limitte of this Regim^t^ are, from Ludgate to Temple Barre, Black Fryers, and Bridewell, &c. part of Holborne, & all St Sepulchers parish.

Leiu^t^ Collonel. Rowland Wilson. [neare Merchant Taylors Hall married Aldermā Wrights d & co heir] *Son in law to Alderman Wright.*

S^r^eant Maior. Nathaniel Gamfeild a *Saleman ag^t^ St. Sepulchers Church.*

1 Captaine. Thomas Gower. Holborne Company from the Barres downewardes &c.



Orange Regiment. Second Captain's flag.

2^d^ Captaine. Richard Wollaston. *a Wollen Draper dwelling near^e^ ye Exchange.* Fleetstreet Companye.

3^d^ Captaine. Myles Pettye. *a Wollen-Draper dwelling ag^t^ Holborne Conduct.* Snow Hill, & Sepulchers Company.

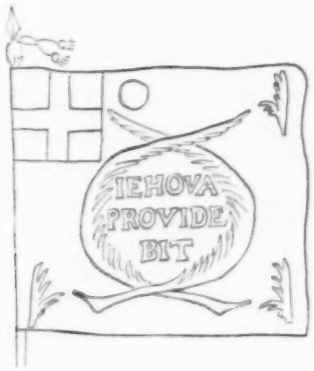
[a] An added entry, omitted in Harl. MS. 986.

Tower Hamletts Regiment.

This Regiment marched 5 into y^e^ feild with.

Musketts . . .	819
Pikes	385
Officers	070
The total	1304

Collonel. [The Lieut. of ye Tower ex tempore] Hamletts belonging to y^e^ Tower.
Leiu^t^ Collonel.



Tower Hamlets Regiment. Sergeant Major's flag.

S^r^eant Maior.
1. Captayne. [Hook a Vinegar man of these captaines].
2^d^ Captayne.
3^d^ Captayne.
4th Captayne.

Westminster Libertye Regiment.

This was the Sixth Regiment that marched into the feild and it Consisted of

Musketts . . .	1084	1938
Pikes	0854	
Officers	80	
Toto	2018	

Collonel. Sir James Harrington [Bart] *Sonne and heire to Sr Edward Harrington of Ridlington Com Rutland.* Without Temple Barre & ye parts adiacent. Westminster. libertye [lived at Highgate].

Lieu^t. Collonel.

S^rieant Maior.

1 Captayne. [Mr. Fauconbge older brother of ye Tally office is Capt in this Regiment]

2^d Captayne George Warren. *a Taylo^r in Sheere lane Came into his office. 26 of Septemb. 1643. This Company Consiste of Sheere lane. Bell-yard; from Holborne barrs to ye Kings-gate, & all Purpoole lane.*

3^d Captayne.

4th Captayne.

SOUTHWARKE REGIMENT. [Wch they now call Aux Mr John Luntlow Major of Sr Rich Crispe's Regimtt can tell all this Regim^t at Water Eaton.]

This is the 7th & last regiment that marched into feild and it Consisted of

Musketts . . .	868	at most
Pikes	456	
Officers about .	70	
In all . . .	1394	

Collonel. Hudson. *a Skinner in Southwarke* (erased in Harl. 986 and in place of it,) [Hooker a Stiller of strong Waters living in St Mary at Hill neare Billingsgate who comitted Mr Newbery to prison about 14 Aug. 1643.] Southwarke Regiment.

Lieu^t. Collonel. [Tho Hudson a skinner in Southwark]

S^rieant Maior. [Hardwick a Sope Boyler living in Southwark at ye signe of ye 3 holy-water Sprinkles]

1 Captayne. [p Mr Newbery The Captaines in this Reg Sep 1643 Capt Hobson a grocer in Southwark]

2^d Captaine [Capt. Sowton a woodmonger in Southwark]

3^d Captayne. [Capt. Hobland a dyer in St Oloves in Southw]

4th Captaine. [Capt. Geo Snelling a distiller of strong waters in St Oloves pish]

5th Captaine. [Capt. John Thornto a fell monger or Sheepe skin gatherer]

6th Captaine. [Capt. Luke Bradley a Woolstapler living in Barnabe Street in St Oloves]

[These violent ○]

These Regiments following, are called Auxiliaries.

These Regiments of Auxiliaries did not march into the feild with the Trayned Bands, but did muster, by themselues, some, in the new Artillery Yard, others seuerally in Moorefeilds.

GREENE REGIMENT.

This Regiment Mustered in the Artillery yard by Moore-feilds.
Suppose the number to be at most.—1200.
Collonel [Chr.] Whicheott [a merchant 2d captain in Pennington's Regim^{t}].
Cripplegate & Auxiliaries
Lieu^{t}. Collonel.
S'ieant Maior.
1. Captaine.
2d Captaine.
3d Captaine.
4th Captaine.

WHITE REGIMENT AUXILIARIES.[a]

—— REGIMENT AUXILIARIES.[b]

This Regiment of Aux: mustered in Moorefeilds but it being night before the Trayned bands marched all into y^{e} feild. could not distinguish this.

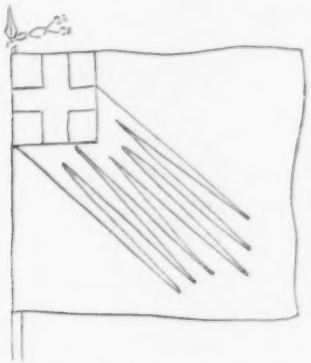
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[a] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers

[b] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers.

YELLOW REGIMENT AUXILIARIES.[a]

Colonel. Tichburne. Lieu[t]. Colonel to



Yellow Regiment Auxiliaries. Sergeant Major's flag.

This ensigne w[th] that of 6 piles did muster by themselues in a pasture by the Windmills. they both consisted of Musketts. 112. Pikes 30. | 142.



Regiment of Dragoons. Second Captain's flag.

This Regiment of Dragoones, did Muster in the Artillery Yard, on the 26 of September; 1643
They did belong to Waller.
There number was about.—500.

The Three Regiments of Auxiliaries[b] following Videlt.
Red.
Blew. &
Orenge.
did gett home from Newbery on Thursday. Septemb. 28. 1643.

[a] Ensigns given, but no names or numbers, except under the Colonel's and Sergeant Major's flags.

[b] The ensigns of these three regiments are given, but without names or numbers.

Trayned Bands.		Auxiliaries.		
At Newbery Red-Regim[t] suppose it recruted	1000		Greene Regim[t] suppose it at most	1200
White Regiment mustered	1190		White Regim[t] suppose it at most	1000
Yellow. Regiment mustered	1024		.... Regim[t] suppose it at most	1000
At Newbery Blewe. Regiment suppose it recruted	1000		Yellow Regim[t] suppose it at most	1000
Greene. Regiment mustered	0863		Red Regim[t] suppose it recruted	1000
Orenge. Regiment Mustered	1101	At Newbery	Blewe Regim[t] suppose it recruted	1000
			Orenge Regim[t] suppose it recruted	1000
Additions to y[e] Trayned Bands.				
Tower Hamletts Reg. mustered	1304		Number of Aux.	7200
Westminster Liberty mustered	2018			
Southwarke Regim[t] mustered	1394		Number of trayned bands	10894
Toto	10894		Numerus totalis.	18094

VIII.—*On a newly-discovered Manuscript containing Statutes compiled by Dean Colet for the Government of the Chantry Priests and other Clergy in St. Paul's Cathedral.* *By* W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., *Sub-Dean of the cathedral.*

Read March 21, 1889.

St. Paul's Cathedral was, as might be expected from its position and influence, unusually rich in obits and in chantries. From the foundation of the chantry of master John de London, early in the reign of Henry II., to that of Robert Brocket, citizen and baker, in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII., a continuous stream of benefactors appears amongst the records of the cathedral, who desired to express their piety by the endowment of chantries for their own souls and for the souls of members of their families.

Most commonly the endowments made provision for the maintenance of a single chantry priest, as in the case of the chantry of master John de London, already referred to; sometimes for two priests, as in that of bishop Roger Niger, founded in the time of king Richard I., or in that of bishop Richard de Gravesend, founded in 1360; sometimes for three priests, as in the chantry of Sir Philip Basset, knight, of Hedindon, Oxon (in 1260), who gave his manor of Boyton to the dean and chapter for the support of the priests; or in that of Sir John Pulteney (23 Edward III.), or Dean More; sometimes for a still larger number, as in the case of Adam de Bury, "who underwent the office of Lord Mayor in 1364" (the phrase is Dugdale's), whose chantry of three chaplains was augmented by canon Roger Holme, so that it maintained no less than seven priests. To the priests of the Lancaster chantry bishop Braybroke gave part of his old palace as a residence.[a]

[a] Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, edition 1818, pp. 18—29.

In addition to the chantry foundations were those minor endowments for the celebration of obits, of which in the early part of the fourteenth century there were no less than 111. The annual income of these amounted to 183*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.*, which, if multiplied (as Dean Milman suggests[a]) by 15 to bring the amount up to its present value, would represent a yearly sum of about 2,758*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.*

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of the chantries. In the Appendix to the present paper will be found a list, now for the first time printed, of seventy-three chantries, with their values, and the names of the respective chaplains. This list is not dated, but the handwriting points to the fourteenth century as the period of its compilation.[b]

The Return of Chantries, dated 1 January, 1 Edw. VI. (printed in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 380 *et seqq.*), enumerates thirty-six chantries, if groups of united chantries are reckoned as one chantry, or fifty-three chantries if each be counted separately.[c] The gross annual value of these was about 646*l.* 6*s.*

The union of some of the chantries had been effected by competent authority. In 1391, May 7, Richard II. issued letters patent in which he sets forth the facts following:

Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, had lately visited the cathedral. He had found that some of the chantries which had been originally of but small endowment had now grown so poor that they could not support a chaplain; in consequence, they were held by rectors and beneficed clergy of the city and diocese of London, and indeed by the clergy of other dioceses also. The holding of a chantry was incompatible with other duties, as it required personal residence at the cathedral, and hence the intentions of the founders had been frustrated, and the foundation of other chantries greatly hindered. The king proposes, with the consent of the dean and chapter, to unite some of these poorer chantries, and thus to secure adequate remuneration for the priests who served these altars.

The royal recommendation was carried into effect. The bishop issued letters on June 26, in which he lays down several important regulations. From henceforth no beneficed person shall hold a chantry. The minor canons are, however, specially exempted from the operation of this rule, "propter exilitatem," and "propter eorum gradus excellentiam necnon assiduum laborem eorundem in divinis." Chaplains are to attend choir offices day and night, and to take part

[a] Dean Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, second edit. p 145, with Appendix by Archdeacon *Hale* giving a careful list of these obits, pp. 504—514.

[b] See Appendix No. II. to the present paper.

[c] See Appendix No. IV. for a tabulated abstract of this return.

in processions, funeral rites, and the like. They are to live in the mansion called "Presteshous," founded for them,[a] or in the chambers of their respective chantries. The royal licence having been duly obtained, the bishop issues his letters, dated 6 June, 1391, with a list of the unions which had been determined upon. The effect of this legislation was to condense some fifty-nine chantries into twenty-seven groups.[b]

The chantry priests must have been always a somewhat difficult set of people to deal with. Certainly archbishop Sudbury denounces them in no measured terms, in a document printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*.[c] The archbishop and his suffragans met together in solemn conclave, on November 16, 1378, "in quadam camera infra septa monasterii Petri et Pauli Gloucestriae Wigorniensis diocesis," to consider the position and conduct of the chantry priests throughout the province of Canterbury. The conclusions at which they arrived are recorded in such vigorous terms that it may probably be better to give the original words than to deprive them of any of their force by translation.

"Sane communis ad nos querela perduxit, et magistra rerum sapientia manifestat, quod moderni temporis sacerdotes nostrorum civitatis, dioc.,[d] ac provinciae Cantuariensis adeo jam cupiditatis vitia infecerunt, quod stipendiis rationabilibus non contenti pro labore salaria vendicant et recipiunt plurimum excessiva; sacerdotesque praedicti sunt cupidi et delicati salariis excessivis hujusmodi farcinati, evomunt, indomiti delirant, et deficiunt, ac eorum nonnulli post ventris ingluviem, et varias carnis illecebras spumant in libidinem, et tandem in malorum voraginem funditus demerguntur, in virorum ecclesiasticorum detestabile scandalum, et exemplum perniciossimum laicorum."

The great swelling words of the archbishop seem to prove too much. If the charges thus brought against a large body of men were literally true, nothing short of deprivation and degradation ought to have been their lot. Merely to reduce their salaries was a very inadequate way of dealing with such grievous offenders. But yet this is the course actually taken, for on the sixth of the kalends of December in the same year, the archbishop issues a decree:

"At quicunque in nostra civitate, diocesi, seu provincia Cantuariensi pro animabus defunctorum annualia celebraturi, septem marcis, aut cibariis et tribus marcis; alii autem, qui curae animarum deservient, octo marcis, aut cibariis et quatuor marcis sterlingorum, annuatim contententur."

[a] See the original documents in my *Registrum Statutorum S. Pauli*, pp. 142—158.

[b] See the list of these united chantries in Appendix No. III.

[c] iii., 135—6.

[d] Wilkins prints *diocc.* but it is *dioc.* in the original *Register*.

So that the evils of unbridled gluttony and lust are to be cured by the reduction of the chaplains' stipend to seven marks a-year, or their *cibaria*[a] and three marks; whilst, if they have cure of souls, they may receive eight marks, or their *cibaria* and four marks.

Probably a good deal of allowance is to be made for the somewhat turgid style of the archbishop, if any just view is to be formed of the iniquities laid to the chaplains' charge. No doubt many of the men were very illiterate. They had plenty of leisure, and the statutes of the cathedral and common report seem to show that there was really a good deal to be said against them.

It is a little difficult, however, to reconcile charges such as these with the known poverty of many of the chantries. In the early list appended to the present paper the highest value of any chantry is ten marks per annum, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; whilst the lowest reaches the miserable amount of eight shillings. The value is stated of 64 chantries, and the gross annual income of these amounts to 292*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*; a sum which, if equally divided, would have provided an average stipend of 4*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*; a sum which can scarcely be considered as allowing for any great luxury or costliness of living; and which perhaps may be held to justify a desire for some annual increment which it is a little hard to brand with the name of covetousness. It cannot, however, be denied, if the evidence of statutes may be safely taken, and such evidence is of a high order, that many of these mass priests were discreditable persons, and that they led loose and dissolute lives.

But, indeed, society at large held some of its moral obligations very loosely. It was characteristic of a good country parson, as Chaucer[b] says, that

> He sette not his benefice on hire,
> And let his shepe accumbred in the mire,
> And ran unto London unto Seint Poules
> To seeken him a chantery for souls.

There were many, however, who deserted their flocks, and took up their abode in London: and certainly the higher clergy were equally indifferent to their duties. In archbishop Winchilsea's register, at the end of the thirteenth century, there were some of the clergy "that had fifteen, others thirteen, while one held

[a] Ducange says Cibaria: *Frumentum, bladum;* but probably the word is here equivalent to our word *board.*

[b] Chaucer, *Prologue*, 509—514.

no fewer than twenty-three benefices. The twenty-three clergymen given in the list held an average of eight livings each."[a] Nor were matters much better in the sixteenth century, for still some priests had "as many as ten or twelve benefices." Cardinal Pole received at eighteen years of age the deanery of Wimborne Minster, having previously, when seventeen, held a prebendal stall in Salisbury diocese: whilst it is said of bishop Fox, who was consecrated bishop of Exeter in 1487, removed to Bath and Wells in 1491, and translated to Durham in 1494, that he never saw his cathedral at Exeter, nor set foot in his diocese of Bath and Wells.[b]

Even Colet himself had his full share of the Church's preferments. "He was only nineteen when he was preferred to the great living of Denington, in Suffolk, a piece of preferment which he held afterwards with the deanery of St. Paul's, and kept to his dying day. He had a prebend in the cathedral at York. His father also presented him to the church of Thoyning in the diocese of Lincoln.[c] He had stalls in the church of St. Mary le Grand, and in the cathedral of Salisbury. These preferments he obtained before he was even in deacon's orders: it was doubtful whether he was even a sub-deacon, or more than an acolyte."

Long as is this list of preferments, Dr. Sherborne, dean Colet's immediate predecessor, was a far greater offender, as the dean's latest and best biographer, the Rev. J. H. Lupton, has been careful to point out.[d]

Colet expresses himself most strongly on this very point in his famous convocation sermon.[e] Covetousness, he says, is called by St. Paul idolatry:

"This abominable pestilence hath so entred in the minde almost of all pristes, and so hath blynded the eies of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges but onely vnto those whiche seme to brynge vnto vs some gaynes. For what other thinge seke we nowe a dayes in the churche than fatte benefices and hygh promotions. Ye, and in the same promotions, of what other thyng do we passe vpon than of our tithes and rentes? that we care nat howe many, howe chargeful, how great benefices we take, so that they be of greatte value. O, couetousnes! saint Paule iustly called the the roote of all euyl."

[a] F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i., p. 21, citing Bishop Gibson's *Codex*, p. 946.

[b] *Ibid.* pp. 21—24.

[c] Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vi., 284. The Dean suggests that Thurning may be the place indicated under the name of Thoyning.

[d] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 116—121.

[e] *Ibid.* p. 296.

With much more to the like effect. The "most parte of prestes" care for that which "dothe delite and please the senses. They gyue them selfe to feastes and bankettynge; they spend them selfe in vaine bablyng; they gyue them selfe to sportes and playes; they applye them selfe to huntynge and haukynge; they drowne them selfe in the delytes of this worlde; procurers and fynders of lustes they set by." He points out that "pristhode is dispised, whan there is no difference betwixt suche pristis and lay people; but, accordynge to the prophecy of Ozee, *as the people be, so are the pristes.*" "Hit is nat inough for a priste, after my iugement, to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answer to a sopheme; but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approued maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes, chiefly and aboue all thyng, the feare of God, and loue of the heuenly lyfe."[a]

There is a sly hit at the wealth and luxury of the greater canons in Dan Lydgate's verses painted below the Dance of Death in the great cloister of St. Paul's.

Death speaks to the canon secular:

> And ye, Sir Chanon, with many great Prebend
> Ye may no longer have distribution
> Of gold, silver largely to dispend,
> For there is now no consolation
> But dance with us for all your high renowne.
> For if death stode upon the brinke,
> Ye may thereof have no delacion
> Death cometh ay when men least on him thinke.

To whom the canon makes reply with no attempt to deny the pluralities laid to his charge:

> My benefice with mery personage
> God wot ful lite may me now comfort.
> Death hath of me so gret avauntage
> That all my riches may me nought disport
> Amisse of gris they will ayein resort
> Unto the world a surpless and prebend.
> All is vainglory—truely to report
> To dyen well each man should entend.

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[a] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 295—296, p. 297, p. 300.

When the grave duties and responsibilities of the higher clergy sat so lightly on their shoulders, it can hardly be a matter of surprise that some of the poor, illiterate chantry priests did not exhibit model lives, or tried, in their poverty, to imitate "*haud passibus aequis*," the luxurious idleness of some of their superiors.

Certainly, dean Colet, when he attempted to restore "the decayed discipline of the cathedral body,"[a] had set himself a task of no common difficulty. How difficult it was may best be seen by a perusal of the Rev. J. H. Lupton's admirable and scholarly *Life of Colet*. Dr. Knight observes, that the dean's earnest preaching against the prevailing corruptions in the Church had "exposed him to the hatred and calumnies of the more ignorant and inferior part of the clergy; and especially of those belonging to his own choir, who could not well bear his love of discipline and regulation, being so very obnoxious themselves to church censure on the account of their ill behaviour." He supports this statement by a tale which he relegates to the modest obscurity of a foot-note.

"How profane and dissolute some of the popish choir of Paul's were about this time does appear in the remnant of an old English book, printed in the latter end of Henry VII., that has this plain story in it: 'Certeyne of vycars of Poules dysposed to be merye on a Sondaye at hye masse tyme, sent another madde felowe of theyr acquayntance unto a folyshe dronken preest upon the toppe of the stayres by the chauncell dore, and spake to hym, and sayd thus, Syr, my maistre hath sent you a bottell to putt your drynke in, because ye can kepe none in your brayne. Thys preest beynge therewith very angrye, all sodenly toke the bottell, and with his fote flange it down into the bodye of the churche upon the gentylmennes heddes.' "[b]

Upon this story it is sufficiently obvious to remark, that the foundation is very small and insecure if a serious charge is to be based upon it. The *animus* disclosed in the curious phrase, "the popish choir of Paul's," probably supplies a clue to the right understanding of the story. Did Dr. Knight expect to find a Protestant choir in St. Paul's while Henry VII. was upon the throne? Why did he not specify the source from which he derived his unsavoury tale? "The remnant of an old English book printed in the latter end of Henry VII." is, it must be confessed, a vague and obscure reference. What was this "old English book"? who was its author? who printed it? Henry VII. died in 1509; the English books "printed in the latter end" of his reign, are not quite so numerous as those

[a] Rev. J. H. Lupton, *Lives of Vitrier and Colet*, p. 24.

[b] Knight's *Life of Colet*, second edition, p. 78.

which issue from the press to-day. Why does he speak of "the remnant" of a book? Were there other tales in it; and were they so unsavoury that the rest of the book had been destroyed? Was only one copy of it extant, and this only in a fragmentary condition? Supposing that such a book did exist, was the story true? If the story were true, what does it prove? Only this; that there was one foolish, drunken priest at St. Paul's on whom some of the vicars played a profane practical joke. The dean would have made short work with such a man. The very next Saturday he would have been compelled to appear at the chapter then held, and would have been dealt with according to his deserts. Surely the "gentylmenne" on whose "heddes" the bottle descended would have handled the offender somewhat roughly. In truth, the story does not bear serious examination. Grave charges against bodies of men should not be made by inaccurate[a] compilers on the authority of anonymous scribblers. It is evident that Knight did not know the name of the author of the story; or, if he did, that it was not of sufficient weight to carry any authority.

Happily, the dean's labours after reform and salutary progress, do not rest on such a mythical basis. The Statutes which Colet compiled, and a collection of *Exhibita* to Cardinal Wolsey, have been printed in Dugdale's *History of St. Pauls*,[b] from a manuscript the original of which cannot now be discovered; and with some few emendations, in the *Registrum Statutorum*,[c] already referred to. It will not be necessary in the present paper to discuss these interesting documents, as its main object is to deal with hitherto unpublished matter.

The writer has been so fortunate as to discover, in the possession of Mr. Richard C. Jackson,[d] an important manuscript, containing some unpublished statutes of dean Colet, which have hitherto eluded observation, and are now, by Mr. Jackson's courtesy, for the first time printed. The manuscript is undoubtedly genuine, and contemporary with dean Colet, and is a good example of one of the fine hands for which the Scriptorium of St. Paul's cathedral was famous. It is printed in its entirety in the Appendix to this paper,[e] and it is proposed to give in the following pages a somewhat condensed summary of its contents.

[a] That the phrase is not too severe may be seen in the footnotes to Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 15, 122, 202, 204, 231, 240.

[b] Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 342—354, and pp. 360—367.

[c] *Registrum Statutorum Eccles. Cath. S. Pauli*, pp. 217—248.

[d] Now residing at Grosvenor Park, Camberwell.

[e] Appendix No. I.

The manuscript commences with a brief introduction in which dean Colet relates that, as he has found reason to believe that the chaplains of the cathedral (*capellanos*, the chantry priests) may easily fall into error, and incur the danger of a breach of the oath which they had taken, in consequence of their ignorance of the statutes by which they were bound, he had carefully read through the book of the cathedral statutes, and had extracted from it all those portions which related to the chaplains, and had gathered these into a little book, which book he had ordered to be placed in the choir of the cathedral, so that in future no chaplain should be able to plead ignorance as to the exact nature of his duty.

Then follow the *excerpta* which the dean had made.

There are, he says, in the cathedral, certain priests holding chantries, which chantries had been founded from time to time to the honour and glory of God. These priests are known by various names, such as, *secutores chori*, *co-adjutores*, and by other titles which he does not specify.

Great care is to be taken (so the dean and canons agree in determining) that henceforth no chaplains shall be admitted to their office until they have been carefully examined, and good testimonials produced as to their life and laudable conversation. In every case, by whomsoever the chaplain may be presented, the dean shall ascertain that he is of honest life and good morals, to which end the candidate shall bring with him written testimonials from men of good reputation, priests or laymen, or, better still, from both. His character being satisfactorily determined, the dean shall next ascertain whether he have sufficient learning. And if the priest be one of those who are *secutores chori*, or of those called *co-adjutores*, after it has been proved that he has sufficient learning, he shall be forthwith sent to the succentor, who shall certify as to his musical knowledge, *quod est peritus in cantu*. And if his knowledge of plain song be sufficient, the dean shall order that he be acquainted with the obligations which pertain to the particular chantry to which he is nominated, and shall allow him sufficient time to read the foundation deed or statutes. This being done, the dean shall interrogate him, whether he be prepared to obey these statutes, and to bind himself by an oath so to do. If he reply in the affirmative, the dean shall solemnly admonish him to take heed to perform the duties which he is about to undertake, and shall warn him that neglect of those duties will not go unpunished. If the candidate shall then with due gravity assent, he shall be directed to read these *excerpta* from the cathedral statutes which the dean has prepared, one copy of which shall be placed in the choir, and another in the hall of St. Peter's college; and the dean shall appoint some one of the chaplains, a grave and sober man, to conduct

the candidate to the book, and to see that he reads it, which being done, and solemn promise having been made that he will obey those statutes, the priest shall be admitted to the chaplaincy of the chantry under a solemn oath, first of obedience to the dean and chapter, and then of his willingness to live according to the statutes of the cathedral and the regulations of the particular chantry which he is to serve; and further, that he will submit himself obediently and willingly to the correction of the dean, and that if after just admonitions and corrections he should habitually fail in his duty, he will allow himself, without difficulty, to be deprived of his chantry.

These orders, it is hoped, will prevent the recurrence of vexations which had been a heavy burden to the dean and a sore trouble to the chapter in times past, recalcitrant chaplains having been ejected only with the utmost difficulty.

Then follow the exact terms of the oath to be taken on admission, in which the chaplain swears to obey the dean and chapter in their lawful and canonical commands; to observe the special duties of his office, and the laudable customs and statutes of the cathedral, and to submit himself, if he fail, to correction herein; if he offend in matters for which no penalty is provided in the statutes, to submit himself to such penalties as may lawfully be imposed; to abstain from lawsuits and appeals; and not to seek any dispensation from his oath.

To this succeeds a series of regulations as to the duties to be performed and the manner of performing them.

The chaplains shall celebrate at the altars severally assigned to them. They shall approach the altar vested in white surplices, and over these shall put on their sacerdotal vestments. They shall celebrate daily, so far as possible, lest the founders be defrauded of their prayers. No strange priests shall be allowed to say mass at their altars without permission of the dean and chapter. The priests shall be content with their stipends, of whatever kind they be, and shall not accept payment from other persons to celebrate for them. All shall be present at the divine office on the greater feasts, at matins, prime, masses, evensong. Those who are *secutores chori* are bound to take their part in the divine office day and night; all these dwell together in St. Peter's college and have there *mensam et cameram*, food and lodging.

Here is introduced a regulation which seems a little out of place, as the matter of which it treats has been already handled, viz., that before any chaplain is admitted he shall be examined by the succentor, or by one of the cardinals,[a] to

[a] There are still two cardinals in St. Paul's Cathedral.

ascertain whether he be able to chant sufficiently well to go through the daily labours of the choir, and if he be not able he is to be rejected.

At the funerals of all those *qui sunt ex habitu in ecclesia S. Pauli*, all the priests and chaplains shall attend, and out of pure charity shall pray for the deceased, remembering that they too are mortal, and so doing to others as they would they should do unto them.

No person having an ecclesiastical benefice requiring personal residence can be admitted to a chaplaincy at St. Paul's, and if such an one be admitted in error, such admission is to be void; nor may any chaplain accept such a benefice.

Those who hold united chantries are to take their share of choir duties, for the emolument being increased so also should the labour be; and they are to live in St. Peter's college, and to sleep in their chambers there.

The chantry priests must not wander about the city, nor must they go outside the city, unless they have sought and obtained license from the dean and chapter, who shall determine the length of absence to be allowed, and the reasonableness of the cause for which leave of absence is sought.

The priests must submit themselves obediently to the dean and chapter, and must not proudly and disdainfully trouble their superiors by audaciously appealing against their decisions, but humbly and reverently submit to their authority. Those who rebel shall for their intolerable pride be ejected from their office.

Here ends the first section of the manuscript.

The second section consists of statutes issued by dean Colet, with the consent of the chapter, in his visitation of the cathedral, in the first year of his deanery, on the 20th of June, 1506. The following is a summary of these provisions.

All choir clergy are to enter the choir at each office of day or night at the commencement of the office, the penalty of unpunctuality being one penny.

Except for just cause no one may leave the choir until the office which has been commenced is ended, under the like penalty.

On entering the choir every one shall modestly and devoutly make a reverence, first to God, then to the dean.

Wrangling, chattering, jeering, laughter, must be banished from the choir, each offender for each offence shall pay one halfpenny.

In choir they must stand *erecti et simplices*, or sit *pulchre et honeste*, and diligently perform the appointed duty of the office.

All shall attend chapter daily, two and two, and shall hear what has there to be read, the obits, and the like.

On Sundays they shall go in order, two and two, to the sprinkling of holy water, and afterwards shall stand outside their stalls in choir, ready to take their places in procession.

At procession all shall enter the choir, and go forth from the choir, or else take no part in the procession. In the case of absence from procession a statute of bishop Warham provides that a fine of twelve pence is to be levied, as well from the greater as from the minor canons. If any one intrudes himself into the procession after it has started from the choir, he shall be considered as absent.

If those who take part in the procession are to wear copes, the virgers shall bring a table into the midst of the choir and shall place the copes upon it. Each person in his due order shall approach the table, and quietly, without murmur or confusion, take a cope.

During procession all shall abstain from conversation with laymen or any other persons; breach of this rule involved a fine of two pence.

The cardinals shall diligently note the names of those who fail in their duty, and summon them to appear at the Saturday chapter, that they may be corrected.

Here follows the rule for the Saturday chapter, which rule was read and confirmed at the visitation of bishop FitzJames. It provides that all who wear the habit shall attend the chapter, without exception, that they may hear whatever shall then be treated of in reference to the worship of God and the well-ordering of the Church. They shall hear ill-doers admonished and corrected, and well-doers commended and rewarded. They shall hear whatever may be said by the dean or his vice-gerent concerning good manners and spiritual edification, and whatever else may transpire at the chapter. Whosoever absents himself from this chapter will incur the grave displeasure of the dean and chapter, and will be liable to such penalty (unless he amend) as the dean and chapter may see fit to inflict.

The priests must stand, bow, prostrate themselves, and turn their bodies according to the due order.

The clergy of St. Paul's must not carry weapons (*arma et instrumenta pugnandi*) neither in the city, nor when they take their recreation in the fields. If they would go without the city they must assign a reason for so doing, and obtain the sanction of the dean. If the dean does not deem the reason sufficient, then let that man, whosoever he may be in the church, know that he has no power to depart.

The clergy must not wander about the city, must not frequent taverns, must

not approach suspected places, must not admit to their society suspected persons, nor openly nor secretly talk with women.

All the priests and ministers of the church must remember their oath of canonical obedience, must carry themselves humbly, must not have "a proud look and high stomach," must not make impertinent replies, but must meekly bear the discipline of the dean, lest they violate the aforesaid oath.

In face, dress, carriage, tonsure, and *corona*, they must be as becomes priests. They must not be executors, sureties, *firmarii*, collectors of rents, except for the cathedral.

The priests of the college of St. Peter must obey their warden (*procurator*) and observe his statutes: which statutes shall be submitted to the dean and chapter.

And, finally, they shall all study to please God; shall abstain from evil, shall follow that which is good; shall set a worthy example; shall live holily, soberly, and chastely; shall do always that which is good and fruitful, that they may obtain the favour of God and man.

The earnest words of the statutes cannot but recall to mind the language of dean Colet's epoch-making sermon "made to the Conuocation at Paulis," on February 6, 1511–12:

"Lette be rehersed the lawes and holy rules gyuen of fathers, of the lyfe and honestie of clerkes; that forbydde that a clerke be no marchant, that he be no vsurer, that he be no hunter, that he be no common player, that he beare no weapon; the lawes that forbyd clerkes to haunte tauernes, that forbydde them to haue suspecte familiaritie with women; the lawes that commaunde sobernes, and measurablenes in aparayle, and temperance in adournynge of the body."

And again, the vigorous application of his subject to the consciences of his clerical hearers:—

"If ye wyll haue the laye people to lyue after your wysshe and wyll, fyrst lyue you your selfe after the wyl of God; and so, trust me, ye shall gette in them what so euer ye wyll."[a]

It would be interesting to know what effect was produced by this legislation. Here, at any rate, the dean and his chapter appear to have been of one mind, though there were times when he was "out with his chapter"; if we may borrow a phrase from a sort of common-place book of the early part of the seventeenth century preserved among the cathedral archives.[b]

[a] Lupton's *Life of Colet*, pp. 300—302.

[b] *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 418.

Dean Hook seems to imply that the quarrels which arose in the cathedral were between Colet and those whom he is pleased to call the "underlings" of his church. Colet's own words were plain enough: if he had hard things to say of the "underlings," he had charges quite as hard to lay at the door of the residentiaries. "The residentiaries themselves," he says, "need reformation, no less than the canons did in days gone by. . . They cast aside their care of the church; they pursue their own private gains; they convert the common property to their own private use. In these unhappy and disordered times *residence* in the cathedral is nothing else than seeking one's own advantage, and, to speak more plainly, robbing the church and enriching oneself."[a]

Dean Hook further says:[b] "In Colet's time hospitality was in a transition state. The various officers of St. Paul's cathedral received their salaries, and they expected the dean to keep a table for them, if not, as in times past, every day, yet probably on every festival of the church, at a time when festivals were numerous. We can easily understand how these entertainments in London, among the lower class of the clergy and their dependents, degenerated into riotous living, and brought discredit on religion. The austere dean determined to effect a reform. The munificence of the founder of St. Paul's school was such as to secure him from the suspicion of penuriousness, and Colet acted probably with the full approbation of Warham and the higher ranks of the clergy. It is not precisely what you do that gives offence, but an unhappy manner of doing it. Colet so conducted his reform as to excite against himself the animosity of all the underlings of his church. The dean found it more difficult to contend with the Cretan bellies of his petty canons than to struggle against the Bœotian intellects of his opponents at Oxford."

Upon which it is to be remarked that these poor men, the aforesaid "underlings," may possibly only have been contending for their rights, and that, to use dean Hook's forcible phrase, the residentiaries also had, on Colet's own showing, "Cretan bellies."[c] Nor is it quite so easily to be understood why entertainments under the dean's own eye should have "degenerated into riotous living," or should have "brought discredit on religion." Colet's strict temperance and moderation might rather have had an opposite effect. Mr. Lupton says very

[a] Mr. Lupton's translation of a passage in Colet's *Ordinances*. See *Life*, p. 134, quoting *Registrum*, p. 228.

[b] Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vi., 288, 289.

[c] The γαστέρες ἀργαί of St. Paul (*Titus*, i., 12) quoting Epimenides.

justly, that Colet "brought the traditional hospitality of the deanery within more decorous limits," and "that this may have been one secret of his unpopularity with a part, at least, of the cathedral clergy," who, every now and then complained, as Erasmus declares, "of being treated as monks."[a] And this, no doubt, is strictly accurate. There were other causes also in operation, as Mr. Lupton shows.

Certainly, if the feasts were quite as prolonged as that of which a humorous story is told in Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, there may have been grave objections to such banquets; but here the chief offender, if indeed the story be more than a playful exaggeration or even a pure fiction, was a person so august that the poor "underlings" dare scarce have raised their eyes to gaze upon his portly presence.

"An Italian having a sute here in Englande to the Archbushop of Yorke that then was, and commyng to Yorke Toune at that tyme, when one of the Prebẽdaries there brake his bread, as thei terme it, and thervpon made a solemne long diner, the which perhaps began at eleuen and continued well nye [till] fower in the afternoone, at the whiche diner this Bishoppe was: It so fortuned that as thei were set, the Italian knockt at the Gate, vnto whom the Porter, perceiuyng his errande, answered that my lorde Bushop was at diner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixt xii. and one; the Porter answered thei were yet at diner. He come again at twoo of the clocke; the Porter told hym thei had not half dined. He came at three a clocke, vnto whom the Porter in a heate answered neuer a woorde, but churlishely did shut the gates vpon hym. Wherevpon others told the Italian, that ther was no speaking with my lorde almoste all that daie, for the solẽne diner sake. The gentleman Italian, wonderyng much at suche long sitting, and greatly greeued because he could not then speake with the Bishoppes grace, departed straight towardes London; and, leauyng the dispatch of his matters with a deare freende of his, tooke his iourney towardes Italie. Three yeres after, it happened that an Englisheman came to Rome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked hym if he knewe the Bishop of Yorke? The Englisheman saied he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell me, (quoth the Italian) hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englisheman, much meruailying at his question, could not tell what to saie. The Italian vp and told him all as I haue saied before, whereat thei bothe laughed hartely."[b]

[a] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 148; *Vitrier and Colet*, 25.

[b] Thomas Wilson. *The Arte of Rhetorike.* Edit. 1584, pp. 156-7, quoted in Watorn's *History of English Poetry.* Edit. W. Carew Hazlitt, vol. iv., p. 247.

The fact is that Colet attempted a thorough and far-reaching reform. He desired that each man in the cathedral, from the highest to the lowest, should labour faithfully in the divine service; and certainly he set a noble example in his own person of fidelity and earnestness. He endeavoured to recal the Divinity Lecturer to some sense of his responsibilities, who had excused himself from lecturing at all because the statute required that he should lecture *continue*, which, as he acutely observed, no man could do.[a] It was, perhaps, a little unfortunate that this inability to comply with the requirement of the statutes had not produced a corresponding inability to receive the emoluments. Colet tried to arouse the residentiaries, by fervid appeals, from their worldly and covetous spirit. He did his best to quicken the minor canons to greater zeal, to awaken the chaplains from their apathy, and to incite the virgers to greater watchfulness. He was strict, says Erasmus, about canonical obedience.[b] In fact, he laboured hard to effect a sound and religious reform, and he found, as many a reformer has found, both before and since, that he had roused a nest of hornets. It was no petty quarrel between the great dean and the "underlings." Colet stood almost alone: canons, major and minor, even the bishop himself, all against him; though his old friend, archbishop Warham, never forsook him.

It is a pleasant task to rescue from oblivion even this little fragment of dean Colet's handiwork, which forms the subject of the present paper.

[a] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 140. [b] Lupton, *Vitrier and Colet*, p. 40

APPENDIX No. I.

Excerpta a D. Joanne Colet, Decano, ex libro Statutorum, ea quae concernunt Capellanos Ecclesiae S. Pauli Londinensis.
Statuta edita a D. Joanne Colet, in Visitatione sua MDVI.[a]

Joannes Colet Decanus ecclesiae S. Pauli considerans Capellanos ejusdem ecclesiae ex ignorantia eorum statutorum quae ad eos pertinent posse peccare et etiam in periculum perjurii incurrere: perlecto diligenter libro Statutorum ecclesiae S. Pauli, excerpsit et collegit omnia ea Statuta quae ad Capellanos spectant, ac in libellum hunc redegit, quem in hoc choro hujus ecclesiae S. Pauli poni jussit, ut facile ab omnibus cognoscatur ne deinceps Capellani aliqua ignorantia se excusent.

Excerpta a D. Joanne Colet Decano ex libro Statutorum ea quae concernunt Capellanos ecclesiae S. Pauli.

Sunt in ecclesia S. Pauli sacerdotes qui Cantarias habent, qui progressu temporis devotione diversorum hominum introducti fuerunt in ecclesiam ad augendum et amplificandum honorem Dei. Quorum quidam sequutores chori, quidam coadjutores, quidam aliis nominibus sortiuntur.

Quo ordine Capellani admittendi sunt.

Ordinatum est omnino sanxitum et stabilitum a D. Joanne Colet Decano suis fratribus consentientibus ut Capellani in ecclesia S. Pauli quicunque sint, deinceps non admittantur ad Cantarias suas nisi prius diligentissime examinentur, et nisi bonis testimoniis constiterit eorum vitam et conversationem laudabilem esse. Quamobrem antequam admittatur aliquis presentatus (et hoc a quoquunque presentetur) interroget ante omnia et cognoscat Decanus, qua honestate et

[a] The above heading is not part of the original document.

The manuscript here transcribed is composed of twenty-three leaves of vellum, the first page and the last three leaves of which are blank. The height of a page is 12⅛ inches, and the width 8 inches—whilst the writing occupies a space of 7⅛ inches by 4¼—thus affording very ample margins. The handwriting is very clear and distinct, the character not unlike Roman letters. There are fourteen lines to a full page; some capital letters ornamented with red and blue—the headings to the various sections and the marginalia being rubricated.

It seems probable that the manuscript may have belonged to the Rev. A. C. Onslow, rector of St. Mary Newington, at whose death it passed into the hands of a bookseller, of whom it was purchased by Mr. Richard C. Jackson residing at Grosvenor Park, Camberwell.

quibus moribus sit. Cogat Capellanum ut ducat secum testimonium in scriptis quorundam bonorum virorum, vel sacerdotum vel laycorum, vel potius utrorunque alioquin nequaquam admittatur. Quod si probe testificatum fuerit eum et honestum et moribus idoneum esse, tum exquirat Decanus si habeat sufficientem litteraturam et doctrinam. Et si fuerit Capellanus ille in his qui sectentur chorum, vel in his qui coadjutores vocantur, postquam constiterit de ejus doctrina competenti: mittatur evestigio ad Succentorem, qui testimonium referat D. Decano quod est peritus in cantu. Quod si in illa arte sufficiens ad necessarios chori labores extiterit, tunc antequam admittatur jubeat eum Decanus ut videat fundationem cantariae suae ad quam presentatur, et eam legat et omnia ad quae obligatur ex fundatione agnoscat, assignet ei Decanus ad id tempus sufficiens. Quo facto interroget eum Decanus si arbitretur se eam fundationem servare posse, et si eandem voluerit servare atque jurejurando se servaturum promittere: quod si annuerit, tunc postea quando Decanus graviter admonuerit eum ut caveat quod in se onus suscipiat, et predixerit ei si deliquerit peccatum illius non inultum fore. Si rursum annuerit seriosis verbis quoad eum Deus adjuverit se sancte et inviolate omnia quae fundatio Cantariae suae exigit observaturum, tunc postremo jubeat eum legere quaedam Statuta excerpta et collecta ex Decretis et Statutis ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Capellanos illius ecclesiae concernentia contenta in uno libello quem fecit describi D. Joannes Collet Decanus dupliciter, et unum librum ligavit in choro, et alium in aula Collegii S. Petri jubeat quod eum Decanus ut eum librum legat, et Statuta illa discat. Et assignet ei Decanus Capellanum alium quem voluerit sobrium et gravem virum qui ducat eum ad libellum illum: qui videat etiam ut illum librum legat. Quod si tum pollicitus fuerit, et promiserit se illa quoque Statuta quoad poterit pro viribus inviolabiliter observaturum, tunc tandem admittatur ad Capellanatum et ad Cantariam illam sub sancto et religioso jurejurando, tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangeliis, ubi juret se servaturum obedientiam in omnibus D. Decano et Capitulo, et secundum Statuta ecclesiae victurum, et secundum regulas fundationis suae facturum alioquin obedienter et libenter castigationem D. Decani sese subiturum. Postremo si consuetudinaliter et habitualiter et post justas admonitiones et correctiones quasi inemendabiliter deliquerit et peccaverit, se privari sua Cantaria facile passurum.

Hunc ordinem deinceps omnino servet Decanus ut in admissionibus diligentiori consideratione adhibita, Capellanorum numerus ex melioribus constet sacerdotibus: utque etiam ipsi Capellani non amplius dicant se ignorare ad quid obligantur utque postremo ecclesia malis sacerdotibus non oneretur, ad magnum Decani gravamen et fratrum turbationem, qui semel introducti etiam quomodoqunque exorbitaverint difficillime ejitiuntur.

Juramentum quod omnino prestent Capellani quiqunque fuerint illi in prima admissione sua ad Cantarias suas, sine quo jurejurando ad Cantarias suas in ecclesia Sancti Pauli nequaquam admittantur.

IN DEI Nomine Amen. Ego N. juro quod ero obediens D. Decano et Capitulo in licitis et canonicis mandatis.

Item fundationem seu officium meum ad quod admissus sum et laudabiles consuetudines

ac Statuta ecclesiae S. Pauli observabo. Et si (quod absit) in parte vel in toto non observare contigerit, correctiones in eisdem fundationibus, Statutis et consuetudinibus limitatas subibo, et me humiliter subiturum promitto.

Item si in eisdem poenas meis demeritis dignas taxari non contigerit, poenas arbitrarias juri non contrarias et expresse repugnantes humiliter subibo.

Item querelis quibusqunque provocationibus et appellationibus earumque ac juris et facti remediis et benefitiis mihi in premissis, vel ex eorum occasione quoqunque modo competentibus, et de cetero competituris, renuncio hic pro perpetuo, eisque omnibus cedo, et ab eisdem recedo totaliter et expresse in his scriptis. Et si contrarium egero me nunc pro tunc perjurii reatum incurre expresse profiteor.

Item juro insuper quod contra juramentum meum predictum dispensationem non impetrabo. Et si aliquam mihi gratis offerri contigerit, ea non utar ullo modo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et sancta Dei evangelia.

Omnes ad assignata sibi altaria celebrent. Celebraturi autem candidis supercilitiis induti accedant ad altare et super ea sacerdotalia vestimenta induant. *Celebrent supercilitiis.*

Celebrent autem quotidie qua tenus possunt, ne debitis suffragiis suos fundatores defraudent.

Caveant ne alieni et extranei sacerdotes ad sua altaria missas dicere assuescant, et tales ingerentes se vetent et arceant, donec in ea re voluntatem Decani et Capituli intellexerint. *Extranei ne celebrent.*

Ipsi autem sacerdotes etiam omnes suis stipendiis contenti, alia aut annua servitia, aut subsidia, aut trigintalia, aut quodvis alia ejusmodi quoqunque nomine censeatur, non accipiunt ab alienis extraneis personis ut pro illis celebrent sub quoqunque colore. Aliter autem si fecerint ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli de stipendiis eorum pro poena aliqua portio detrahatur. *Alia servitia.*

Omnes majoribus festis intersint divino officio: matutinis, primis, missis, vesperis. *In festis.*

Chorum autem sectantes qui sunt ii qui dies noctesque divino officio interesse obligantur: omnes una in Collegio S. Petri maneant et convivent et mensam illic et cameram teneant. *Sectantes chorum.*

Antequam vere admittantur a Succentore vel ab altero Cardinalium si convenientem facultatem canendi habeant quo possint quotidianis laboribus chori subvenire; alioquin omnino repellantur. *An canunt.*

In funeribus omnium qui sunt ex habitu in ecclesia S. Pauli ac in toto funebri officio eorum omnes sacerdotes et Capellani omnino ex pura eorum charitate presentes sint et pro defuncto orent, memores morituros esse se ipsos, ac facientes ut in simili casu velint alios pro se facere. *In funeribus.*

Nemo habens benefitium ecclesiasticum vel aliud quodqunque quod personalem residentiam requirat admittatur ad perpetuam Cantariam in ecclesia Sancti Pauli: talis admissio si quando fuerit semper pro nulla habeatur. *Si benefitium ecclesiasticum.*

Item quando aliquis sacerdotum, Cantaristarum, Capellanorumve ad benefitium vel aliud

quodqunque quod personalem residentiam desiderat vocetur: evestigio ejitiatur ab ecclesia, et ad id ad quod vocatus est statim ire compellatur.

Cantariae unitae. Omnes habentes Cantarias unitas sectentur chorum quotidie pariter cum aliis sectatoribus, ut pro exaucto emolimento exaugeatur labor. Et juramento in admissione eorum astringantur, ut in domo Collegii Sancti Petri in mensa cum aliis convivent, et in suis illic cameris condormiant.

Non vagabundi. Omnes etiam habentes Cantarias in ecclesia Sancti Pauli non solute vagentur per urbem, nec aliquo se conferant extra urbem nisi petita licentia antea a D. Decano et obtenta. Item nisi ostensa rationabili causa et eadem approbata et nisi die assignato quando reverteretur, alioquin poena ad arbitrium D. Decani et Capituli esto.

De obedientia Decani. Sacerdotes et ministri qui in ecclesia Pauli D. Decano et Capitulo se subjecerint et canonicam obedientiam spoponderint: nequaquam audeant ab authoritate et jurisdictione ordinarii sui: id est: Decani et Capituli resilire, sed pacienter et obedienter sicuti decet in omnibus causis judicium D. Decani et Capituli expectent, agnoscentes

De obedientia Decani. se non introductos fuisse in ecclesiam S. Pauli ut superbia et dedignatione et appellandi audatia vel conturbent vel confundant superiores suos et prepositos: sed ut eos suos pios patres et ordinarios judices cum omni humilitate et reverentia cognoscant et confiteantur, et ut sub virga eorum censoria vivant, atque ut pro recte factis velint ab eis laudari, ita in peccatis eorum ab eisdem: id est: a Decano et Capitulo, se reprehendi et corrigi: ae pro qualitate criminis se castigari paciantur.

Poena superbis justissima. Quod si aliquis eorum qui Cantariam habet in ecclesia Sancti Pauli alium sibi querere judicem quam suum Decanum presumpserit, statim sua intolerabili superbia a cetu et conventu jure ejitiatur, et omnino privatus omni benefitio et officio in ecclesia pro non Cantarista perpetuo censeatur.

Statuta edita a D. Joanne Colet Decano ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli simul cum Capitulo in visitatione sua quam exercuit Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Sexto: die Vigesimo Junii: Et Decanatus sui anno primo.

Ingressus chori. Injungimus, jubemus, et obsecramus in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sancti Pauli cui servimus in hac ecclesia. Imprimis ut omnes ministri qui obligantur ad chorum diu noctuque in principio cujusque horae statim ingrediantur, alioquin muleta et poena unus denarius esto.

Egressus chori. Si sit justa causa egrediendi non ante finitam horam in qua illa causa urgeat egrediatur aliquis: alioquin mulcta unus denarius esto.

Dum ingreditur. Ingressus quisque modeste et devote primum Deo, tum Decano, toto corpore decenter inclinet.[a]

Decorum servandum. Rixa, confabulatio, cachinnus, risus, longe absit a choro: qui deprehenditur poena totiens quotiens unus obulus esto.

[a] Compare *Registrum*, p. 231. (Dean Colet's *Epitome of the Statutes*). Canonici ingredientes, ad Orientem, in ipso chori medio, primum Deo, tum versi in Occidentem, Decano inclinent, etc.

In choro erecti et simplices vel stent vel sedeant pulchre et honeste: et ea quae ad divinum officium pertinent, agant, duntaxat et sollicite et diligentur: alioquin post justam admonitionem aliqua poena ut videbitur Decano et Capitulo esto. *Agant quae chori sunt.*

Ad Capitulum omnes in choro singulo quoque die et bini et bini et lento gressu pulchro et distincto ordine se conferant lectionem illic et obitus et alia audituri necessaria. *Capitulum.*

In dominicis diebus ad aspersionem aquae benedictae etiam bini et bini ordine eant: et post extra stalla in choro ordine stent parati ut ex suo quisque loco prodeat in processionem. *Processio.*

Ad processionem omnes antea in choro et ex choro prodeant: alioquin ipso die a processione abstineant. Et pro absentia secundum Statutum De Willm̄i Warham[a] Londoñ Episcopi ad quod observandum omnes jurati sunt poena duodecim denariorum esto. Et haec poena delinquentium est non solum minorum sed etiam majorum Canonicorum. *De Processione.*

Item si qui se inferant in processionem postea quod prodierit ex choro, pro absente reputetur. *Processio.*

Item si quando processio erit cum capis, tunc proponatur tabula a virgiferariis in medio choro, et super eam ponantur capae: ad quam accedat unusquisque ordine suo, et capam quiete sine turba et murmure accipiat. *De capis sumendis.*

Inter procedendum caveant omnino et abstineant a colloquio cum laycis et aliis quibusqunque personis: quae si se ingerant repellantur donec finita fuerit processio, alioquin poena duorum denariorum esto. *Inter procedendum.*

[a] The Statute of bishop Warham here referred to will be found at p. 210 of my *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli*. It is one of a series of statutes assented to by the dean and chapter, and by the bishop, and duly sealed with their respective seals on the 20th of December, 1502.

"Statutum est quod omnes Canonici Majores, eciam non residentes in civitate, presentes singulis diebus dominicis et ceteris festis duplicibus majoribus et minoribus, Regis Capellanis qui eisdem ffestis coram sua majestate celebrare tenentur exceptis, in habitibus suis singulis processionibus in dicta Ecclesia fiendis, necnon processionibus generalibus quociens fieri contigerit per totum tempus earundem, nisi morbo, et senio, aut alia causa racionabili, per Decanum et Seniorem Residenciarium in ejus absencia approbanda, impediti, sub pena amissionis xij denariorum, tociens quociens eos abesse contigerit, intersint. Et tres vergiferi, prestito per eos et eorum quemlibet ad sancta Dei evangelia coram Decano qui pro tempore fuerit juramento corporali, nomina, ut premittitur, absentis vel absencium Canonicorum eidem Decano, et eo absente seniori Residenciario, bene et fideliter notificabunt. Et si dictos absentes aut eorum aliquem per octo dies post lapsum dicti diei quo eum aut eos abesse contigerit, in solucione dictorum xij denariorum dicto Decano vel Seniori Residenciario negligentes aut remissos fore contigerit, ij denarios pro qualibet die post lapsum dictorum octo dierum quo continget dictam summam xij denariorum non solutam ad communam utilitatem dicte Ecclesie dicto Decano aut Residenciario solvere tenebuntur. Quorum quidem xij denariorum una medietas tribus virgiferis sic notificantibus, et alia medietas simul cum pena solucionis ij denariorum ad communem utilitatem dicte Ecclesie applicabitur."

Cardinales diligenter admoneant et notent eos qui deliquerint et Sabbatis Capitulo proponant ut corrigantur.

De generali Capitulo Sabbatis omnino observando.

Hoc Statutum etiam in visitatione D. Ricardi Fizejamis[a] *Episcopi et recitatum et confirmatum fuit.*

Singulo quoque Sabbato sit frequentissimum Capitulum congregatis universis in ecclesia qui sunt ex habitu, nemine excepto, omnia etiam excusatione posthabita: ut audiant et intelligant

De Capitulo Sabbatali.

quidnam in domo Capitulari Sabbatis tractetur ad Dei cultum et bonum ecclesiae ordinem. Audiant etiam quod deliquentes admonentur et castigentur, quod benefacientes laudantur et remunerantur. Audiant deinde quid ad institutionem bonorum morum et edificationem spiritalis vitae dicetur a Decano vel ejus vicem gerente sabbatis. Audiant postremo et intelligant si quid agatur in Capitulo quod ad eos pertineat: videlicet: ad vitam, ad mores, ad Cantarias eorum, vel ad quodvis aliud quod illorum interest agnoscere.

Hanc Capitularem congregationem sabbatis volumus tam sancte et celebriter observari ut si quis abfuerit agnoscat se gravissimam indignationem D. Decani et Capituli incursurum subiturumque postremo (nisi se emendaverit) poenam ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli assignandam.

Stationes, inclinationes, prostrationes, conversiones, juste (ut decet) serventur.

Arma non ferenda.

Sacerdotes et ministri ecclesiae S. Pauli arma et instrumenta pugnandi nec in urbe nec in agris (quin scilicet solum recreandi gratia illic spaciantur) nequaquam ferant: alioquin poena ut videbitur Decano et Capitulo esto.

Non exeundum sine licentia.

Si quis sacerdotum et ministrorum exeat urbem iturus aliquo: primum ostendat justam causam exeundi, et talem quam Decanus approbet et licentiam petat et impetret.

Si D. Decanus causam ejus non admiserit, nec probaverit, tunc plane agnoscat vir ille quicunque sit in ecclesia potestatem se exeundi non habere.

Non vagabundi.

Sacerdotes et ministri ecclesiae Sancti Pauli non vagi discurrent per urbem: tabernas non frequentent, suspecta loca non adeant, suspectas personas ad se non admittant, nec aperte nec secrete cum mulieribus confabulentur, alioquin poena ad arbitrium Decani et Capituli esto.

Sacerdotes omnes in ecclesia Sancti Pauli et Cantaristae et ministri universi agnoscant juramentum suum quod prestiterint D. Decano suo de canonica obedientia: et intelligant in hoc juramento includi et contineri: ut humiliter se gerant, tumentem stomachum ex superbia non habeant: verba et vultum dedignabundum non ostendant: contumeliosa responsa non faciunt: authoritatem D. Decani et justas ejus objur-

Vis Juramenti.

[a] The one statute of bishop Fitz James, printed in my *Registrum*, pp. 213-4, does not relate to the matter under discussion. Richard Fitz James, bishop of Chichester, was translated to the see of London, 2 August, 1506

gationes ac castigationes ferant: preceptis eis pareant: alioquin agnoscant se juramenti sui violatores et plane perjuros esse et periculo ac poenae perjurii subjacere oportere.

Vultus, habitus, gestus, incessus, tonsura, corona, sint convenientia, et omnia ubi deceat sacerdotes.[a] *Decorum servandum.*

Executores, fidejussores, firmarii, collectores reddituum (nisi fuerit pro ecclesia Sancti Pauli eo modo ut Decano et Capitulo videbitur) nequaquam sint: nec aliud officium quodqunque quo possint impediri a divino officio, et minus exequi id quod obligantur facere, non subeant ullo modo: alioquin poena arbitraria esto.[b] *Non externa officia.*

Sacerdotes ex Collegio S. Petri[c] suo procuratori et obediant, et eidem debitam reverentiam exhibeant, et Statuta sua servent. Ipsa autem Statuta semper examinationi et judicio D. Decani et Capitulo subjitiuntur. *Ex Collegio Petri.*

Universi Deo placere studeant: abstineant a malo: sectentur bonum: honestum exemplum ostendant: sancte et sobrie et caste vivant: agant semper quod pulchrum est et fructuosum, ut sic possent laudem a Deo et hominibus promereri.

[a] Compare *Registrum*, p. 232:

"Tonsura, vultu, habitu, gestu, omni denique motu tales sint, ut deceat."

And cardinal Wolsey's *Statutes for the Augustinian Canons* (Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 686):

"§. VIII. In tonsura vero omnes cum coronis quam secularium clericorum amplioribus et crinibus ad medietatem aurium praescissis seu amputatis humiliter incedant, sub poena regularis disciplinae, ad discretionem praelatorum delinquentibus imponenda."

(In which passage Wilkins suggests that for "coronis *quam*," we should read "coronis *non more*.")

[b] Compare *Registrum* p. 234. Statutes concerning the vicars.

[c] St. Peter's college. Compare *Registrum*, pp. 236, 241.

APPENDIX No. II.

List of Chantries in St. Paul's in the fourteenth century, from the original MS. in the cathedral records.[a]

c. s.	Cantaria Ricardi & Stephani de Graveshende *occupat*	Dominus Robertus de Kyngeston
c. s.	Item Dominus Bartholomeus *occupat* eandem Cantariam	
jx. m.	Cantaria Walteri Freel *occupat*	Dominus Martinus
c. s.	,, Ricardi atte Grene *occupat*	,, Willelmus Crullyngs ad secta
viij. m.	,, Reginaldi de Brandon ,,	,, Simon de Charweston
vj. m.	,, Ricardi de Wendover ,, *idem*	,, Simon ———
c. s.	,, Nicholai Housebonde ,,	,, Johannes Cristemasse
vj. m.	,, in Capella Domini Episcopi in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli *occupat*	,, Ricardus Pertynhale
c. s.	,, Roberti de Mundene ,,	,, Johannes Colchestre
vj. m.	,, Willelmi de Haverhille ,,	,, Johannes Norwyck
vj. m.	Cantaria Fulconis Lovel *occupat*	Dominus Henricus Rykmersworth
vj. m.	,, Rogeri Benyn ,,	*Idem* Henricus ———
c. s.	,, Radulphi Baldok ,,	Dominus Hugo de Malkynton
c. s.	,, ejusdem Radulphi Baldok ,,	,, Willelmus Lyndon
vj. m.	,, Ricardi de Neuport ,,	,, Robertus Salle
vj. m.	,, Johannis Romain ,, *sine secta*	*Idem* Robertus
c. s.	,, Willelmi de Everdon ,,	Dominus Adam Gaddesby
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	,, Johannes Potton
vj. m.	,, Willelmi de Melforde et Plessy *ut credo occupat*	*Idem* Johannes
vij. m.	,, Rogeri de Waltham *occupat*	,, Robertus Norwyck
vij. m.	,, ejusdem Rogeri ,,	,, Thomas Preston
x. m.	,, Henrici de Guldeforde ,,	,, Johannes Albon
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	,, Ricardus Hope
viij. m.	,, Galfridi de Stone ,,	,, Petrus Trenyns
vij. m.	,, Johannis de Pulteneye ,,	*Idem* Petrus

[a] Press. A. Box. 75. Document No. 1954.

c. s.	Cantaria	Nicholai et Johannae de Wokyndon	*occupat*	Dominus Willelmus Trofforde
viij. m.	,,	Willelmi de Sanctae Mariae ecclesia	,,	,, Willelmus Copmanthorp
vj. m.	,,	Jacobi Frisel	,,	Idem Willelmus ut spero
v. m.	,,	Martini de Patishulle	,,	Dominus Thomas Branktre
v. m.	,,	ejusdem Martini	,,	,, Johannes de Zettoñ
v. m.	,,	Radulphi Donion *occupat, ad sectam*		Idem Johannes
jx. m.	,,	Johannis de Braynford *occupat*		Dominus Walterus Wonborn vel Georgius
xxx. s.	,,	Petri de Neuport	,,	Idem Walterus
c. s.	,,	Fulconis Basset	,,	Dominus Robertus de Keteryngham
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Fulconis	,,	,, Warinus
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Fulconis	,,	,, Willelmus Cosagne
x. li.	,,	Godefridi de Acre et Godefridi Wesenam	*occupat*	,, Robertus Wyssyngdon
vj. m.	,,	Isabellae Bokerell	,,	,, Radulphus Waynflete
vj. m.	,,	ejusdem Isabellae	,,	,, Robertus Kirkeby
vj. m.	,,	Johannis Lovel	,,	,, Willelmus Hyde pro Hospitio Ricardi Pyreton
jx. m.	,,	Walteri Thorp	,,	,, Henricus Wasewes
vj. m.	,,	Roberti de Drayton et Johannis de Chishull	*occupat*	,, Willelmus Megre
viij. m.	,,	Alanni et Avelinae progenitorum		,, Willelmus *commorans ad W. Cologyne*
viij. m.		Fulconis Basset	*occupat*	
vj. m.	,,	Johannis Fabel	,,	,, Thomas Kendale
c. s.	,,	Willelmi de Chaldeshunte[a]	,,	,, Johannes Dunhale ad Decanum est
jx. m.	,,	Rogeri de la Leye	,,	,, Reginaldus Spaldyng
vj. m.	,,	Walteri Blokkele	,,	,, Simon Swaveseye
vj. m.	,,	Henrici de Wyngham	,,	,, Ricardus Everdon
vj. m.	,,	ejusdem Henrici	,,	,, Johannes Brewode
vj. m.	,,	Ricardi Folyot	,,	Idem Johannes
xl. s.	,,	Alexandri Swereford	,,	Dominus Thomas Joles

[a] This chantry of William de Chaldeshunte was commonly called "Helle." (Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar*, 55 b.) No reason is assigned. Is it possible that the walls of the chantry chapel were painted with a representation of Hell. There is a singular example of the use of the name Hell in *Mercurius Pragmaticus* for December 7, 1648:—

> "The House being thus clensed, in came that pure holy Goblin *Nol Cromwell* . . . and the case of the apprehended Members being reported, how that they had been kept up all night out of bed in the cook's house called *Hell, Harry* [*Marten*] would needs break a jest: that *since Tophet was prepared for Kings, it was fit their friends should goe to Hell.*"

viij. s.	Cantaria	Johannis Wyngham	*occupat*	Dominus	Thomas Wardele	
vj. m.	,,	Hugonis de London	,,	,,	Willelmus Oloofs	*Decanus confert.*
vj. m.	,,	Eustachii Faucomberge	,,	,,	Johannes Plunceton	
v. m.	,,	Galfridi Lucy	,,	,,	Andreas	
vj. m.	,,	Avelinæ de Sancto Olavo	,,	,,	Nicholaus Wasshingborn *et male occupat*	

plus in dorso

vj. m.	Cantaria	Galfridi de Sancto Dunstano	,,	,,	Ricardus Amburstone
vj. m.	,,	Nicholai de Farindon	,,	,,	Willelmus Godridi
c. s.	,,	Alani Hothom	,,	,,	Johannes Lynton
c. s.	,,	ejusdem Alani	,,	,,	Willelmus Hudbroke
x. m.	,,	Gilberti de Bruera	,,	,,	Radulphus Multon
x. m.	,,	Johannis Hiltoft	,,	,,	Johannes Hiltoft
vj. m.	,,		,,	,,	Henricus Rector de Grasestrete
	,,	Cantarias duas pro animabus Regum et Episcoporum Londõn *occupat*		,,	Rogerus Wynchcoumbe
				,,	Ricardus Mogyetun
	Cantariam	Henrici de Idesworthe			
	,,	Ricardi de Sancto Albano			
	,,	Johannis de Sancta Maria			
	,,	Roberti Canonici			
	,,	Ricardi Episcopi			*vacant*
	,,	Henrici de Edelmetone			
	,,	pro progenitoribus sancti Rogeri			
	,,	Ricardi			
jx s.	,,	Hamonis de Chikewelle			

APPENDIX No. III.

Chantries united by bishop Braybrooke in 1391.

Walter Thorp	*united with that of*	John de S. Olavo.
James Fresell or Frysell	,,	John Romayn.
Alanus & Avelina Bassett	,,	Progenitors of S. Roger.
Eustace Falconberge	,,	W. de Haverhill & John Grantham.
Two chantries of Henry Wengham		
Richard of Gloucester	,,	Rich. Foliot.
Walter Blokley	,,	Will. Harworth.
Henry Idesworth	,,	Michael Northburgh.
Two chantries of Isabella Bokerell		
Galfridus de S. Dunstano	,,	Canon Roger.
Alexander Swerford	,,	Hamo Chikewelle.
John Pulteney	,,	John Lovel.
Roger de la Ley	,,	John Fabel.
Will. Everdon	,,	Ralph Dongeon.
Fulke & Philip Bassett	,,	Richard Hosbonde.
Fulke & Philip Bassett	,,	Peter Newport.
Fulke Lovel	,,	John Braynforde.
Richard Grene		Martin Pateshull.
Two chantries of Rich. Wokyndon & Johanna his wife.		
Two chantries of Roger Waltham	,,	Fulke & Philip Bassett.
Walter Exton	,,	Philip Fauconberge.
Will. Everdon	,,	John Wyngham.
Two chantries of Ralph Baldok		
Two chantries of Alan Hothum	,,	John S. Mariae Eccles.
John Munden	,,	Third chantry of John Pulteney.
William de Melforde & Rich. Pleysses	,,	Second chantry of John Pulteney.
Reginald Brandon & Rich. Wendover	,,	Two chantries of Rich. Newport.

APPENDIX No. IV.

Abstract of Chantries existing in St. Paul's in 1 *Edward VI.*

Name of Founder.	Total Value.	Number of Priests.	Paid to the Priests.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Thomas Stowe	15 6 8	1	8 0 0
Raffe Baldocke	45 13 4	2	16 0 0
John Powltney	45 9 8	3	14 0 0
Robert Munden, John Lovell,			5 4 8
William Milworthe, Rich.			4 2 8
Plesses	16 6 8	3	4 18 0
Roger Waltham	29 16 0	2	13 6 8
Roger Holme	46 12 0	4	[a]
John Hiltofte	10 0 0	1	6 13 4
Gilbert de Bruera		1	6 13 4
Richard Wendover	18 8 8	1	4 0 0
Richard Fitz James	14 6 8	1	8 0 0
John Dowman	22 0 0	2	16 0 0
Beatrice de Rosse	8 0 0	1	8 0 0
John Wythers	21 1 8	2	16 0 0
William Say	15 0 0	1	9 0 0
Godfrey de Acra	13 2 8	1	[a]
Thomas Evor	16 0 0	1	6 13 4
Water Sheryngton	20 0 0	2	17 0 0
James Frisell, John Romayn	11 0 0	1	[a]
Duke of Lancaster	20 0 0	2	16 0
Nicholas Wokyngdon	8 0 0	1	[a]
Eustace Faconberge, William Hamshill, John Grantham	8 17 4	1	[a]
Martyn Patteshall	12 0 0	1	[a]
William Everdon, Raffe Doungeon	8 12 8	1	[a]
Water Thorpe	11 16 0	1	[a]
Reynolde Brandon	12 0 0	1	[a]
Fulke Lovell, John Brayfelde	17 2 8	1	[a]
Roger Waltham	13 6 0	1	[a]

[a] Amount not stated.

Name of Founder.	Total Value.	Number of Priests.	Paid to the Priests.
	£ *s.* *d.*		£ *s.* *d.*
Philip Basset	6 13 4	1	[a]
Thomas More	67 6 0	4	36 13 0
Will. Buschope,[b] Gerard Braynbroke, Edmond Hampden, John Boyes, Roger Albrighton	12 17 8	1	[a]
Water Blockley, Will. Shalteshunte	10 8 8	1	8 8 8
Henry Gulforde	14 5 0	1	6 14 4
Sir John Beauchamp	12 8 8	1	6 12 4
Geffrey Eyon, Geffrey Lucy	10 6 8	1	6 14 4
John Fabell, Agnes De la Lay	19 0 0	1	[a]
Michell Worborowghe, Henry ——[c]	8 6 8	1	[a]
Thomas Kempe	4 14 8		Augmentation.

The above abstract is condensed from the Return of Chantries made 1 January, 1 Edward VI., printed *in extenso* in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 380—387.

The total number of chantries here enumerated, counting united chantries as one, is 36; and the annual value of these 36 chantries amounts to £646 6*s.*

These chantries were served by 52 priests; the total annual amount of stipend paid to them, as indicated in the return, is £214 18*s.* 8*d.*, but in eighteen cases the amount of stipend is not stated. Assuming that each of these eighteen priests received an annual payment of £8, there must be added to the last named sum a further amount of £144. The gross income of the fifty-two priests would, in that case, be £388 14*s.* 8*d.*, giving an average income of £7 9*s.* 6*d.*

In addition to these chantries, Dugdale gives a further list of obits, fifty-four in number, the total annual income of which amounts to £104 1*s.* 2*d.* (Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, pp. 387—390.)

APPENDIX No. V.

Note on the Colleges adjacent to St. Paul's.

The recent examination of the cathedral records,[d] the result of which will be found in the

[a] Amount not stated.

[b] That is, bishop William.

[c] The omitted name is probably Idesworth.

[d] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report No.* ix., pp. 1-72. The references which follow are to the pages and columns of that report.

admirable report of Mr. Maxwell Lyte, has made it possible to determine with accuracy the sites of several of the colleges in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral.

Holme's College was in the parish of St. Gregory and on the south side of the cathedral. In 1386 the dean and chapter assigned to Roger Holme a certain piece of ground on the south side of the church for the erection of houses for the chaplains of a chantry founded by him, and the two other executors of Adam de Bury, in a chapel lately built near the north door of St. Pauls', behind the Cross (28 *b*). The cathedral possesses the will of Adam de Bury (48 *a*). In 1465, certain shops and other buildings were newly erected under the rooms of the chaplains of the chantry commonly called Holme's College, within the precinct or cemetery of St. Paul's. The college is mentioned in a deed of 3 Edw. VI. (13 *a*); whilst a deed of 27 Hen. VIII. describes a tenement near to the college, as being bounded on the west by Holme's College, on the south by the king's highway, and on the north "by the greene yarde called the tymbre yarde" of the cathedral (13 *a*).

Lancaster College, the residence of the priests attached to the important chantry of the duke of Lancaster, stood over against the great south gate of the cathedral.

Minor Canons' Hall was near Pardon Church Haugh, and this lay to the east of the palace of the bishop of London, and therefore on the north side of the cathedral. Here lay the great garden of the minor canons.

St. Peter's College was the ancient name of the college of the minor canons.[a]

In the mansions called prestes houses thirty chaplains were dwelling in 1424.

Dean Thomas More's chantry chapel stood in Pardon Church Haugh, and its priests had a corporate seal (55 *a*).

The tenement known as the vicarage of the vicars choral was bounded on the east by the Penitenciary's house, on the west by Ave Maria Lane, on the south by the highway leading through St. Paul's churchyard, and on the north by the bishop's palace (45 Elizabeth, 27 *a*). In 1571 the six houses commonly called "the syxe chambers of the syxe laye vicars," in the parish of St. Gregory were demised by the dean and chapter and the vicars choral to Raphael Hamonde, the Queen's Capper (13 *a*).

John Sayward, junior cardinal, held a mansion house "by virtue of hys office of cardinall shippe" on the north side of the cathedral in 1574 "lyenge one the west side of the alley commonly callede Pisinge Alley, leadinge from Paules Church into Pater Noster Rowe (27 *b*).

The close of the chaplains of St. Paul's is stated in another document to be near the house of the vicars.

"The value of divers chapells within the precincte of the cathedrall churche of Paules" is stated in the Return made 1 Edward VI., as follows:

Charnell Chappell - - -	2	0	0
Peter Colledge - - - -	6	0	0
Sherington Chappell - - -	0	6	8
Lancaster Colledge - - -	1	0	0
Holmes Colledge - - -	2	0	0
	11	6	8

[a] *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, p. lxviii.

IX..—*On a bas-relief symbolising Music, in the cathedral church of Rimini.*
By J. G. Waller, *F.S.A.*

Read May 9, 1889.

The figure on which I am about to offer some remarks, is one of eighteen bas-reliefs on the piers supporting the arch leading into the chapel of S. Gaudenzio, in the cathedral church of Rimini. All the subjects represented are worthy of some notice, but this, being an unique symbolism of music, specially commended itself to me. I made a drawing of it under somewhat difficult circumstances, and it is my intention to set before you, if possible, the motives which influenced the artist in its design. These are evidently of classic origin and the suggestions of a scholar. Now, very few artists of the period of the early Renaissance had any claim to be so called. Their education began in the studio (*bottega*), and they entered it at so early an age that there was little time for the humanities. We have it on record by Vasari how some, Botticelli for instance, cared nothing for school learning, yet there are works in the Uffizi by this artist full of classic knowledge, and, to my mind, the most interesting of his productions. In fact, the artist worked under the instruction of the clergy, as regards his treatment of ecclesiastical subjects; it was dangerous to travel too much out of the circle, for a charge of heresy might ensue, which was really suggested against poor Botticelli, one certainly as innocent of theology, except that taught him, as he was of Horace or Virgil. We possess a painting of his in our National Gallery, mentioned by Vasari in connection with the cleric's name who suggested its treatment. It is very orthodox in its elements.

In the revival of the study of the literature of Greece and Rome, which is termed the Renaissance, it was natural that there should be a coincident study of ancient art and mythology. It was thus that a scholar became the director, just as the clerk was in medieval times. This is really a very interesting subject to follow up in full, but at present I must confine myself to an endeavour to point out that one who influenced the artist in the Tempio Malatestiano, as the cathedral church of S. Francesco is frequently called. First, however, I must describe and illustrate the figure in question.

Usually music is very simply symbolised. Of the same period, or nearly so, as that to which we must assign the example at S. Francesco is one by Luca della Robbia, a bas-relief upon the Campanile of Giotto at Florence, whereon it is merely as a female playing on a lute. At Rimini it is a female figure in an ample tunic (perhaps the *stola*) flowing to the feet; her hair curling down over her shoulders, and her mantle (more properly *pallium*) covering the left shoulder

only, but gathered in folds round the waist, and held up by her left hand, in which is a pipe; and she is singing. In her right she holds a lute, the neck of which terminates in a head, possibly intended for that of Apollo, which form is also seen in the beautiful sculptures by Luca della Robbia, now preserved in the Bargello at Florence. On the body of the lute, forming part of the ornamentation, are two medallions, of which I can say nothing, if indeed they have any particular meaning. The base of the lute rests upon a cylinder, upon which is an anvil and a series of hammers, six in number, of a peculiar shape, more like what we call "picks."



Bas-relief symbolising Music, in the cathedral church of Rimini.

The details here given are intended to represent not only all the varieties of sound which constitute music, but also an allusion to theory according to classic traditions. First, the human voice, the most beautiful as it is the most perfect of all instruments of music. Then the pipe, symbol of wind instruments, the *tibia* of antiquity, claimed as the most ancient of artificial means of musical sounds, though this was disputed by the advocates of the lyre, the stringed instrument in favour, as appears in the treatise on music by Plutarch. Indeed, the contest between Marsyas, a celebrated performer on the *tibia*, and Apollo, may be considered as the decisive struggle for the superiority of one instrument over the other. The pipe here represented differs little from that in use by the Italian *pifferari* of the present day, doubtless a very ancient form, as it is seen in the hands of the fauns and other lesser sylvan deities. It has, however, a mouth-piece by which all qualifications are made, as developed in the modern flageolet, clarionet, and oböe.

But the association of the voice with the tibia and lyre, performed by women, was the favourite accompaniment of a feast, abundantly shown in many passages of Horace, who seems to be particularly happy, under such conditions, especially when with his friend Mæcenas. Thus in his ode to him :

> Tecum sub alta (sic Jovi gratum) domo
> Beate Mæcenas, bibam
> Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyrae.[a]

In another place (Epist. I. xiv. 25) he indicates that the morals of the feminine performers were, or had become, loose, as "meretrix tibicina." The rule, not only with Greeks and Romans but also with Egyptians, seems to have been for women to be the musicians, as appears by a fresco in the British Museum. Several paintings discovered at Pompeii represent women with the lyre, which became the most favoured of instruments, especially the heptachord, which Pindar, in the second Pythian ode to Hiero, alludes to with praise under the name *φόρμιγξ*.[b] The sculptor, however, has not given us the lyre, but the favourite stringed instrument of his own day all over Europe, and which it was considered part of a gentleman's education to be familiar with. This is abundantly shown in paintings, especially of the Flemish school, but a curious document of a father's advice to his son about to travel is extant, showing that Polonius' advice to Laertes had its prototype, even in "bid him ply his music." George, eighth lord Cobham, after a series of instructions to his son William, tells him "at vacant tymes to playe upon the lute, etc."[c] A good lute player meant indeed a good companion, as Albert Durer, in a letter to his friend Pirkheimer, commends his Italian friends at Venice as "good lute players."[d] But the artists of the Renaissance, in the interpreting of classical ideas, often deviated from archæological accuracy, for Raphael, one of the best instructed among them, in his fine fresco in the Vatican, paints Apollo as playing upon the violin, though the well-known form of the lyre is seen in many other of his works.

There is another musical instrument of antiquity in favour, the *kithara*, which, I believe, was distinct in form from the lyre.[e] The Spanish *guitarra* is derived from

[a] Horatii Flacci, *Epodon Liber*, ix. 3.

[b] *τὸ Κάστορειον δ' ἐν' Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς ἐκὼν*
ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου
φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος
Pindari Carmina. Pythia II.

[c] Harl. MS. 283, f. 171. [d] *Vide* Letter II. in Mrs. Heaton's *Life of Albrecht Durer*, p. 70.

[e] The lyre had several names, as *lyra curva*, which applies well to all its developments, *barbiton*, *φόρμιγξ*: both these are given to the heptachord; also Testudo and chelys, in allusion to the shell of the tortoise, of which it was first made, or of which it formed a part.

the Latin, which, being identical with the Greek word, we may suppose differed but slightly in its pronunciation. But as the languages of Latin descent ignore *th* for *t*, we find the sound of both words, *kithara* and *guitarra*, as nearly as possible the same. I am told also by a lady, who is well conversant with modern Greek, and who has spent four months at Athens, that *kithara* is the term now given in Greece to the guitar type of instrument. This type is ancient enough, as it is seen in the Egyptian fresco to which I have already alluded, and in Assyrian remains. By the courtesy of our Fellow Mr. A. S. Murray, I was shown an example in a relief of the time of Augustus, of Romano-Greek work, a cast of which is in the British Museum, obviously the forerunner of the Italian lute. It is also to be remarked, that cithern and lute are often given as synonymous terms in translations of the Elizabethan era. I cannot, therefore, but think that the *kithara* was a stringed instrument with a body and neck, as the guitar, lute, mandoline, etc. In medieval times the name was applied to very varied forms, the *cythera Anglica* being a harp of very elegant shape, whilst the lyre in its primitive form is absolutely found in miniatures as late as the ninth, and even the eleventh century.[a]



Kithara on a Romano-Greek bas-relief of the time of Augustus.

I now come to the most singular part of the composition, viz., the anvil and the hammers, and there is no doubt that this refers to a legendary story related by Nikomachus, Gaudentius, Jamblichus, Macrobius, and others "that Pythagoras one day meditating on the want of some rule to guide the ear, analogous to what had been used to help the other senses, chanced to pass a blacksmith's shop, and, observing that the hammers, which were four in number, sounded very harmoniously, he had them weighed and found them to be in proportion of six, eight, nine, and twelve. Upon this he suspended four strings of equal length and thickness and fastened weights in the above-mentioned proportions to each of them respectively, and found that they gave the same sounds that the hammers had done, viz., the fourth, fifth, and octave to the greatest tone; which last interval did not make part of the musical system before; for the Greeks had gone no further than the heptachord or seven strings till that time." Unfortunately this story comes rather late. Diogenes Laertius, who died A.D. 222., is the earliest writer who speaks of the life, etc., of Pythagoras, and he merely

[a] Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. viii. It is remarkable that in this miniature we have, besides the lyre, the double pipe as in early classic times. Also in a MS. at Angers of the eleventh century, where David is represented playing on the lyre in its early shape. *Vide* Coussemaker, in the *Annales Archeologiques*.

says "that he discovered the numerical relation of sounds on a single string." Porphyry, who died early in the fourth century, is the first who tells of the anvil and hammers. It is therefore remarkable, that, as Pythagoras left no writings behind him, such a story should have obtained credence without dispute, and that it should have required modern science to dispose of the facts. Dr. Burney remarks "that noises proceeding from bodies non-elastic or immusical can never be softened into sound." At the time in which this bas-relief was executed, however, it was fully believed in. A treatise entitled *Theoricum Opus Musicæ*, by Franchinus Gaforus, was printed by Francesco di Dino, at Naples, in 1480, a copy of which is in the library of the British Museum. This contains a wood engraving of an anvil upon a cylinder composed of a trunk of a tree, and around are six men with hammers wielded aloft in act of striking. Each hammer is labelled IIII. VI. VIII. VIIII. XII. XVI. This varies from the story above given of the four hammers, but quite agrees with our sculpture, which shows six, as also in the form of anvil. The chapter of this treatise to which the engraving is an illustration, and which is printed as an appendix to this paper, is entitled *De Inventione Consonanciarum*, and it enters elaborately into the story of Pythagoras and the hammers with their different weights and the harmonic intervals resulting: diapason, diapente, diatessaron, etc., as if the whole matter had been mathematically determined. In the interesting account of music given by Plutarch musical consonancy is fully gone into with the intervals and terms precisely as in the Italian treatise, but from the authority of Plato, and there is no mention of hammers. Even the allusions to Pythagoras are very brief, it being merely said that he reproved all judgment of music that is by the ear, but there is not a word throughout that upholds the traditional story, which must therefore be of later date, as Plutarch died in the second century of our era, and the story is not found until the fourth. That it lasted so long is only one of the many instances we have of the difficulty of getting rid of a popular error.

I have thus gone through the several details illustrating the classic origin of the motives by which the artist has been directed. There is yet one other which escaped my attention but is mentioned in the excellent work on Rimini by Yriarte, viz., that on the border of the mantle or pallium are the words *Chlamys Lux*, an explanation of which I hardly hazard.[a]

[a] It is just possible that it may have been suggested by this passage in Plutarch's dialogue following the discussion on harmony:

"But also the senses which through harmony are innate, celestial some and divine, which with God give understanding unto men, sight and hearing, represent harmony with the voice and *light*."

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις αἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγγιγνόμεναι (διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν), αἱ μὲν οὐράνιαι θεῖαι οὖσαι, μετὰ θεοῦ τὴν αἴσθησιν παρεχόμεναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὄψις τε καὶ ἀκοή, μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ φωτὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπιφαίνουσι.

We have now to discover the artist and his director. There can be little doubt of either. In the history of the art of the Renaissance of Italy one name stands prominently forward of a man of more than ordinary ability and attainments; a precursor of Lionardo da Vinci, and having much in common with that brilliant genius, Leon Battista Alberti. Of a Florentine family long persecuted unto the death by the Albizzi faction, he was educated in the university of Bologna, distinguished himself as a scholar, was an astronomer, a physician, ultimately dedicating himself to the arts, but especially to architecture. Sigismund, lord of Rimini, one of the most eminent of the remarkable family of Malatesta, as well as of the *condottieri* of his time, in the plenitude of his power conceived the idea of a reconstruction of the cathedral church as a monument of his family, Tempio Malatestiano. He confided this task to Alberti, whose design, however, became modified to an adaptation of existing work and was never completed. In what he did he showed the greatest skill, and produced an original work in which it is impossible not to feel the fascination of genius. In the façade of the structure, never completed, and having undergone barbarous treatment, one sees that he took his inspiration from the arch of Augustus, of which the remains still exist over one of the streets of Rimini. It was thus one of the first erections of the Renaissance through classic influence. Alberti was therefore the prime director, and as an accomplished scholar we need seek no other. We have now to find the artist, but this involves little difficulty in the exactness of modern research.

To discover an artist's hand there is nothing so convincing as the evidence of style, yet it is singular how often this is overlooked. But to proceed from the known to the unknown is generally safe and conclusive. In this case there is but little room for doubt, in that view alone, but it has some corroboration also. On the façade of San Bernardino, at Perugia, we have a series of sculptures so absolutely identical in character and execution that it at once points to the same hand as that seen in the cathedral church at Rimini. Fortunately here the artist has blazoned his name proudly on the frontal:

OPVS AVGVSTINI FLORENTINI LAPICIDAE
MCCCCLXI.

This Italian habit of signing only the christian name leads into many difficulties, and Vasari accordingly has fallen into the error of making this Agostino the brother of Luca della Robbia. This error has, however, been corrected; the real name in full was Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio, and the work at Perugia

was subsequent to that at Rimini. It was the misfortune of this artist that he was compelled to fly from Florence on an accusation of theft, so for some years he was an exile, and it was during part of that time that he must have executed the sculptures at Rimini. A letter sent to Sigismund at Siena from his chancellor, Pietro de' Gennari, speaks of some slight work wanting to complete the sepulture, and which will be completed when Agostino returns from Cesena. This was in 1454, and it is consistent with facts which would account for a certain interval in his life. An Agostino at Rimini in 1453 and at Perugia in 1461, and the absolute identity of style, leave no doubt as to the sculptor employed. It is extremely probable that whilst he was in exile at Venice he became acquainted with Sigismund, at that time general of the Republic, and which led to his employment in the cathedral church.[a]

APPENDIX.

De Inventione Consonanciarum. C. viii.

Perquirente Pithagoram musicas consonancias relicto aurium indicio que partim natura partim extrinsecus accidentibus permutantur partim ipsis variantur etatibus ad regularum momenta legimus demigrasse nihil ei fidei diversa prebuerunt instrumenta penes que sepe multa varietas atque inconstantia nascebatur, nam si nervos conspitianus vel humidior aer pulsus obtundit vel siccior excitat vel corde magnitudo sonum reddit graviorem vel subtilior tenuat acumen vel alium quodammodo prioris constantie statim permutat. Accidit enim ut dum tanta Pithagoras ipse variatione perplexus fabrorum officinas preteriret maleorum sonitus eius auribus insonarent quos cum ei mos esset omnium visibilium invisibiliumque et sensibilium rationes perscrutari mutari jussit, advertensque diversos maleorum sonitus non viribus hominum immutari sed ex diversis evenire maleorum, ponderibus, pondera ipsa examinare cepit et cum quinque essent malei quintum ejecit secundum Boecium quum cunctis erat inconsonans quattuor vero sibi invicem extremos duplum correspondere pondus diapason consonantiam consonando percepit ut si maleus primus sit vi.

[a] In the excellent account of Rimini and the family of the Malatesta by Charles Yriarte, entitled "Un condottiere au XV. Siecle," etc. are collected together the researches of the Italian and other writers who have corrected Vasari, and have identified the sculptors of the works in the cathedral church. Vide pp. 407, 408, 409, in reference to Agostino.

librarum ultimus vero xii. Secundus quippe ad primum epitritum habebat pondus diatessaron consonantiam continens eratque librarum viii. Tertius autem ad primum emiolium sive sexqualterum conprehendebat pondus cum librarum esset viiii. diapentes consonantiam servans. Idem vero tertius ad secundum sexquioctavum pondus servabat. tonum constituens Itemque tertius ad ultimum epitrito seu sexquetertio pondere jungebatur diatessaron consonantiam aptans. Secundus vero ad eundem ultimum emiolio sive sexqualtero servabatur pondere diapentes consonantiam producente, disponamus igitur ordine naturali maleorum quattuor pondera hoc modo vi. viii. viiii. xii. Cum vero alta cogitatione tante tamque archane rei diuturna inquisitio Pythagoram ipsum fatigasset minime dubitandum est quin nonmodo quattuor ipsas consonantias sed et ceteras enucleare temptaverit quibus musices disciplina assidue divergitur licet enim quattuor ipsi malei ad instar musices mundane quattuor elementis condite quattuor ipsas probati sint producere consonantias extimandum tñ est atque tenendum Pithagoram quintum non rejecisse maleum sed potius et sextum resumpsisse. Videmus namque fabros navium ancoras atque hominum armaturas non sex maleis modo vero et octo vel decem sibi alternatim correspondentibus fabricare. Quo circa cum sex essent ferentium malei ignitum ferrum molientes ictibus graviores acutis ita consonabant certo sibi invicem correspondentes ordine ut utrumque ad audientis sensum statuta dimisione remearet ex variis pulsibus unum sibi consonans offerendo. quos adiens Pythagoras mutari precepit existimansque pondera inequaliter sese sibimet copulari eorum proportiones colligens uniuscujusque malei proprium examinat pondus. At cum primus maleus esset quattuor librarum ponderis. secundus sex tertius octo. quartus novem quintus duodecim. sextus sexdecim libras ponderis continebant que quidem singulorum pondera consequenti hic ordine collocentur hoc modo iiii. vi. viii. viiii. xii. xvi. Primus namque maleus ad secundum sexqualterum proportionem comprehendebat diapentes consonantiam servans. Secundus vero ad tertium sexquetertiam collationem diatessaron consonantiam producentem constituebat. Rursus primus ad tertium in duplo constitutus est numero diapason consonantiam respondendo. Rursus tertium ad quartum in sexqueoctava proportione sese habet tonum constituens. Secundus vero ad eundem quartum sexqualteram statuit collationem diapentes fatiens consonantiam. Tertius ad quintum in sexqualtera proportione diapentes consonantiam format. Quartus ad quintum sexquitertiam custodiens diatessaron producit. Rursus primus ad quintum in tripla proportione constitutus diapason diapentes consonantiam jungit. Sed secundus ad eundemquintum diapason consonantiam in dupla proportione constituit. Item secundus ad sextum diapason diatessaron solam in genere superpatienti constitutam tradit per duplam superbipartientem proportionem. Rursus primus ad sextum quadruplam proportionem copulat bisdiapason consonantiam creans. Tertius ad sextum dupla collatione conjunctus diapason consonantiam format. Quintus vero ad eundem sextum sexquitertia proportione connexus diatessaron consonantiam constituit. Atque ad hunc modum Pithagoras ipse musicas has consonantias speculatione ac ratione deprehendit non nisi ex numerorum proportionibus produci easque regulis ac ratione apperuit que prius solo sensu percipiebantur corruptibili que quidem omnia apertissime monstrantur in hac figura.

A wood-cut then represents six men with hammers aloft as striking upon an anvil placed on the trunk of a tree. Each hammer has its weight marked in order, iiii. vi. viii. viiii. xii. xvi.

X.—*A Revised History of the Column of Phocas in the Roman Forum.*

By F. M. Nichols, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read May 16, 1889.

It may be of interest to the Society if I submit to its notice some observations made last year, which render it necessary to re-write the history of one of the best known monuments of Rome.

The monument, which for fifty-six years has been called the Column of Phocas, was formerly, when nothing but the pillar itself was seen above ground, the subject of much curiosity and speculation among the visitors of the Forum. The "nameless column with the buried base"[a] was thought by some to be the sole relic of a great temple or other public building. By others it had been conjectured to be part of the famous bridge by which Caligula united his palace on the Palatine with the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. In the early years of the century, among other works of the same kind, it was resolved to clear away the soil and *débris* from the substructure of this column; and on the 13th of March, 1813, the inscription of its pedestal, which had remained for centuries a few feet below the level of the ground, was uncovered, and revealed the fact that it had supported a statue dedicated by the exarch Smaragdus to the honour of a Caesar, whose name had been erased, but who, by other indications, could be no other than Phocas, an emperor of evil reputation, but to whom Rome and the world owe some gratitude for having been instrumental in dedicating the Pantheon to Christian worship, and so preserving from ruin one of the noblest and most original architectural works of antiquity.

As I propose to enter further into the history of the monument, it will be well to give the inscription in full. The want of the emperor's name, and other deficiencies arising from later damage or accident, are supplied within brackets:[b]

[a] Byron, *Childe Harold*, canto iv.

[b] I copy the restorations from Jordan's Sylloge of Inscriptions of the Forum (*Ephemeris Epigraph.* iii. 299); but I believe the words are the same as those restored by Fea in 1818 on the monument itself, the holes being filled up with stucco. Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii., 151.

OPTIMO CLEMENTISS[IMO PIISSI]MOQVE
PRINCIPI DOMINO [N. FOCAE IMPERAT]ORI
PERPETVO A DŌ CORONATO TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS EX PRAEPOS. SACRI PALATII
AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
PRO INNVMERABILIBVS PIETATIS EIVS
BENEFICIIS ET PRO QVIETE
PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERVATA LIBERTATE
HANC STA[TVAM MAIESTA]TIS EIVS
AVRI SPLEND[ORE FVLGE]NTEM HVIC
SVBLIMI COLV[M]NA[E AD] PERENNEM
IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT
DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI INDICT. VND.
PC̄· PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO

It will be observed that the date furnished by this inscription is the 1st of August in an eleventh indiction, in the fifth year of the *principatus* of an emperor, and during the exarchate of Smaragdus. Smaragdus filled at two different times the office of exarch, first in the years 583 to 588, and afterwards from 602 to 609. The first period was in the reign of Mauricius, and did not comprise either an eleventh indiction or the fifth year of an emperor. The second period included the year 608, when the 1st of August fell in an eleventh indiction and in the fifth year from the consulate of the emperor Phocas.

On the discovery of this inscription the long debate about the origin of the monument was concluded. It was now regarded beyond doubt as a memorial erected in honour of Phocas; and the observation which was at once made, that the column itself, which formed the most ornamental portion of the design, was apparently borrowed from an earlier structure, was thought to harmonise well with the knowledge which had been obtained respecting the origin of the monument.

The archaeologist, Carlo Fea, who had charge of the excavation, appears to have been somewhat surprised to find that the work was to be attributed to so late an epoch. He concludes the announcement of his discovery with the remark that, when the column should be isolated and the entire monument visible from a proportionate distance, it would show that at a time hitherto believed to be

barbarous and destitute of art they had still not only some good sculptors and letter-cutters, but also architects who knew how to carry out the ideas, which were not without grandeur, of those who were in a position to give orders and to supply the means for executing them.[a] Nibby, on the other hand, appears to have been more struck with the coarseness and inferiority of the lower part of the work, which appeared to him not unsuitable to the period to which it was now assigned. He characterises it as a pyramid of steps adorned with awkward mouldings, which contrast wonderfully with the style of the column, and show how wretched was the state of the arts at the beginning of the seventh century.[b] Bunsen, now that its true character was found out, scarcely deigns to describe "the Phocas column, the painful and pitiful composition of plundered materials which forms the memorial of one of the most execrable tyrants of Byzantium."[c]

Since these judgments were passed upon the character of this monument, it has naturally not been thought worth while to spend much time upon it. The sentence has gone forth,

"Non ragionam di lui, ma guarda e passa,"

and it does not appear to have struck any archaeologist since Fea as a matter of wonder that a work of so much grandeur and dignity, unique in its design among Roman monuments, and at the same time thoroughly classic in its form, and presenting withal some difficulty in its construction, should have been erected, amid the decaying ruins of the Forum, in the seventh century.

No one, I think, who for a moment reflects on the improbability to which I have just alluded will be surprised to hear that there is really no evidence at all that the Column of Phocas was erected in honour of that emperor.

As I was looking over the details of this monument in the spring of last year, a careful examination of the inscription convinced me that it was cut upon a surface from which an earlier epigraph had been erased. That a circumstance so

[a] Quando questa colonna sarà tutta isolata fino al piano antico e alla proporzionata distanza, saremo persuasi che in quel tempo, già creduto barbaro e senza arti, questi ancora avevano de' buoni scultori e incisori di caratteri, e architetti che sapevano secondare le idee bastamente grandiose di chi poteva comandare e spendere. Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, 67.

[b] Una piramide di gradini, ornati di goffa modinatura, che contrastano mirabilmente collo stile della colonna e mostrano come miserabile fosse lo stato delle arte sul principio del secolo settimo. Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii., 152.

[c] Die Phocas-säule, das mühsam und erbärmlich zusammengeraubte Denkmal eines der fluchwürdigsten Tyrannen von Bysanz. Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, iii., 2, 116.

important to the history of the monument should have escaped the attention of the curious from the year 1813 to 1888 may appear to my hearers extremely improbable. The only explanation I can give is this, that the removal of the ancient surface has been executed with some skill, and does not reveal itself even to a practised eye at the first glance. It is a satisfaction to me to be able to add, that before the end of the season I had the good fortune to visit the place in company with Professor Mommsen and another able epigraphist, and I think I may say that, though both these authorities were disposed at first to hesitate in accepting my conclusion, they were convinced before leaving the spot that it was well founded.

The fact so ascertained leads only to a negative result. It relieves us from the necessity under which we supposed ourselves to lie, of believing that the column was erected in the year 608. It is, however, important to observe, that the literal and natural interpretation of the inscription upon which that belief depended does not really make any such inference necessary, since Smaragdus is not stated to have constructed the monument in honour of Phocas, but only to have placed and dedicated a statue to his eternal glory upon this lofty pillar: *hanc statuam . . . . huic sublimi columnae ad perennem ipsius gloriam imposuit ac dedicavit.*

The conclusion to which we naturally arrive is this, that the exarch did no more than command the subservient authorities of Rome to erase the inscription in honour of the personage to whom the column was originally dedicated, and to substitute that in which his own name and that of his master were recorded. We may suspect that the statue resplendent with gold, which represented to the Romans the person of their unknown sovereign, was also a borrowed work. But the inscription testifies to the figure having been placed on the column by the order of Smaragdus; and it is not improbable that the monument had already been robbed of the statue with which it was originally crowned.

Having found these reasons for rejecting the received opinion concerning the origin of this monument, I have naturally taken some interest in the question which is thus left open, and of which only an approximate solution can be expected; since we have nothing left us to determine its date and history except what may be found in the general character of the design and in an examination of the details of its structure.

The design consisted of a Corinthian column surmounted by a bronze statue, and standing on a rectangular pedestal, which was itself placed upon a truncated pyramid cased with marble steps.

It may be observed in the first place, as bearing on the epoch of its construc-

tion, that this design, while it is simple and noble in effect, is not founded upon any other Roman monument of which we have any knowledge, and is perfectly classical; by which I mean that it has no trace even of the dawn of mediæval invention. It is certainly not a design which, apart from the inscription, we should think of attributing to the seventh century.

In the next place it is manifest, without any minute examination, that some of the most important parts of the structure are better executed than the rest, and have been evidently taken from some building or buildings of an earlier date. The work, therefore, must be ascribed to that degraded period of Roman art when public monuments, even of high pretensions, were built with borrowed materials. This epoch had already begun, as is well known by the example of the arch of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century.

To carry further our knowledge of the origin and history of the work, we must examine more minutely the several parts of which it consists.

The column is a Corinthian pillar of white marble, probably of Luna, of a height, including base and capital, of about 48 feet. The capital and base are in separate pieces, and the shaft made up of seven drums. The column is much weathered and shattered, but was not originally of high excellence, and may probably be attributed to the second or third century.

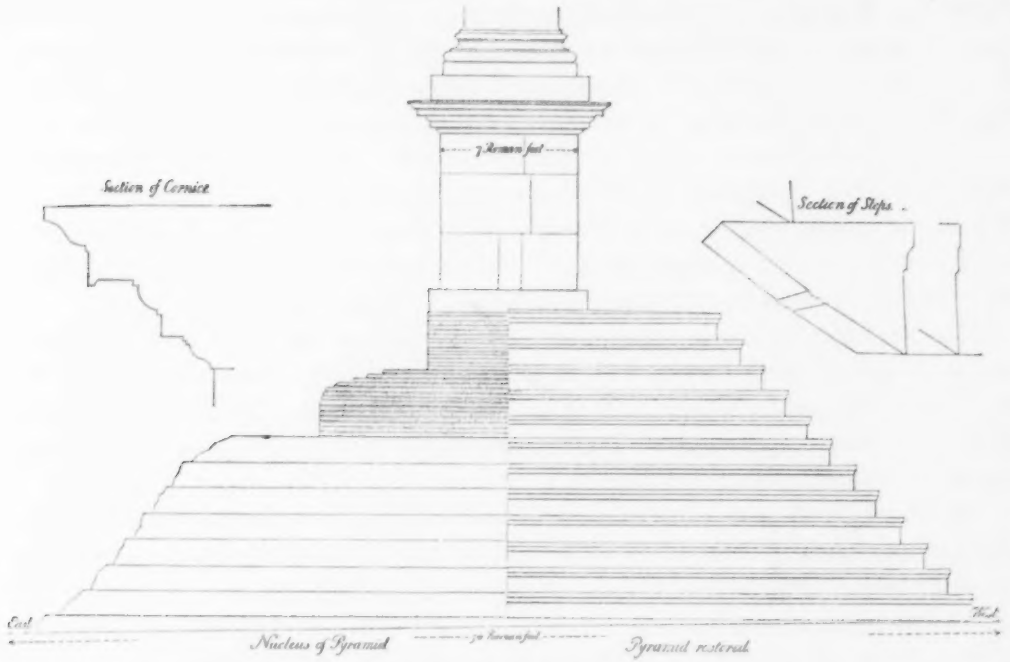
The base is what is called Attic. Its plinth, which is about $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet square, stands upon a sub-plinth composed of a block of marble about 8 feet square and one foot high. This is placed upon the cornice of the pedestal.

It should, however, be observed, that the sub-plinth and the column above it do not stand accurately on the centre of the pedestal, but a little nearer to the east side of it. This deviation can scarcely be due to any later movement, but must, I think, be attributed to a want of care, or skill, in erecting the column in its present situation.

The pedestal consists of cornice, body, and plinth. The cornice, which is much damaged owing to its having been for many years at or near the ground level, is a well-executed work of plain geometrical moulding. The type of its design is one that was not uncommon at a good period, the members being the same and arranged in the same order as in the handsome cornice of the podium of the arch of Titus. A fragment of a cornice with a similar series of mouldings was dug up last year in the ruins of the temple of Julius, to whose podium it may perhaps have belonged.

The cornice is made up of four pieces, with good joints, now a little parted by weather; and the well-executed corners are evidently part of the original work. It was doubtless taken from some earlier building, apparently a pedestal of similar

dimensions to that which it now covers. And I see no reason why it should not have accompanied the column in its former position. This suggestion implies that the column was not taken from the portico of a temple or similar building, but had been before erected upon a pedestal as an isolated monument. It may be



Elevation of the lower part of the Column of Phocas. Scale 1: 100.
Scale of details 1: 20.

remarked in passing that a distinguished Italian archaeologist, Professor Lanciani, once suggested that this column might perhaps have been taken from the round temple near the Tiber, commonly called the Temple of Vesta, where one Corinthian column is missing. It is curious how the isolation of the column in the Forum appears to lessen the impression of its height. The columns of the so-called Temple of Vesta are about 35 feet high, this column about 48 feet.

The body of the pedestal, which is of a square form, 7 Roman feet in width and 8 high, is built up of several pieces of marble, arranged in three courses. The blocks of marble appear to have been well put together with fairly good joints, now somewhat parted by weather. The surface is much broken by holes,

apparently made by mediæval spoilers in seeking for the metal clasps which were commonly used in buildings of the best time. But whether the depredators were successful in finding such clasps in this pedestal, I have some doubt. The sides have no mouldings or sunk panels, and are, or were, plane well-smoothed surfaces. The inscription, which is on the north side, in the direction of St. Adriano (the ancient Curia) is cut in sixteen lines upon the two lowest courses. The whole of it is upon an erased surface somewhat rougher than the original plane surface, and not very much lowered by the erasure, which does not extend over the upper part, nor as far as the corners of the pedestal. It follows that the earlier inscription, which appears to have been also in several lines, and to have occupied nearly the same space as the later one, was cut in very shallow letters.

It is affirmed by Fea that the whole of the top of the pedestal is inserted within the cornice, made of one piece of marble, as in a sort of sheath: "a curious arrangement," as he says, and "perhaps not seen anywhere else." This curiosity of construction is entirely imaginary. The cornice, as I have already mentioned, is, in fact, in four pieces. And the body of the pedestal, being of later work than the borrowed cornice, is not perfectly fitted to it; but so far from being inserted in it, it has its upper line on the north and south sides, projecting a little in front of the bottom of the cornice, instead of being placed, as it should be, a little behind it. On the two other sides the two lines come more closely together. In fact, the later constructed pedestal is not perfectly square.

Instead of a moulded basement, corresponding in character with the cornice, the pedestal rests on a simple plinth or slab of marble, about 1 foot 2 inches (0·35 metres) in height, and about 8 feet square; the measurement from north to south (2·36 metres) falling short of the measurement in the other direction (2·43 metres) and of 8 English feet by nearly 3 inches.

This marble slab rests on a substructure of brickwork, 8 feet (2·43 metres) square, and about 2 feet 9 inches in height, which rises from the middle of a larger pier, 18 feet (5·50 metres) square, built of hard rubble or concrete, and faced on its four sides with walls of brickwork, of which a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet is visible, but which appears to continue to a further depth, and probably extends down to the foundation of the monument; the lower part of the brickwork being surrounded by the rubble constituting the interior of the pyramid which forms the lowest part of the design. The brickwork of these substructions has the characteristics with which we are familiar in the latest classical buildings of Rome (the bricks especially being of very various dimensions) and is some-

what inferior to that of the seven piers opposite the Basilica Julia, which belong to the time of Diocletian or Constantine.

The base of the pyramid occupies an area 50 Roman feet square. This round measure, *decempedis metata*, like the terrace of the Rostra, 80 feet in width, and the hundred-foot portico of the Temple of Castor, is not without interest. The nucleus of rubble, principally composed of large pieces of tufa with fragments of marble and brick, is placed upon the pavement of the Forum, which does not appear to have been disturbed; but at the west corner (towards the Temple of Saturn) there are visible the remains of an earlier monument, of no great size, which was probably removed with several others to make room for the one we are describing.

The sides of the pyramid were faced with marble steps, 15⅓ inches (0·39 metres) high, and about 14 inches wide, of which the best remains are on the south side, where the two lowest steps are missing, but the rest are nearly complete to the eighth step. At this level there is now a sort of platform about 30 feet (9·50 metres) square surrounding the brick pier, but there can be little doubt that the pyramid was originally carried to a higher level, probably ending in a smaller platform at the foot of the marble pedestal. This arrangement would require five more steps. Rossini's engraved view, made when the excavation was recent, seems to show some trace of steps above those that are at present in position. On this supposition the pyramid had thirteen steps on the east side, but as the ground rises towards the west, the steps on that side were twelve.

The marble steps appear to have been made for their present use. Each piece (generally the half of a rectangular block, sawn diagonally across) has a roughly executed moulding in front of the tread. Both Nibby and Bunsen observe that some of the materials of the steps are borrowed from other buildings; but all the marble blocks used for this purpose which I have seen appear to be of the same work,[a] though some pieces, notably one lying on the north side, have the moulding somewhat more carefully executed. Possibly the missing steps on the principal front, below the inscription, may have been better finished than those on the other side, and for this reason may have been preferred for removal. The form of the steps may be seen in the accompanying drawing, where the two outlines represent the moulding in the more carefully executed and in the rougher form.

[a] Of course I speak here of the blocks of marble properly belonging to the monument. The place of the missing steps is now in a great measure filled up with blocks of stone taken from other ruins.

Reviewing the details which we have described, the parts of the monument which we recognise as constructed of original materials are the pyramid, the central pier, and the pedestal with its marble plinth and brick substruction, but without its cornice. The cornice and all above it appear to be borrowed, and were borrowed not improbably from an earlier monument of a similar kind, which may have stood in the Forum itself, the principal alteration introduced into the design being the elevation of the column with its pedestal upon the top of a pyramid; an idea that may have been suggested by some monument in one of the Oriental Greek cities. A pyramid with steps formed, it will be remembered, part of the tomb of Mausolus.

The epoch of the erection of the column, as it now stands, must be determined mainly by the character of the work. We have fixed on the beginning of the fourth century as the time when monuments of importance began to be built in Rome with borrowed materials. We find an example of this in the round temple of Romulus in the Sacra Via, as well as in the arch of Constantine; and in the new parts of both these buildings, and also in details of the Basilica of Constantine, we may see how utterly at that period not only the art of sculpture, but all sense and appreciation of architectural form in its correctness and purity were lost. The mouldings, for example, which had before been usual upon certain pieces of architecture, were either omitted altogether, or rendered in a surprisingly rough and incomplete way. The buildings are wanting in Rome by which we might trace on a large scale the progress or decline of architecture during the fourth century. But some inscribed pedestals lying in the Forum and elsewhere, especially several of Constantius and of Gabinius Vettius, furnish examples both of the mouldings and of the incised letters of this period. Some of the inscriptions are very shallow, and many of them are on erasures. I may observe that I do not think the epigraphists have been careful in observing the latter circumstance. It might well be expected that in many cases, especially in the Forum, where room could scarcely be found for a new monument, or even a new statue, without removing one already existing, it would be found convenient to use an old pedestal rather than replace it by a new one, the execution of which would be inferior to that of its predecessor. It is curious to observe how on one of the large pedestals in the Comitium inscribed to Constantius, which appears to have originally belonged to the Flavian period, the workman has been inspired to imitate in some degree the style of the erased inscription, and the letters are of better form and deeper cut than the other inscriptions of the same date.

It is difficult for any person to realise the depth of degradation to which Roman art and Roman taste in reference to public monuments had fallen at the

end of the fourth century, without being acquainted with the monument erected in honour of the army of Stilicho, which has been, not many years since, disinterred in the Roman Forum. It consists of a rough cubical block of travertine, upon which is set an oblong marble pedestal, which originally sustained an equestrian statue, but which is here placed on one of its ends; and across the side facing the Curia is cut an inscription in honour of the soldiers who had been successfully employed against the Goths. If the Romans of the time of Honorius were contented to place so grotesque a structure *in celeberrimo loco*, close to the Rostra and the Comitium, in a Forum that had not yet been desecrated by the feet of barbarian conquerors, what sort of monument should we expect to be reared in the midst of ruins two centuries later? Side by side with this memorial of the achievements of Stilicho, the monument appropriated to Phocas appears a model of classic dignity and correctness.

The considerations which I have mentioned appear to me to make it extremely improbable that this monument is of a later date than the latter half of the fourth century. The special characteristic of the commencement of that century, which we see so strikingly illustrated by the example of the Basilica of Constantine, is that, while their architects were still capable of designing and constructing a great architectural work on the most stupendous scale, they do not appear to have had an eye to judge, or a hand to execute correctly, the simplest architectural ornament. The same characteristic in a humbler way reappears in the Phocas monument. The general design is sufficiently dignified. The execution of the details is miserable, but not much inferior to what may be seen in the façade of the temple of Romulus; the brickwork is a little worse than that of the time of Constantine, and the shallow cutting of the original inscription finds a parallel in other inscriptions of the fourth century. If the chronographers had mentioned a monument erected before the Rostra in honour of the great Theodosius, we might be content to find it in this. That the person to whom the monument was dedicated was of no less than imperial rank is sufficiently shown by its magnitude, and by its situation in a place which for many centuries had been crowded with memorials of the most distinguished Romans, and from which a multitude of such memorials must have been removed to make room for its erection. It is not improbable that the marble *plutei*, or screens, sculptured in honour of Trajan, which were discovered near the Phocas column, were removed at this time to the place where they were found and where they now stand. The rough and unequal travertine bases on which they were found show that they have undergone removal, and on the other hand the subjects of their bas-reliefs make it probable that their original position had some relation to the Rostra.

The conclusion at which we thus arrive respecting the origin of this monument, in the absence of all documentary evidence, is necessarily vague. Its date however (in the second half of the fourth century) may, I think, be regarded as approximately ascertained. The effigy of gilded bronze with which it may be assumed that it was originally crowned, was probably removed in one of those devastations to which Rome was subjected in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Of its later history one chapter is recorded in the inscription of Smaragdus. The name of Phocas was probably erased soon after his death. And if the gilded statue with which it was again adorned was not thrown down on the same occasion, it may have contributed its weight of bronze to the spoils which Constans II. carried away from Rome in the year 663. It would be a curious coincidence if the image of Phocas was shipped as part of the same cargo with the gilded bronze tiles of the Pantheon, the preservation of which up to that time was in some measure due to his munificence.

The supposed *erection* of this monument in honour of Phocas has suggested an inference of some importance concerning the history of the decadence of the Forum, the pavement of which, it was concluded, must have remained at its ancient level in the seventh century. This inference no longer holds, since it is obvious that the inscription might have been altered after the level had considerably risen. It is interesting in this connection to remember that the neighbouring Curia, now the church of S. Adriano, was consecrated for Christian worship in the same century.

The monument itself bears upon its surface some striking indications of the successive changes of the level of the ground. The most curious of these consists of some holes near the bottom of the marble pedestal, which can only, as far as I can guess, have been useful to attach a light chain or rope for the tethering of horses or cattle, when the level of the ground was at the top of the pyramid. Of these holes, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, there is one pierced through each corner of the pedestal.

There is also evidence in the weathering about half way up the pedestal, especially seen on the south side, that the ground level remained at that height for some time. In this condition of the ground one or two lines of the inscription would be visible above it.

Another mark on the column itself is worth notice, as it seems to indicate that the monument was at one time attached to, or included in, some mediæval building. This is a square hole, at about two-thirds of the height of the column on the south side (towards the Basilica Julia), which looks like the resting-place

of a beam or rafter. It is certain, however, that no building of any weight could have been made to lean against the column without affecting its stability.

Of documentary evidence relating to the history of the column in the middle age there is scarcely any. Only in a bull of pope Innocent III. (1199) relating to the property of the neighbouring church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, there is mention of "two tofts by the Perfect Pillar" (*duo casalina iuxta columnam perfectissimam*)[a] which may not improbably refer to this isolated column. The expression *casalina* probably implies that there had been some buildings on the ground, which had been removed.

The inscription of this monument is not comprised in the collection of inscriptions in the *Itinerary* of Einsiedeln, made apparently in the ninth century. Neither was it copied by the epigraphists of the early Renaissance. We may infer, that at the latter period it was almost, if not entirely, beneath the ground. There seems to be some evidence to show that the highest line was still visible in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The condition of the monument from that time to the present is illustrated by a succession of drawings and engravings. The well-known prints of Piranesi and Vasi show it as it stood in the last century, isolated, but with buildings near it, with the ground-level just at the base of the column.

The excavation begun in 1813, which revealed the inscription, was left unfinished for some time. In 1815–16, at the expense of the Duchess of Devonshire, the base of the monument was laid open.[b] The work was continued by the Pontifical Government, and in 1819 the excavated space was inclosed with a sustaining wall.

In 1834–5 the enclosure surrounding this column was united by a passage with that made in 1802–3 around the arch of Severus; and in 1851–2 it was thrown open on the south side in the new excavations by which the Basilica Julia was uncovered. Since that time the ancient area of the Forum has been gradually extended in all directions around the column.

The one thing that is really remarkable in the history of this monument, since the discovery of the pedestal and pyramid, is the facility with which archaeologists have accepted without a suggestion of doubt the hastily assumed inference respecting the date of its construction.

[a] See this bull in the English translation of the *Mirabilia, Marvels of Rome*, p. 181.

[b] I hear from M. Grueber, that there is a small medal of Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, upon which the Column of Phocas is represented, with the inscription, COL. FOC. MONVMENTA. DETECTA.

XI.—*On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in* 1388. *By* J. Wickham Legg, *F.S.A., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Knight of the Imperial Order of the Rose.*

Read June 20, 1889.

All documents which bear upon the history of Westminster Abbey must have a considerable interest for Englishmen. A church in which so many of the English kings since the Conquest have been crowned and anointed will always be venerable in the eyes of the more thoughtful portion of our countrymen, just as Aken and Rhemes must be honoured by Germans and Frenchmen. But, unlike Rhemes, Westminster is not an episcopal church. It became cathedral only for a moment, after its suppression as a monastery, in the reign of Henry VIII. as Aken became cathedral for a few years at the beginning of this century, also a time of much confusion. When we cross the Alps we find again a like case in a church which is not episcopal but collegiate, the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, where the kings of Italy took the iron crown; and a still greater instance in the Vatican Basilica, only a collegiate church, where the golden crown of the world was bestowed upon the Roman emperor. There is a further likeness in the history of St. Peter's at Westminster and of St. Peter's across the Tiber. In both cases the bishop who bestowed the crown has left his seat close to his own metropolitan church and come to live hard by the church where he should crown and anoint his sovereign. The successor of St. Anselm, *papa alterius orbis*, has left Christchurch, Canterbury, for his manor of Lambeth; just as the pope has left his patriarchal church of St. John Lateran for his palace on the Vatican.

It will be exactly 501 years ago, the last day of June, that the inventory of

the *vestibulum* (a word which Ducange tells us means sacristy or vestry) in Westminster Abbey was made by Richard Cirencestre, William Sudbery, John Breynte, and Ralf Tonworthe. All of these were monks of Westminster, and we know, too, that three of them held office in the convent; Richard Cirencestre was first senior, John Breynte was kitchener, and Ralf Tonworthe was westerer in 1380.[a]

It is, indeed, nowhere explicitly stated in the manuscript that it is an inventory from the abbey church of Westminster; but if any should doubt the connexion of the book with Westminster, he should be satisfied by the circumstance just noticed; as well by the description of jewels and ornaments which we know were in the custody of the abbot and convent as by the frequent mention of the abbots, priors, and monks of Westminster. Further, there are directions on the second leaf of the manuscript for the vesting of the abbot of Westminster; in a handwriting, it is true, later than the body of the inventory; but the notes themselves afford conclusive proof that the manuscript was the handbook of the westerer or sacrist of the convent of Westminster.

The original document I have now the honour of showing to the Society; and a transcript accompanies this paper as one of its appendices. The manuscript now belongs to the library of the dean and chapter of Canterbury (Y.ax.), to whose courtesy I am indebted for the loan of the book. Dr. Brigstocke Sheppard has likewise helped on in every way the editing of the document. As to the book itself, he tells me that it has no history; but that a book belonging to another Benedictine monastery stands near this inventory on its shelf at Canterbury, and contains a note which states that Dr. Farmer, a canon of Canterbury in the eighteenth century, bought it on a book-stall in London. Something of the same sort, Dr. Sheppard conjectures, may have happened with the Westminster inventory. It is at present bound in brown calf, and marked on the back with a label, A. 10. The leaves are 13 by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches (330 × 220 mm.) and they are 43 in number. The last has been cut vertically, leaving a little over the half. The first 20 leaves have been more or less injured, very likely by water.

In transcribing the manuscript, the contractions have been expanded where the intention of the scribe was almost certain, and some pains have been taken to follow the spelling; where it has not been possible to understand the meaning

[a] See Flete's manuscript in the chapter library, fol. 18, and Sporley's manuscript in the British Museum, Cotton, Claud. A. viii. fol. 28 verso. Dart reproduces these. (*Westmonasterium*, London, 1725, vol. i. book ii. chap. iv. p. 48.) As to William Sudbery, see Dart also. (Vol. ii. p. xxviii. "*William Sudbury*, Monk of *Westminster*, who wrote of the Properties of the Saints.")

of the word, as written, it has simply been copied with *sic* after it. The numbers have in many cases been rendered in Roman numerals, and not given at length, even when so given in the MS., for in this matter no attempt has been made to reproduce the exact form. Further, the words underlined and erased have been indicated.

On the verso of the first leaf is written in large black letters: **Registrum vestibuli in | thesauria perpetuo conservan | dum**, and on the same line with the last syllable is written in a sixteenth century hand: Roberte Applegate. And then below comes the paragraph beginning "the xij day," and the two Latin verses, also in sixteenth century hand:

Poto, magna cremo, de vite superflua demo,
Tempus do gratis, mihi flos servit mihi pratis.

On the recto of the second leaf at the top of the page is written:

Adam primus homo damnavit cætera pomo.

and on the verso of the second leaf are the rules for the vesting of the abbot of Westminster at evensong and high mass, written in a late fifteenth century hand.

Then follow five blank leaves; at the top of the seventh blank leaf is written twice over: William Lovelace, in a sixteenth century hand. The writing of the inventory begins on the recto of the eighth leaf. It is divided into two columns, the writing rarely taking up the whole of the column, great spaces being left after the entries for the insertion of new gifts or acquisitions in other ways. For example, the thirty-second and thirty-third leaves are left blank, except for the heading *sexta pars*, whereby is given space for the record of the increase of the simpler sets of vestments which are described in *capitulum x.*; and large spaces are also left in *quinta pars* after *capitula ij. iv. vj.* In every case some space is left; in the smallest intervals there are five lines, except after the albs of St. Dunstan, where only one is left. All the two columns of the leaves have been prepared for 41 lines, but in few have all the lines been written upon.

Nearly every *capitulum* ends with the words "Et in incremento de novo." In the greater number these words seem to have been written by the same hand that wrote the body of the inventory, but with a somewhat fainter ink, and perhaps a different pen. The increase is recorded sometimes by the same hand, at other times by a later hand. In printing this addition it has been included within brackets.

The writing is very clear, in black, blue, and red, with ornamented capitals,

which call for no special remark. Some of the headings to each *pars* are purple; and the blue writing is almost limited to the alternate signs of paragraphs in each *capitulum*. The blue letters of the first twenty leaves have been nearly obliterated.

From the likeness of the hands, it is very possible that the same scribe wrote the magnificent mass-book given by Nicholas Litlyngton to the convent, and still preserved in the chapter library.

The inventory is divided into seven parts: and these parts are again divided into chapters. The first part contains the ornaments which were worn by the abbot of Westminster: the mitres, the croziers, the gloves, the rings, the grey almuces, the rochets, the surplices, the pairs of dalmatics, and the sandals. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope points out to me a corresponding list of pontifical ornaments given by William Boys, who was abbot of Evesham from 1345 to 1367: "Ditavit ecclesiam istam ornamentis pontificalibus, videlicet una bona mitra cum baculo pastorali, annulis, chirothecis, almicio de grisio, cum uno rocheto, cum tunica et dalmatica, cum sandaliis et uno libro pontificali."[a]

Of mitres there were eight, not including the one for the boy-bishop. The first, given by Simon Langham, a former abbot, was adorned with jewels and pearls; it had also in front seven golden monials (*monilia*), in which were inserted many precious stones; there were the same number of monials behind. This mitre had also borders of silver gilt, having at the top of each a sapphire; the strings (the *labellae*) were also adorned with pearls and stones, and eight silver-gilt bells. The second was also the gift of Simon Langham, and was hardly less precious. The ninth, the mitre of the *parvus pontifex*, for St. Nicholas, was adorned with gold and silver plates and precious stones, of the gift of Ralf Tonworthe, the westerer.

When the colour of the stuff which formed the foundation of these mitres is spoken of, it is white. This is still the colour of the mitre of William of Wykeham, so carefully preserved at New College, Oxford, and the same colour is reported by M. Charles de Linas of the mitres of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Sens, and of St. Edmund.[b] The sixth mitre is said to have been of bawdekyn. Whether as early as this bawdekyn connoted red, as Dr. Rock suggests that later on it does,[c] I should doubt: for in the inventory we find a frontal of tawny

[a] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 296.

[b] Charles de Linas, *Rapport sur les anciens vêtements sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1857, pp. 8 and 23.

[c] See Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, London, 1870, Introduction, p. lvii. "Plain crimson silken webs from Bagdad won for themselves the name of baudekins."

bawdekyn for Lent (pars iij. ca. j. § 15), a cope of white bawdekyn (p. vi. ca. xiij.), eight cushions of blue bawdekyn (p. vij., ca. ij.), and bawdekyn of divers colours. (*Minus Registrum*, ca. x.)

Of *baculi pastorales*, or croziers, there were four: the first, given by Nicholas Litlyngton, was of silver; and in the crook there was curious work of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and of images of St. John the Evangelist and king Edward, with an angel holding the cipher 𝔑. 𝔏. The second was given by Thomas Henley, also of silver, with the Salutation (Annunciation) of the Virgin in the crook.

Of gloves there were no less than nine pairs of silk. The first pair was given by Nicholas Litlyngton. Each glove was adorned with sixteen precious stones and a silver and enamelled monial (a plate on the back of the glove) with pearls and stones intermixed. Another rich pair, given by Simon Langham, was adorned with borders in silver and enamel with divers images, each glove having a monial in silver and enamel of the arms of St. Edward. These must have been quite equal to those spoken of by Dr. Bock, which belonged to St. Vitus' at Prague, and which he considers the finest described in medieval inventories.[a]

There were seven rings, of which the first is said (*dicitur*) to have belonged to St. Edward the Confessor, of blessed memory. It was of gold, and was adorned with one sapphire and eight red stones. It was in the custody of the abbot. This must be the marvellous ring[b] taken from the body of the saint in the first translation in 1163.

The other rings were adorned with sapphires, *lapides rubei*, and other stones. The last contained a large *sapphirus citrinus*. Yellow and apricot sapphires are catalogued in the Townshend Collection;[c] and I am told that pink, yellow, brown, and white sapphires are still imported from Ceylon.

The celebrated ruby ring given by Richard II. is not among the additions, nor can it be very well looked for, as it was one of the conditions of the gift that it should remain in the king's custody so long as he lived, unless he were out of England. (See Appendix III.) By right, then, the ring should not have gone with him to Ireland; yet in the troubles which filled up the end of his reign it

[a] Fr. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder*, Bonn, 1866, Bd. ii., S. 141. The inventory was taken in 1387, only one year before this.

[b] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series, 1858. Ed. H. R. Luard, pp. 16, 122, 172, 276, 373. The story is more shortly told in E. A. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, chap. x. and chap. xi. Oxford, 1877, 3rd ed., vol. ii. p. 519, vol. iii. p. 34.

[c] A. H. Church, *Precious Stones*, London, 1883, p. 102.

seems in some way to have been lost to the shrine, as Henry V. is said to have restored the ring.[a] It was to be used in future coronations; and it may be noted that to this day the king of England receives a ruby ring at his coronation,[b] as "the Ensign of Kingly Dignity, and of Defence of the Catholic Faith."[c]

There were also four pairs of silk stockings (*sotulares*) and sandals; red, blue, black, and one pair of stockings of leather, adorned with diverse stones, but without sandals.

There were three grey almuces, one for the boy-bishop; five rochets, of which two were of the good cloth of Rennes, and one besides for the boy-bishop; four surplices of good cloth, and one for the boy-bishop. The pairs of dalmatics were seven; and were blue, white, green, black, and red in colour. They were the dalmatic and tunicle worn by the abbot when pontificating.

The second part contains the instruments for processions; the crosses, banners, censers, and their ships, the holy water vat and sprinkles, and candlesticks. There were seven crosses, and five handles for carrying the crosses. Most of these crosses had an image of the Crucified attached to them. One cross was of silver-gilt and highly adorned with precious stones; three others were of crystal, one of chalcedony, and another great cross was of wood, though adorned with beryls and one large red stone. In addition, there was a silver-gilt cross; and also there is counted amongst the crosses a vessel of beryl in which the Eucharist could be placed and carried, given by Thomas, duke of Gloucester; with two angels holding candlesticks in their hands.

There were sixteen banners; and amongst these there was one which had an image of a Roman emperor; and amongst the late additions, that is, after 1388, there was a banner of the Roman emperor given by Richard II.

There were altogether eight censers: two given by Henry III., one by Simon Langham, and one by Thomas, duke of Gloucester. Also three ships and spoons for incense; and two holy-water vats. There were twelve silver candlesticks, two large ones given by Henry III. and four by Simon Langham.

The third part contains the ornaments of the altar: the frontals and frontlets,

[a] Richard Widmore, *History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, London, 1751, p. 113. The late Dean of Westminster reads this condition of the letters patent otherwise. "He had a ring, which he confided to St. Edward's Shrine when he was not out of England." (A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, chap. iii., London, 1869. Third ed. p. 149.) The letters patent must speak for themselves.

[b] Arthur Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, London, 1820, p. 76.

[c] William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, London, 1847, vol. iii. p. 116.

the linen cloths upon the altar, the ridells, costers, and other curtains, the chalices and corporas cases, the mass-books and other liturgical books and the text, the pax bredes, the basons, the cruets for the wine and water, the oil stocks, the pixes, pomes or balls for warming the hands, a fan for driving away flies from the chalice, super-altars, (that is, portable altar-stones) combs, towels, *sudaria*, (that is, silken veils for covering the elements as they were carried to the altar, or for wrapping up the paten during the canon) cushions, painted diptychs or triptychs, chairs of state with their coverings of precious stuffs, the Lenten veil to hang up between the choir and presbytery during Lent, and Lenten coverings for images.

For many of these ornaments a bare enumeration is sufficient; some of the fifteen frontals, however, were exceedingly rich. The green frontal is the first spoken of, and was worked with golden embroidery, showing kings and bishops sitting in tabernacles. The second was embroidered with gold, and showed the story of the Nativity, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the life of St. Edward. It was, therefore, very likely *opus Anglicanum*. Was it, then, the frontal given by Henry III. about 1271, of which we are told that it took four women three years and three-quarters to make?[a]

There was also a green frontal for principal vigils, green being the Westminster colour for principal vigils;[b] a white one adorned with stars, possibly for Twelfth Day, or perhaps for Lent (pars vij. cap. vij. § 4); a blue one worked with golden archangels, probably for Michaelmas;[c] and one of a tawny coloured baudekin for Lent.

There were eleven frontlets, of which six were sewed to their frontals and five were sewed to the linen cloths of the altar. Of these linen cloths there were ten, five being of Paris or Norfolk work, the rest plain.

There were eight chalices, silver-gilt, and the same number of patens. The first chalice was a large one with two handles; it had two patens adorned with gold and stones, of which one was of beryl and the other of chalcedony, and it was furnished with two spoons of gold; these were given by Henry III.

[a] Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Introd. p. xxxv. Rot. Cancel. 56 Hen. III. Compos. Will. de Glouc.

[b] Green is not often found as the liturgical colour for vigils. In a book of Franciscan origin (*Liber fam. cleric.* Venetiis, 1550, fo. 229) I find: Vigilia nativitatis domini: paramenta viridia: vel cancecoloris.

[c] Blue was also the colour for Michaelmas at Wells (Lambeth Palace Library, No. 729,) in the Crusaders' sequence at Jerusalem in 1100 (*Reliquary*, Oct. 1887, p. 194), and at Toul (*Missale ad usum Ecclesiae et Dioecesis Tullensis*, Tulli Leucorum, 1630. Rub. gen. de coloribus, par. xviii.)

It may be noticed that the patens were all engraved with some sacred image; a majesty, a vernicle, the crucified. Mr. St. John Hope has pointed out that this is the medieval rule. Out of eighty medieval patens, he found but two without some sacred device engraved in the centre.[a]

At the high altar there were two patens for making oblations.

There were ten corporas cases, all embroidered. There seem, however, to be no ornaments in the inventory that can be identified with a modern chalice veil. The nearest approach to a cloth that could be used for this purpose is the *sudarium*, with which the elements were covered when they were carried to the altar, and in which the paten was wrapped when held by the sub-deacon during the canon.

The fourth part is taken up with a description of the principal albs. It runs into no less than seventeen chapters, and the albs described are adorned with gold and divers colours, and the suit was either with or without corresponding stoles and fanons. In the last chapter the albs worn by St. Dunstan are enumerated.

St. Dunstan has also attributed to him, besides the albs, three black copes and two chasubles (pars vj. ca. xvij. § 16) two censers, and two bells. (*Minus Registrum*, cap. ij.) Besides these relics at Westminster it may be noted that in 1313 among the list of jewels belonging to Piers Gaveston there was a gold ring set with a sapphire, which St. Dunstan made with his own hands.[b] This can be traced back to the goods of Edward I.,[c] where it is recorded amongst other rings surrendered at the deaths of bishops and abbots. Other instances of the handiwork of St. Dunstan are known: bells at Abingdon;[d] crosses, censers, cruets, chasubles, and other vestments at Glastonbury, with bells, and a ring taken from his finger in the supposed translation from Canterbury.[e]

Speaking of albs, I think it is not the linen vestment itself that is described, but the silken apparels of the alb which were sewn on to this long white vest-

[a] W. H. St. John Hope, *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1887, vol. ii. part ii. p. 86.

[b] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, Londoni, 1818, vol. ii. pars i. p. 204, "Un anel d'or, od un saphir; le quel seint Dunstan forga de ses mayns."

[c] *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatorum Garderobe anno regni R. Edw. I. xxviij°.* The original MS. is in the Library of our Society. At p. 280 it has: "Unus anulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit de fabrica sancti Dunstani ut credebatur."

[d] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum*, Lond. 1817. Vol. i., p. 516.

[e] Johann. Glaston, *Chronica*, ed. Thos. Hearne, Oxon. 1726, pp. 116, 131, and 145. Dr. Stubbs (*Memorials of St. Dunstan*, 1874. Rolls Series, Introduction, p. ciii.) speaks of "the bells that were known at Canterbury as his own work."

ment in accordance with the colour of the day; this opinion is strengthened by finding that there are two parts described, which would correspond to the fore and hinder apparel of the alb. Into the general discussion whether it be possible to have a silken alb I cannot now enter.

There were twenty principal albs of silk; the first had adornments of a yellow colour with bezants, of the same suit with the principal cope that came from the burial of St. Edward. Later on it will be seen that three copes were made of the cloths that were found on the body of the Confessor. There were eight other albs, golden, with stoles and fanons of the suit, and six without stoles and fanons. Of the red albs eighteen were with, and twenty-seven without stoles and fanons. Of black albs there were five with, and twenty-three without stoles and fanons. The first of the black albs, adorned with a majesty, popes, kings, and bishops on one side, and Blessed Mary, SS. Edward, John, Laurence, Katherine, and two other virgins on the other, must have been magnificent. Of murrey-coloured albs two were with, and one without stoles and fanons. Of white albs there were three with stoles and fanons; of blue, two with, and eight without stoles and fanons; of *glaucus*, (a yellow-green) nine without stoles and fanons; there were five green with, and five green without stoles and fanons. There were two albs of divers colours.

The albs of St. Dunstan, seven in number, were reckoned among the principal ones, not because they were embroidered, but because they were relics, having been worn by the saint in his lifetime.

The fifth part continues to deal with albs; but the albs described are simple, not embroidered; they are with or without stoles and fanons. This part is divided into eighteen chapters.

Of the cloth of gold albs there were thirteen red with stoles and fanons, and fifty-two without. Of blue there were three with, and ten without stoles and fanons. Of white, one with and sixteen without stoles and fanons. Of murrey albs, four with and seven without; there were also albs with shields on them, *albe scutate*, three with, and twelve without stoles and fanons. Of simple red albs there were six with, and twelve without stoles and fanons. Of green albs, seven with, and seven without, stoles and fanons. There were five white and thirteen black with, and seven murrey without, stoles and fanons.

There were twelve principal stoles; some of these had three fanons to two stoles, which implies that they belonged to a set.

At first sight it seems as if the albs with stoles and fanons should have been in sets; that is, that to every three albs there should have been three fanons and

two stoles. For example, the three albs embroidered with the arms of France and England had three fanons and two stoles, and the same may be noticed in many other cases. But this is not always true, for the number, 103, of the albs with stoles and fanons, does not allow of any such exact apportioning of the vestments, and it is often said that each alb had its own stole and fanon; or there are more albs in one set than would correspond to the number of the stoles and fanons.[a]

ALBS.

	With stoles and fanons.	Without stoles and fanons.	Stoles and fanons not spoken of.	Total.
Embroidered	—	—	20	20
Golden	8	6	—	14
Red	37	91	—	128
Black	18	23	—	41
Murrey	6	8	—	14
White	9	16	—	25
Blue	5	18	—	23
Glauceus	—	9	—	9
Green	12	12	—	24
Divers	2	—	—	2
Embroidered with arms of England and France	3	—	—	3
Embroidered with arms	3	12	—	15
Albs of St. Dunstan	—	7	—	7
	103	202	20	325

The preponderance of red among the vestments will be noticed below.

The sixth part is an enumeration of the principal and simple copes, chasubles, and tunicles, which are arranged according to their colour and quality in seventeen chapters. Under the copes of divers colours are given the three copes from the burial of St. Edward, and there is evidence to show that this means that the copes were made of the stuffs in which his body was wrapped; one was *glauceus*, the

[a] See pars v. cap. j.

second red, and the third powdered with eagles. The two best copes in this chapter appear to have been black in colour.

An examination of *Pars Sexta*, in which the copes, chasubles, and tunicles are enumerated, leads to the results which are given in the adjoining table.

	Copes.	Chasubles.	Tunicles.
Golden - - - - -	6	—	—
Black - - - - -	11	6	6
Murrey - - - - -	24	10	8
Blue - - - - -	69	8	10
Glauceus - - - -	10	1	2
Red - - - - -	127	16	33
White - - - - -	53	6	10
Tawney - - - -	—	—	2
Divers and rayed - - -	7	3	9
	307	50	80

It will be noted that there is a great preponderance of red ornaments. In abbot Ware's *Consuetudinary*,[a] there are rules given for the use of the coloured ornaments; and, according to these rules, red would be worn for more than half the year; not less than thirty-three weeks. Red was ordered for the three weeks from Septuagesima to the first Sunday in Lent; for the last fortnight of Lent; for the five weeks from Easter to Ascension; and for the weeks from Pentecost to Advent, which may vary from twenty-three to twenty-eight. To these weeks we must add the feasts of martyrs, which were observed in Advent, Christmas, and Lent, and the great number of red vestments may be understood.

The seventh part contains things not spoken of under any of the foregoing: carpets, cushions, morses of copes, pieces of cloth of gold and of silk, and girdles; together with two new chests, and a list of the things in them. One of these carpets was called "the pass," and was long enough to go from the door of the

[a] British Museum, MS. Otho C. xi. f. 30 b. Most of these rules are printed in my *Notes on the History of the Liturgical Colours*. Lond. 1882.

vestry to the high altar. In the inventory of the Dissolution it is called "the Rollyd Palye otherwyse called the Passe servyng for the Abbott to go to the aulter apon."[a]

After this comes an alphabetical list or index of the ornaments catalogued, *contra tabula*, references being given to the part and chapter.

Last of all comes a *Minus Registrum*, divided into ten chapters, and containing the less precious ornaments left in the *vestibulum*. Amongst these are five mitres, two croziers, of which one had in the crook the Church on one side and the Synagogue on the other, an unusual device for a pastoral staff; five pairs of gloves, two rings, and one set of sandals. One of the more curious entries is a *capella portatilis*, given by Nicholas Litlyngton. It consisted of a case containing one chalice, two cruets, one pix, one bell, one pax brede of silver-gilt, one super-altar of alabaster, one reredos, one frontal and frontlet, two ridells, one alb with stole and fanon, a girdle and a chasuble, and a corporas case with a corporas, all of blue cloth of striped tartaryn of one suit; with two towels without the palls, (that is, the large linen cloths which covered the altar) and a small mass book.

Here we have an enumeration of what was held to be necessary for the celebration of low mass. Noteworthy is the absence of paten, candlesticks, and cross for the altar, of amice amongst the vestments, of chalice veil and purificator amongst the gear with the corporas. Noteworthy is the presence of the pax brede, reredos, frontal, and ridells, none of which are nowadays thought of much importance. In fact, in a modern low mass the pax has entirely disappeared. We may compare with this apparatus for a medieval low mass the vestments spoken of in Appendix II.; such as were given by a king for the celebration of high mass to one of the most important churches in his realm, almost at the same time that this inventory was made.

One of our Fellows, now deceased, Mr. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, has printed an inventory of the abbey taken at the time of the Dissolution. In the notes to the inventory now printed, Mr. Walcott's will be referred to as *Inventory 1540*, with the page of the fourth volume of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* in which the inventory appears.[b] An attempt has been made in this paper to point out the ornaments common to both inventories, but

[a] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1875, vol. iv. p. 348.

[b] It may be well to add that Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has also printed some notes on this present inventory in the *Transactions* of the same society, 1881, vol. v. p. 424.

with less success than might have been looked for. In some cases there can be little doubt that the same ornament is described, while in others it is by no means so clear that they are the same, though there may be features common to both. Even the number of these last is not very great; in explanation, it may be noticed that Widmore tells us that in 1449, at the time of the great plague, the convent sold jewels and other goods of the church beyond the value of 300*l.* in the money of the time.[a]

As to the stuffs that the various vestments were made of, we find the usual medieval silks and cloths of gold of many colours, into the nature of which there is no need to enter when so many students possess Dr. Daniel Rock's *Textile Fabrics*, and Fischbach's *Ornamente der Gewebe*, which has appeared in an English edition, both of which may be supplemented here and there by Mr. S. William Beck's *Drapers' Dictionary*. Cloth of gold is very frequently spoken of; of the silken or other costly stuffs, samyt appears 47 times; velvet 22; dyaspin 15; bawdekyn 11; tartaryn 7; satyn 6; damask 5; camaca 5; cypres 4; cloth of Lucca and sarcinet 3; sandell twice. The simpler ornaments of silk and samyt have one chapter given up to them. (pars vj. cap. xvij.)

Syndon is spoken of twice in the *Minus Registrum;* four cushions of green syndon (cap. viij.) and four veils, two of which were for covering images at the shrine during Lent. (cap. x.) Syndon is naturally held to be some sort of linen, yet Dr. Rock considers it to be "a bettermost sort of cendal".[b]

Twyne is spoken of as a material for girdles. Fustian and cloth of Reynes are also mentioned once, the former as a material for mitres, (*Minus Registrum*, cap. i.) the latter for rochets.

Opus Romanum is once spoken of. (pars iij. cap. ij. § 2.) *Opus Parisiense* twice (pars iij. capp. iij. and xviij.) in both cases for the adornment of linen. It is marked at Hulne Priory about 1354 as "pannus bonus operis parisiensis cum scutis dominorum pro frontello altaris, laneus tamen";[c] and at St. Paul's, in 1402, there were "vj paria pallarum benedictarum de panno lineo, quarum duo paria sunt de opere Parisiensi".[d] Pieces of "naperie du Paris" are spoken of among the goods of Henry V.[e] *Opus indentatum* is spoken of three times, once (pars iij. cap. j. § 8) as part of a white frontal "auro intextum de panno damasci

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 134.

[b] Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Introduction, p. xli.

[c] British Museum, Harl. MS. 3897, fol. 58.

[d] *Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. p. 509.

[e] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iv. p. 237.

indentatum;" again (pars iv. cap. iij. § 5, pars v. cap. vj.) as parts of albs. In the inventory of 1540 it appears in a set "of tyssewe endentyd as chewerne work haveyng in the cheverns crymsyn and golden fflowrys of Kyng Richard the ij^{des} gyfte" (p. 328).

In passing to the names of the various donors and benefactors of the convent, it may be said that in this place I have mentioned only those names that occur more than once. If they make but a single appearance in the inventory, I have told what I know of them in a note. Of names like William the Conqueror it was not necessary to speak; and others are so obscure that I have been able to find nothing about them. I have drawn most of what I have said of the officers of the convent from Dart and Widmore.

Nicholas Litlyngton, abbot from 1362 to 1386, is well known as a most generous benefactor to Westminster Abbey: in this inventory he is mentioned twenty-nine times as the giver of jewels and ornaments to the church; while Simon Langham, who is second on the list of donors, is spoken of twenty times. The pontifical ornaments for the abbot seem to have been Nicholas Litlyngton's great care; a crozier, a pair of gloves and of buskins, a grey almuce, several rochets and surplices were given by him, nearly all of great value. Dart also tells as that he gave a mitre of white pearls, which cost him a hundred marks.[a] A magnificent black frontal with the arms of England, apparently designed for the obits of the kings, two enamelled chalices, and the splendid mass-book which is still preserved by the church of Westminster, are all due to him. It will be seen that he gave a frontal with the arms of England; and thus it may be well to note once for all, that the arms displayed upon an ornament are not always those of the donor.

Simon Langham, who was monk in 1335; prior and abbot in 1349; bishop of Ely, 1361; archbishop of Canterbury, 1366; cardinal priest of St. Sextus, 1368; cardinal bishop of Palestrina, 1372, and who died in 1376, was also a great benefactor. He left by will to the abbey the residue of his goods,[b] and of these there still exists an inventory in the muniment room at Westminster (Parcel 40, Nos. 7 and 8). I have looked over these documents, but could not in a hasty examination identify the ornaments with any sufficient certainty.

Langham is named twenty times in the inventory of the vestry. He gave two magnificent mitres and a pair of gloves highly adorned with enamels and

[a] Dart, *op. cit.* Book I, p. 31, in a list of gifts made to his church of Westminster.

[b] Widmore, *op. cit.* Appendix, p. 188.

images, five pairs of pontifical dalmatics, a censer and incense ship, and four silver candlesticks. There can be little doubt that he gave the whole of the set that is described as rayed cloth of gold of Lucca, of divers colours and with divers letters written thereon, of which we have under his name the frontal and frontlet (pars iij. ca. j. § 9) and the ridells (pars iij. ca. v. § 1), though the albs (pars v. ca. j.) and four copes, with a chasuble and tunicles (pars vj. ca. x. § 5) are not ascribed to his gift. There are ornaments corresponding on fol. 2. b of No. 7 of the inventory of Simon Langham's goods. Widmore tells us that he also gave to the abbey the vestments reported to be used by St. Peter;[a] used, was it, when this saint hallowed the abbey?

Ralf Tonworthe was the westerer at the time of the making of this inventory. He seems to have had a special care for the boy-bishop, for a good number of the ornaments for St. Nicholas are of Tonworthe's gift. To him are owing the mitre, gloves, surplice, and rochet for the boy-bishop. There were besides, for St. Nicholas, though it is not said they were of Tonworthe's gift, two albs and a cope, with griffins and other beasts, with fountains giving forth water (pars v. ca. iv. § 2; pars vi. ca. xiv. § 43); a velvet cope of divers colours, with the new arms of England (pars vj. ca. viiij.), a second mitre, and a ring. (*Minus Registrum*, ca. j.)

Tonworthe also gave two chests containing, amongst other things, complete sets of white vestments for the Sundays in Advent and Lent. *Capitulum vij.* of *pars vij.* is taken up with a description of these gifts. He gave as well seventeen carpets of elaborate design for the adornment of the choir, apparently on great festivals. (pars vij. cap. j.)

Henry III., besides a censer and two great candlesticks, gave to the church a large chalice with two handles together with two patens (*disci*) and spoons. Further, he gave one psalter with the apocalypse at the end, which remained with the church till the Dissolution: and as many as twenty-nine copes of red samite.

Dart says that, in the thirtieth year of his reign, he commanded the keeper of his exchequer to buy as precious a mitre as could be found in the city of London; and also a circle of silver for wax candles. Two years before he had given a dragon in the manner of a standard or ensign.[b] None of these can be identified with certainty in the inventory, and to the last there appears to be nothing which corresponds.

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 93. Cf. Inventory 1540, p. 313, "Seynte Peter's Cope."

[b] Dart, *op. cit.* Book I, chap. iii. p. 26.

Eleanor of Castile, the queen of Edward I., is spoken of three times in the inventory (pars v. ca. xiij.; pars vij. ca. v. § 3. *Minus Registrum*, ca. vij.) in connexion with a suit of green vestments, marked with the arms of England and Spain; but she does not seem to have given these ornaments. They were "assigned" for her; probably therefore worn at her obit, for which manors of the yearly value of two hundred pounds were given to the convent by Edward I.[a]

The arms of Castile and France appear in another part of the inventory, (pars vj. ca. iij. § 4) and in other parts (pars vj. ca. ij. § 10 and § 18) the arms of England are associated with those of Castile. If needful to connect them with any one, it would seem more reasonable to associate them with queen Eleanor than with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who styled himself king of Castile and Leon in right of his second wife, Constance, the elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I., appears as the giver of a blue frontal (pars iij. ca. j. § 14) and a set of blue vestments (pars vj. ca. x. § 13) all embroidered with archangels, very possibly for use on Michaelmas Day. The arms of the earl of Lancaster were on two cushions given by Nicholas Litlyngton (pars iij. ca. xx. § 2), and on an alb with the arms of SS. Edward and Edmund on one side, and of England, France, and the earl of Warwick on the other (pars iv. ca. j. § 5).

Edward III. is recorded to have given a white frontal (pars. iij. ca. j. § 13) and a suit of white vestments (pars. vj. ca. xvij. § 9). He also gave six carpets (pars vij. cap. j. § 1) with the new arms of England[b] and the arms of Hainault, those of his wife Philippa; and a frontal was made of the red and blue velvet, with the arms of England and France, that was used at his funeral (pars iij. ca. j. § 10); and ridells of the white satin used at the funeral of queen Philippa (p. iij. ca. v. § 2).

Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was also a considerable benefactor. A very large and handsome jewel of beryl made for holding the Eucharist, and two angels bearing candlesticks in their hands (pars ij. ca. j. *in incremento de novo*) were given by him. Less important gifts were a censer, two lavatory dishes, and a suit of vestments marked with the initials of himself and his wife, T. & A., and the Bohun swans (pars vj. ca. x. *in incremento de novo*). In Appendix IV. there is a complete list of the ornaments given by Thomas and his wife to the abbey.

[a] Widmore, *op. cit.* p. 78.

[b] *i. e.* France ancient and England quarterly.

Mary de St. Paul, countess of Pembroke, was the wife of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. She was the foundress of Pembroke college, Cambridge. She gave to the convent three albs, two stoles, and three fanons of cloth of gold, two copes, a chasuble, and two tunicles of diverse colours, but all of the same suit and worked with the arms of France and England; the larger vestments also with her own arms. (pars v. cap. viij.; pars vj. cap. x.) Further, four carpets and two cushions with the arms of the earl of Pembroke. (pars vij. capp. j. and ij.)

John of Grandison, who gave a frontal and frontlet, the former adorned with the arms of England and France, the latter *ex opere romano*, (pars iij. capp. j. and ij.) was bishop of Exeter from 1328 to 1369.

Richard Berkynge was abbot from 1222 to 1246. He gave three red and two green copes to the convent. (pars vj. capp. iij. and v.)[a] These two last were given in 1238. Flete further says, that he left two curtains with the history of Our Lord and St. Edward; but I cannot identify these in the inventory.

John Wratting was prior in 1382; he gave five white copes to the convent, three embroidered and two simple. (pars vj. capp. xij. and xiij.) He is also said to have in his custody one of the chalices. (pars iij. cap. vj.)

The phonetic spelling of some of the Latin words in the inventory may throw some light upon the way in which one or two of the consonants were pronounced. For example, the letter "c" before either "e" or "i" must have been pronounced like an "s"; we find *cerico* instead of *serico*, *signis* instead of *cygnis*, *pissem* instead of *piscem*. The "ch" which is so often hard has been softened; we have *chirotheca* altered into *seroteca*. The "c" could not therefore have been pronounced as in the Latin of the modern Italian, Spaniard, or German. The "j" too must have had something of its present English pronunciation. We have *magestatem*, spelt with a "g"; so that it could hardly have been pronounced *maiestatem* as the Italians and Germans speak it. In like manner the "t" before an "i" was softened; we have *eciam*, *tercia*, *circumferencia*, *oblacio*, etc., throughout the manuscript.

Thus the evidence, as far as it goes, is that the "c," "j," and "t" were pronounced in Latin by Englishmen at the end of the fourteenth century very much as they were in English schools some forty years ago. But on the other hand, the "w" often takes the place of the "v," as in *Ewangelista*; so the "w" and "v" would seem to have had in England much the same sound; as they have on the Continent at this moment.

[a] See note to this entry in the Inventory.

Before leaving the Latin of the monks of Westminster it may be noted that they seem to have had their own views as to the comparison of adjectives. Thus the scribe writes down for our better knowledge the statement that certain gloves "veterissime sunt et parvissime valoris." (*Minus Registrum*, ca. j.)

To the Dean and Chapter of Westminster I am greatly indebted for their courtesy in allowing me the use of their transcript of the Consuetudinary of abbot Ware, one of the Cotton MSS. (Otho, c. xi.) now in the British Museum. I have spoken of this manuscript in the notes to the inventory as *Consuetudinary*, followed by the number of the leaf of the original MS. for convenience of reference. To the Dean I am very grateful for the ready permission given to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and myself to see the documents in the muniment room, of which we have availed ourselves to make the transcripts which appear as Appendices II. III. and IV. to this paper.

I cannot end the paper without expressing my gratitude to Mr. St. John Hope for all that he has done from the very first day on which I began to think of undertaking the work. It was, in fact, he who first suggested it; and I am confident that without his skill and encouragement I should never have begun, and still less continued and brought to an end, the transcription of the manuscript. Whenever I have been at fault he has enlightened me, and when out of heart it was he who gave me fresh courage to go on.

APPENDIX I.

Registrum vestibuli[a] in thesauria perpetuo conservandum.[b]

The xij day ys s'vayd wyth ev'y thȳg at hy masse ād p'cessyon as pryncypall fest. Itm̄ ye blew tyssu s'veth for the fest of seynt Edward at myhelmas.[c] And the Jessys[d] serve for the oder fest of seȳnt Edward at crystmas. Itm̄ the blew myllys[e] do s've for boyth the vygylle of seynt Edward synglarly.

Poto, magna cremo, de vite superflua demo.
Tempus do gratis, mihi flos servit mihi pratis.

Adam primus homo damnavit caetera pomo

ihc

The Revestyng of the abbot of Westm̄ att evensong.

ffyrste the westerer shall lay the abbote cope lowest opon the awter w'in the sayd westre. nex opon hys gray Ames. then hys surples. after that hys Rochett and uppermost hys Kerchure.[f]

[a] Vestibulum: Vestiarium, sacristia. See Ducange. It is at the end of the south transept.

[b] Here follows in handwriting of sixteenth century: "Roberte Applegate."

[c] Tissue was a cloth of gold. A blue cloth of gold was for St. Edward's Day at Michaelmas (Oct. 13). See also the Inventory of 1540, p. 333, where "iiij Copes of Turkey satten" are assigned to this day; but the colour is not given; amongst the curtains there is "a nother payr of grene sarsenet for Seynt Edwards dayes." (p. 342) And (p. 331) amongst the vestments, a set "straked with yellowe and red . . . for seynt Edwards consuets;" and another set "withoute stoll and phanam of blew satten with half monys and starys servyng for the Utas of Seynt Edward."

[d] See pars v. cap. iij. below.

Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 313, "the other calledde the cope with the aungelles of perle and the iij other callede the Jessys with ij tunycles:" and, p. 333, "a Cope of blewe velvett rychely embrotherd with a Jesse the ymages of the Jesse beyng garnysshed with perle." A lesson from cap. iii. of St. Luke recounting the tree of Jesse, was read in many rites at the mattins of Twelfth Day, of which St. Edward's Day at Christmas is the eve. There is an engraving of a Jesse frontal in Bock, *Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, Bd. III., Tafel i. Fig. 2. Amongst the chasubles at St. Paul's London in 1245, there was: "Jesse quam dedit Rex in dedicatione ecclesiae" (*Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. p. 484) and a red cope, *bene breudata Jesse* (p. 476). Among the red vestments at York, soon after 1500, there was: una secta de historia Jesse [et aquilis, sine albis] (*York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, 1859, p. 233). See below, pars vj. cap. j.

[e] Probably a blue stuff powdered with mills. In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 329) two sets of vestments, one of blue velvet the other of green, were embrodered with antelopes and "mylles," in one case of gold.

[f] The kerchure is clearly the *amictus*. It is to be worn with the rochet and surplice.

Hys Myter & crose[a] beyng Redy w[t] hys glovys and pontyfycall℄.[b]

The Revestyng of the sayd abbot att syngyng hy Masse.

Fyrst the westerer shall lay lowest the chesebell. a bove that the dalmatyke and the dalmatyk w[t] y[e] longest slevys uppermost & the other nethermost[c] then hys stole & hys fanane and hys gyrdyll. opon that his albe theropon hys gray Ames a bove that hys Rochett & uppermost hys kerchur w[t] a vestry gyrdyll to tukk up hys cole.[d]

Hys Miter & crose beyng Redy w[t] hys glovys and pontyfycall℄ And a fore all thys you muste se that hys sabatyns[e] & syndall℄ be Redy att hys first cuyng whan he settyth hym downe in the travys.

[a] The "crose" is here the pastoral staff. None of the tombs of the abbots of Westminster shows a pectoral cross hanging round the neck; and among the ornaments particular to the abbot described at length in the first part of the inventory there is no pectoral cross. It is not in the list of pontifical ornaments given by William Boys, who was abbot of Evesham from 1345 to 1367, to his church, (*Chron. Abb. de Evesham*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 296) nor among the ornaments of the abbot enumerated in the Custom Book of St. Mary's abbey, York, belonging to St. John's College, Cambridge, D. 27, which Dan Francis Gasquet had the kindness to point out to me. See also *Promptuarium Parvulorum*, sub voce *Croce of a byschope*. Andreas du Saussay speaks warmly against the assumption of a pectoral cross by abbots. "Contra ius omne igitur agunt abbates, quicumque hoc insigne sacri pectoralis sibi arrogant utendum." (*Panoplia Episcopalis*, Lib. iv. Lut. Paris. 1646, p. 328.) There is evidence that the episcopal pectoral cross was little known during the middle ages. (See Bona, *de rebus lit.* Lib. i. cap. xxiv. § x. ed. Sala.)

[b] The pontifical rings. In the list of pontifical ornaments at Evesham (see above) the rings are spoken of in the plural: "una bona mitra cum baculo pastorali, annulis," etc., and on effigies there are often more than one. At the burial of Thomas Savage, archbishop of York, xvjd. were paid "for a pontificall put upon my lorde's fynger in tym of sering." (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, Surtees Society, 1868, vol. iv. p. 319.) See also the entry in Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book: "Item one ringe of golde called a pontificall having an egle standing, in his breste a small rubie poiz j quarter dj oz. Item fouer ringes of silver called pontificalles," (MS. cxxix. in the Library of our Society, fo. 144 b.)

[c] The only difference between dalmatic and tunicle here allowed is that the former has shorter sleeves than the latter. In the inventory itself tunicle is throughout used for the ornament of either epistler or gospeller. See also below, pars vj. cap. xvij. § 5.

[d] "tukk up hys cole," (cowl), that is, so to arrange the habit that it did not show. The rubrics of several orders speak of this necessary adjusting of the dress: "Vestes communes sub ecclesiasticis ita aptandae sunt, ne gibbus aliquis appareat in humeris Canonicorum." (*Calendarium Regula et Ordinarium Regularium Congreg. S. Salvatoris O. S. Aug.* Romae, Ant. Blad. 1549.) Nearly the same words are in the general rubrics of the mass-book of the Black-friars, (*Missale Predicatorum*, Venetiis, L. A. de Giunta, 1504) and of the White-friars, (*Missale antique professionis Regularium beatissime Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie de Monte Carmelo*, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1574).

[e] Evidently some kind of foot gear, most likely the stocking; the word is cognate to the French *sabot*. There were two pairs of "sabbatones" in archbishop Bowet's Inventory. (*Testam. Ebor.* Surtees Soc. vol. iii. p. 76).

Also m that euery sonday betwene cristmasse and candellmasse w^{t} (*sic*) they sey of the dom they shall be Revestyd all in whyte and preface shall be Quia p incarnati.[a] teste x ⊙

[Here follow five blank leaves.]

Et si cuilibet homini pro tempore vite huius ex defectu nature competat laborare teste scriptura. Job quinto. sicut avis ad volatum sic homo nascitur ad laborem.[b] Specialiter tamen opus grandis laboris arcipere (*sic*) et extra portum quietis diutius navigare frequenter hominem duo monent[c] scilicet Cautela de pretentis qua retro acta discrimina evitantur et providentia de futuris qua proventura comoda suscitantur. Quia igitur experiencia nos informat quod multa incomoda huic monasterio acciderunt eo quod res vestibulo contingentes non fuerant sufficienter hactenus registrate. De isto plus solicitos ac eciam magis cautos reddit periculum memoratum. Quia eciam patres filijs thesaurizant et bona posterioribus a prioribus relinquuntur. registrum competens disponente domino intendimus ordinare. In quo singula nunc possessa que predicto competunt vestibulo possent facillime reperiri. et singula in posterum eidem competitura vestibulo poterint iuxta naturam suorum titulorum inseri et inscribi. ut sic de rebus ecclesie predicto vestibulo conservatis tam presentibus monachis quam futuris speculum reluceat intuendum et perpetua memoria relinquitur. Set (*sic*) ut predictum registrum cuilibet requirenti. facilius ac cicius possit occurrere quicquid velit huic registro duximus prenotandum. quod dictum registrum in septem partes dividitur principales. et quelibet pars in aliquot capitula est distincta. in quibus singule res iuxta suos titulos et earum congruenciam situantur ut per quandam contra tabulam in fine huius registri positam manifestissime annotatur.

[a] According to abbot Ware's *Consuetudinary* (British Museum, Otho, c. xi. f. 30 b.) the colour for the vestments at Westminster was to be white from Advent to Candlemas, a rule which corresponds with the direction above. The preface, *Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium*, according to Westminster use, in abbot Nicholas Litlyngton's book, preserved in the Chapter library, corresponds word for word with that in the old Sarum and modern Roman mass-books.

[b] "Homo nascitur ad laborem et avis ad volatum". Job, v. 7.

[c] Or *movent*.

TABULA.

¶ *Prima Pars.*

Prima pars principalis de ornamentis tantum domino Abbati deputatis.

De mitris	*Capitulum j.*
De Baculis Pastoralibus	*Capitulum ij.*
De Serotecis	*Capitulum iij.*
De Anulis	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Almucijs	*Capitulum v.*
De Rochetis	*Capitulum vj.*
De Superpellicijs	*Capitutum vij.*
De Dalmaticis diversorum colorum tantummodo domino abbati deputatis	*Capitulum viij.*
De sandalibus et sotularibus	*Capitulum ix.*

¶ *Secunda Pars.*

Secunda pars principalis de instrumentis processionum.

De Crucibus et Hastilibus	*Capitulum j.*
De Vexillis et Tintinabulis	*Capitulum ij.*
De Turribulis	*Capitulum iij.*
De Acerris	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Situlis et Aspersorijs	*Capitulum v.*
De Candelabris	*Capitulum vj.*

¶ *Tercia Pars.*

Tercia pars principalis de ornamentis altaris.

De Frontellis	*Capitulum j.*
De Frontilectis	*Capitulum ij.*
De Pallis altaris	*Capitulum iij.*
De Custodibus	*Capitulum iiij.*
De Ridellis	*Capitulum v.*
De Calicibus	*Capitulum vj.*
De Corporalibus	*Capitulum vij.*
De Missalibus et alijs libris	*Capitulum viij.*
De Textibus	*Capitulum ix.*
De Tabulis Osculatorijs	*Capitulum x.*

De Pelvibus	*Capitulum xj.*
De Ursiolis et Ampullis	*Capitulum xij.*
De Pixidibus	*Capitulum xiij.*
De Calefactorijs	*Capitulum xiiij.*
De Muscarijs	*Capitulum xv.*
De Superaltaribus	*Capitulum xvj.*
De Pectinibus	*Capitulum xvij.*
De Manutergijs	*Capitulum xviij.*
De Sudarijs	*Capitulum xix.*
De Cervicalibus	*Capitulum xx.*
De Tabulis plicabilibus	*Capitulum xxj.*
De Cathedris et pannis cathedralibus	*Capitulum xxij.*
De velo et pannis quadragesimalibus	*Capitulum xxiij.*

¶ *Quarta Pars.*

Quarta pars principalis de Albis principalibus aureis et de diversis coloribus cum et sine Stolis et manipulis una cum albis Sancti Dunstani.

De Albis principalibus de serico cum paruris brudatis *Capitulum j.*

De Albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ij.*

De Albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iij.*

De Albis Rubijs principalibus cum stolis et manipulis brudatis *Capitulum iiij.*

De Albis principalibus rubijs sine stolis et manipulis brudatis *Capitulum v.*

De Albis nigris principalibus brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vj.*

De Albis nigris principalibus brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vij.*

De Albis principalibus murrei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum viij.*

De Albis principalibus murrei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ix.*

De Albis principalibus albi coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum x.*

De Albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xj.*

De Albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xij.*

De Albis principalibus glaucei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiij.*

De Albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiiij.*

De Albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xv.*

De Albis principalibus diversorum colorum brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvj.*

De Albis principalibus Sancti Dunstani non brudatis *Capitulum xvij.*

¶ *Quinta Pars.*

Quinta pars principalis de Albis simplicioribus de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis.

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum j.*

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum ij.*

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iij.*

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum iiij.*

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum v.*

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vj.*

De Albis murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum vij.*

De Albis de armis Anglie et Francie de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum viij.*

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capituluu ix.*

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum x.*

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xj.*

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xij.*

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiij.*

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xiiij.*

De Albis . . . . Albi Coloris non brudatis cum Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xv.*

De Albis murrei coloris non brudatis sine Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvj.*
De Albis nigri coloris non brudatis cum Stolis et manipulis *Capitulum xvij.*
De Stolis et manipulis principalibus diversorum colorum *Capitulum xviij.*

¶ *Sexta Pars.*

Sexta pars principalis de capis casulis et Tunicis diversorum colorum principalibus et simplicioribus auro brudatis et auro non brudatis.

De Capis principalibus Aureis brudatis sine Casulis et tunicis *Capitulum j.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis principalibus brudatis diversorum colorum de sectis *Capitulum ij.*
De Capis rubijs principalibus auro brudatis *Capitulum iij.*
De Capis principalibus blodij coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum iiij.*
De capis principalibus viridis coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum v.*
De Capis principalibus quasi murrei coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum vj.*
De Capis principalibus Glaucei coloris auro brudatis *Capitulum vij.*
De capis principalibus diversorum colorum auro brudatis *Capitulum viij.*
De capis nigris principalibus auro brudatis [*Capitulum*] *ix.*
De capis Casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de panno aureo non brudatis de sectis *Capitulum x.*
De Capis rubijs simplicioribus de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xj.*
De Capis simplicioribus albi coloris de panno auro non brudatis *Capitulum xij.*
De Capis simplicioribus albi coloris de velvet non brudatis *Capitulum xiij.*
De capis simplicioribus blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xiiij.*
De capis simplicioribus nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudatis *Capitulum xv.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de dyaspyns *Capitulum xvj.*
De Capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de serico et de Samyt sine aliquo opere aureo *Capitulum xvij.*

¶ *Septima Pars.*

Septima pars principalis de alijs rebus superinventis generaliter vestibulo deputatis.

De Tapetis *Capitulum j.*
De Quissinis *Capitulum ij.*
De Pectoralibus Caparum *Capitulum iij.*
De Pannis aureis diversorum colorum et lectis *Capitulum iiij.*
De Pannis sericis diversorum colorum auro non textis *Capitulum v.*

De Zonis *Capitulum vj.*
De duabus novis Cistis et omnibus in eis contentis *Capitulum vij.*

Prima Pars.

Prima pars principalis de ornamentis tantum domino Abbati deputatis.

De mitris. Capitulum j.

In primis mitre sunt octo videlicet prima ex dono Domini Simonis quondam Cardinalis ornata perillis margaritis cum Septem monilibus[a] aureis in quibus inseruntur diversi lapides preciosi ac perille[b] in parte anteriori eiusdem mitre unde quinque lapides deficiunt in eadem parte. Et in parte posteriori totidem sunt monilia cum lapidibus preciosis et perillis unde deficiunt quatuor lapides et tres perille. Predicta vero mitra circumornata est borduris argenteis deauratis habens in utraque summitate eiusdem unum Saphirum labelle autem eiusdem ornate sunt perillis margaritis cum borduris argenteis et deauratis et octo tintinabulis longis argenteis et deauratis.[c] ¶ Secunda autem mitra ex dono predicti Domini Cardinalis ornata est cum perillis et viridibus lapidibus permixtis habens in parte anteriori duo monilia cum rubeis lapidibus magnis et totidem in parte posteriori cuius bordura amelata est cum Rosis albis circumquaque et in labella utraque tres noduli argentei et deaurati.[d] ¶ Tercia vero mitra ornata est cum perillis et lapidibus preciosis insertis et operis est antiqui ex quibus lapidibus deficiunt in parte anteriori . . . j. magne perille et una plata rotunda aurea. Et in parte posteriori deficiunt unus magnus lapis et tres perille. Et in labellis eiusdem deficiunt quinque lapides preciosi necnon in circumferencijs per totum diversi lapides minuti deficiunt.[e] ¶ Quarta autem mitra alba consuta est de Serico cum platis argenteis et deauratis diversis lapidibus ornata cum labellis

[a] The usual meaning of *monile* is a necklace. In the middle ages it seems to be used of any gemmed adornment. The Inventory of 1540 (p. 317) speaks of the jewelled and enamelled plates of gold at the back of the gloves as "monyals."

[b] *Perilla* I have been unable to find in any dictionary. It has been suggested that it means a bead or a seed pearl. It may be, I think, any small precious stone. See pars iij. cap. vii. "contexta cum . . . . perillis albis et rubeis," and cap. xx. "perillis diversorum colorum."

[c] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The best Myter of gold garnysshed with perleys and precious stones lacking a flowre and a stone therein and a lytle leaf of gold on the rybe thereof and haveyng ij labels perteyning to the same garnysshyd with viij gret stonys and perles and viij pendant bells of gold iiij^{xx} vj unces."

[d] Cf. "the second Myter of sylver and gylt garnysshed with white roses," of the Inventory of 1540, p. 318.

[e] Was this the mitre given by Henry III.? (Dart, *op. cit.* Book i. chap. iii. p. 26.)

eiusdem secte cum decem pendulis nodulis. ¶ Quinta vero mitra alba est deargentata habens duas stellas in parte anteriori et totidem in posteriori aurifragiata cum ymaginibus et continet in utraque summitate unam perillam. ¶ Sexta autem mitra de panno Serico vocato Bawdekyn aurifragiata est et continet duas stellas in medio amelata in parte anteriori et totidem in parte posteriori habens in utraque summitate unam perillam. ¶ Septima vero mitra de consimili panno aurifragiata est cum ymaginibus habens in utraque parte hoc nomen insertum ihc xpc. ¶ Octava autem mitra de panno albo Cerico dicto Satyn brudata per totum habens in utraque sui summitate unam crucem.

[Et in incremento de novo una mitra pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputata[a] cum platis argenteis et deauratis diversisque lapidibus in eisdem insertis cuius pars anterior continet Sancte Nicholae pars autem posterior Ora pro nobis de literis ex margaritis consitis cum duabus labellis eiusdem operis ex dono R. Tonworthe. Item]

De baculis pastoralibus. Capitulum ij.

Baculi autem pastorales sunt quatuor quorum primus est argenteus ex dono domini Nicholai Lytlyngton quondam Abbatis operis curiosi continens in curvitate deaurata assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines Sanctorum Johannis evangeliste et beati regis Edwardi[b] cum uno angelo in manibus tenente caracterem predicti domini Nicholai Lytlyngtoñ. videlicet. N. L. Secundus vero est ex dono domini Thome Henle[c] quondam Abbatis argenteus continens in curvitate deaurata salutacionem beate virginis[d] cum uno angelo ex utraque parte consistente. ¶ Tercius autem baculus est ligneus et deargenteus[e] habens curvitatem argenteam et deauratam cum ymaginibus intronizatis Sanctorum Petri

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The vj myter for Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe the grounde therof of whyte sylk garnysshed complete with fflowres gret and small of sylver and gylte and stones complete in them with the scriptnre Ora pro nobis Sancte Nicholai embrodered theron in perll the sydes sylver and gylt and the toppys of sylver and gylt and enamelyd with ij labelles of the same and garnysshed in lyk maner and with viij long bells of sylver and gylt weying all together xxiij unces."

[b] Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Edward are naturally joined together in accordance with the legend of the ring.

[c] Thomas Henle, abbot from 1333 to 1344. "Dedit autem predictus abbas unum baculum pastoralem continentem in curvitate salutacionem beate marie virginis cum uno angelo ex utraque parte existente." (Flete MS. fol. 46.)

[d] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 318: "The best Crosse Staff of sylver gylt withe the Salutacon thereon lackynge an ymage and a pelycan cxlviij unces."

[e] This word has been re-written.

et Edwardi.[a] ¶ Quartus vero est eburneus habens curvitatem argenteam et deauratam cum vinea et botro.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Serotecis.[b] *Capitulum iij.*

Paria quidem serotecarum sunt sex de Cerico[c] quorum primum par est ex dono Nicholai Lytlyngtoñ quondam Abbatis aurifragiatum continens in utraque seroteca .xvj. lapides preciosos cum uno monili argenteo et amelato perillis margaritis permixtis. ¶ Secundum vero par est ex dono domini Symonis quondam Cardinalis ornatum borduris argenteis et amelatis cum diversis ymaginibus et in utraque seroteca unum monile argenteum amelatum cum armis Sancti Edwardi. ¶ Tercium autem par aurifragiatum cum diversis lapidibus insertis ex quibus grandiores deficiunt et in utraque seroteca unum monile aureum veteri modo amelatum. ¶ Quartum vero par simpliciter aurifragiatum et in utraque seroteca unus circulus ad modum monilis parvi valoris. ¶ Quintum autem par simpliciter aurifragiatum est in custodia dompni abbatis. Et est triffuratum cum perillis ad modum crucis. ¶ Sextum vero par simpliciter est aurifragiatum cum duobus platis argenteis et deauratis. ¶ Item tria sunt paria Serotecarum de cerico bona. sed minime ornata extra numerum predictorum.

[Et in incremento de novo duo paria cerotecarum de coreo vocato Cheverel[d]

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 319: "The thyrd Crose for Seynt Nycholas bysshoppe the hed thereof sylver and gylt garnysshed with great perles and stonys haveyng therof an ymage of Seynt Peter and an other of Seynt Edward of sylver and gylt, lacking vij stonys and perlys the staff therof round of coper and tymber weying all together lx. unces."

[b] Seroteca, ciroteca, chirotheca.

[c] The gloves of William of Wykeham, preserved at New College, Oxford, are of silk, like modern silk gloves, red in colour, on their backs a circle with rays coming out of it; very likely of much the same character as the fourth pair described in this chapter. This circle is spoken of by Innocent III. (*de sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. I., cap. lvi. Sylvae-Ducum 1846, p. 75). "Chirotheca circulum aureum desuper habet." In archbishop Bowet's Inventory (he died 1423) there was a pair "cirothecarum de coton, browdid [embroidered] cum ratione *Auxilium meum a Domino*." (See articles by Mgr. X. Barbier de Montault, *Bulletin monumental*, 1876 and 1877.)

[d] Cheuerelle, ceddare (cheueler lether, P). See *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, 1865, p. 73. Cheverel was thus a material for gloves in the fourteenth century as well as in Elizabethan times. See *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 13. I should not have thought the item worth noting, but Mr. Mackenzie Walcott seems puzzled over it, and speaks of the river Cherwell at Oxford, as "famous for the dressing of leather." (*Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1881 vol. v. p. 440.) Surely *chevrel* is *chevreau*, a kid; and I believe chevrel gloves are sold under this name in English shops to this day.

cum duobus platis argenteis et deauratis unum in unius circumferencia scribitur Ora pro nobis beate Nicholae. In alterius vero Ut digni efficiamur [a] et cetera ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Anulis. Capitulum iv.

Anuli quippe sunt sex quorum primus dicitur fuisse beate memorie quondam Sancti Regis Edwardi [b] aureus et bene triffuratus ornatus cum uno Saphiro et octo lapidibus rubeis in custodia abbatis. ¶ Secundus vero aureus bene triffuratus continens unum Saphirum et quatuor perillas. ¶ Tercius autem aureus cum uno magno Saphiro et quatuor lapidibus rubeis et totidem perillis. ¶ Quartus vero aureus cum uno lapide rubeo et octo lapillis ex quibus unus deficit. ¶ Quintus autem aureus cum uno lapide crocei coloris. ¶ Sextus vero argenteus et deauratus cum uno lapide rubeo et quatuor lapillis blodei coloris.

[Et in incremento de novo unus Anulus aureus cum uno magno Saphiro citrino [c] et quatuor perillis cum octo lapillis in circuitu.]

De Almicijs. Capitulum v.

Almicia sunt duo de Grys quorum primum optimum est ex dono Nicholai Lytlyngton abbatis. ¶ Secundum vero est ex antiquo in vestibulo reservatum.[d]

[a] This is a versicle and response. ℣. Ora pro nobis beate Nicholae. ℟. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

[b] This is the famous ring taken from the body of St. Edward when he was enshrined. We may note the feeling of doubt expressed in *dicitur*.

None of these rings corresponds with the rings described in the Inventory of 1540, p. 320.

[c] In the middle ages, sapphires of other colours than blue were certainly known. At Canterbury there were several black sapphires among the pontifical rings and jewels. (J. Dart, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726, Appendix, p. xiii.) The stone of one of the rings of William of Wykeham preserved at New College, Oxford, answers to the description of a *saphirus citrinus*. It is a very large stone, of a pale greenish colour, verging upon yellow. "Un saphir citrin" was amongst the jewels of the Duke of Berry in 1416. (Léon de Laborde, *Glossaire français du moyen age*, Paris, 1872, *sub voce* Cabochon, p. 181.) At Canterbury (Dart, *loc. cit.*) there was also: "annulus cum saphiro quadrato aquoso," and Edward I. had: "anulus auri cum saphiro crescenti qui fuit N. quondam Sarum episcopi, etc." (*Liber quotid. Contrarotulatoris Garderobae anno regni R. Edward I. xxviii.°* p. 278, MS. in Library of our Society) and which is again found in the goods of Piers Gaveston. (T. Rymer, *Foedera*, Lond. 1818, vol. ii. pars i. p. 203.) Was this allied to the star sapphire? The pontifical ring was often adorned with a sapphire, because this gem was supposed to quench the flame of concupiscence in its wearer.

[d] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 324: "Oon good graye amyes not moche worne. An other greye amyse which is well worne and lately repaired."

[Et in incremento unum Almicium de Grys pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatum ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Rochetis. Capitulum vj.

Rocheti sunt quinque quorum duo primi et optimi de panno de Reynes et tertius de mediocri panno sunt ex dono N. L. abbatis. ¶ Quartus est eciam de bono panno cum nodo Cristallino. ¶ Quintus vero de panno mediocri ab antiquo in vestibulo reservatus.

[Et in incremento de novo unus Rochetus pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatus ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De Superpelliciis. Capitulum vij.

Superpellicia quidem sunt quatuor quorum primum de bono panno ex dono Nicholai Lytlynton Abbatis alia vero tria eciam bona sunt ab antiquo in vestibulo reservata.

[Et in incremento de novo unum superpellicium pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputatum ex dono R. Tonworthe. ¶ Item.]

De dalmaticis diversorum colorum tantum pro domino Abbate deputatis. Capitulum viij.

Dalmaticarum diversorum colorum pro abbate tantum deputata paria sunt septem quarum primum par blodei coloris de dyaspyn[a] cum bestiis et avibus capitibus eorum et pedibus aureis. ¶ Secundum de panno de Satyn blodei coloris. ¶ Tercium de camaca albi coloris cum bestijs infra flores cubantibus.[b] ¶ Quartum de viridi panno de tartaryn. ¶ Quintum de nigro panno de samyt

[a] Here and there in the manuscript it seems doubtful whether the scribe have written *dyaspyn* or *dyaspyn*. Red and white suits of vestments of the same pattern are described in pars vi. cap. xvi. Fischbach (*Ornamente der Gewebe*, English ed. 21) reproduces a *diasprum*, a Byzantine fabric of the thirteenth century, the birds with heads and feet golden in a greenish ground. At Canterbury (Dart, *op. cit.* p. xvii.) there was: "Casula rubea de Antioche cum avibus in capite et pedibus deauratis."

[b] An example of this treatment may be seen in Fischbach, 105 A, which he attributes to Lucca, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

omnia ista paria dalmaticarum sunt ex dono Simonis Cardinalis. ¶ Sextum rubij coloris de dyaspyn cum bestiolis aureis de cipris intertextis. ¶ Septimum de nigro panno de Satyn.[a]

[...t in incremento de novo.]

De Sandalibus et Sotularibus.[b] *Capitulum ix.*

Paria quidem Sandalium sunt quatuor quorum primum par est de rubeo samyte brudatum cum ramis vinearum[c] sive arborum cum sotularibus de eadem secta. ¶ Secundum vero est de blodio samyte brudatum cum clavibus rosis et lunis cum sotularibus de secta. ¶ Tercium autem par est de nigro samite brudatum cum stellis lunis et talentis sine sotularibus de eadem secta. ¶ Quartum vero par est ex blodio panno deargentato cum sotularibus eiusdem secte ex dono Nicholai Litlingtoñ abbatis. Sotularium autem est et aliud par per se de coreo desuper aurato cum diversis lapidibus impressis sine sandalibus eiusdem secte.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

Secunda Pars.

Secunda pars principalis de instrumentis processionum.

De Crucibus et Hastilibus. Capitulum j.

Cruces vero sunt septem[d] quarum prima argentea deaurata triffurata cum auro ornata diversis lapidibus preciosis et perillis auream habens ymaginem in qua deficiunt quinque magni lapides tres minores et duo perille. ¶ Secunda autem cristallina auream habens ymaginem. ¶ Tercia vero est magna cristallina continens in medio ymaginem crucifixi et beate virginis et sancti Johannis in Cristallo. ¶ ~~Quarta autem cristallina cum ymagine crucifixi eburnea in qua deficit~~

[a] Five pairs of dalmatics are described in the Inventory of 1540, but they do not correspond with those in chapter viii. above.

[b] Sotulares; sutulares, subtalares, probably a stocking, the inner of the two sets of foot-ornaments. See Macri, *Hierolexicon*, *sub voce*; and F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder*, Bonn, 1866. Bd. ii., S. 2, "die Pontifical-Strümpfe." There are many drawings of medieval buskins in Charles de Linas, *Anciens Vêtements Sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1860, troisième série, where the subject is considered from a comparative point of view. Bishop Waynflete's stockings and buskins, of large size, are preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford.

[c] Cf. Fischbach, 56 B. and 135, designs of vines and grapes.

[d] I cannot precisely identify any of the crosses in this chapter with those described on p. 323 of the Inventory of 1540.

~~sinistra manus ymaginis predicte~~.[a] ¶ Quinta magna lignea triffurata cum platis argenteis et deauratis et depicta cum diversis hystorijs. ¶ Sexta de lapide calcidonia cum duobus lapidibus de israel[b] rubeis in medio. ¶ Septima magna lignea cum quatuor lapidibus de berillo et alio magno lapide rubeo et ymagine crucifixi. ¶ Item quinque hastillia pro crucibus deferendis quorum tria sunt laminata cum argento et duo depicta.[c]

[Et in incremento de novo una crux argentea deaurata et bene amelata cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis stans in quadam basi cum pinnaculis subtiliter fabrifactis. Item unum Jocale magnum de berillo pro corpore Christi imponendo in argento deaurato artificiose compositum ex dono domini Thome Ducis Gloucestrie.[d] Item duo Angeli argentei et deaurati candelabra in manibus portantes ex dono eiusdem domini Ducis.[e] Quarta autem crux cristallina cum ymagine crucifixi argentea et deaurata.]

De Vexillis et tintinabulis. Capitulum ij.

Vexilla quidem sunt sexdecim[f] quorum quatuor sunt depicta super cruces tempore paschali deferenda cum sex tintinabulis eisdem deputatis. ¶ Quintum vero magnum vexillum album cum ymaginibus brudatis ex utraque parte videlicet crucifixi Marie et Johannis et duorum Cherubyn. ¶ Sextum rubeum continens in se ymaginem cuiusdam Imperatoris.[g] ¶ Septimum et octavum de armis novis

[a] This paragraph is erased, and a mark made in the margin against the first line, with a corresponding one against the last added entry.

[b] *Israel* appears to be any engraved stone or gem, as a cameo. There was one belonging to Piers Gaveston: "Un camaeu en or, de Israel." (Th. Rymer, *Foedera*, Lond. 1818. Vol. ii. pars i. p. 204) And among the relics at St. Paul's: "Quidam Lapis de Israell, exprimens Majestatem Dei, albi coloris," etc. (Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, Lond. 1818. Ed. Ellis. Appendix, p. 338.)

[c] There were four cross staffs of wood in 1540, covered with silver, two gilt and two white, p. 320.

[d] See Appendix iv. Cf. in Inventory of 1540, p. 317: "A Nooster for the Sacrament of curios work of sylver and gylt haveyng a berall in it cxliiij unces."

[e] "ij Angells of sylver and gylte holdyng ij candelstyckks, ccv unces." (Invent. 1540, p. 317.)

[f] In 1540 there were over a hundred banners "of dyvers sortts to hang aboute the churche. iiij gret banners to stand afore the Revestrye in the Rogacyon Weke." (p. 347.)

[g] The appearance of the image of a Roman emperor at Westminster is noteworthy, for the emperor was held to have no rights in the isle of Britain. Edward III. was Imperial Vicar; and he and the emperor (Lewis of Bavaria) had married sisters. Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III., was king of the Romans.

anglie et hanonie.[a] Nonum. x. xj. xij. de novis armis Anglie. Terciumdecimum et quatuordecimum de antiquis armis anglie. ¶ Quintumdecimum et sextumdecimum de armis istius ecclesie cum uno penicello de eisdem armis.

[Et in incremento de novo tria vexilla videlicet domini Imperatoris Romani[b] sancti Edwardi et sancti Edmundi cum alijs xliij diversorum Regum Ducum atque Comitum et totidem penisellis ex dono domini Regis Ricardi secundi.]

De Turribulis. Capitulum iij.

Turribula quidem sunt sex[c] argentea et deaurata quorum duo sunt magna ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii continentis in summitate duas parvas campanellas et quatuor alia sunt minora.

[Et in incremento de novo unum Turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum cum ymaginibus angelorum in tabernaculis sedentibus ex dono domini Simonis Cardinalis. Item unum turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum cum ymaginibus apostolorum argenteis in tabernaculis stantibus ex dono[d] domini Thome ducis Glowcestrie.]

De Acerris. Capitulum iiij.

Acerre autem sunt due[e] argentee cum duobus cocliaribus argenteis quorum unum est deauratum et supportatum a quatuor rotis in qua deficit unus lapis de berillo.

[Et in incremento de novo una Acerra argentea intus et exterius deaurata cum uno cocliari argenteo et deaurato ex dono domini Simonis Cardinalis.]

[a] Hanonia: Hainault: Philippa of Hainault was wife to Edward III. The new arms of England are the arms of France and England assumed by Edward III.

[b] The appearance of the Roman emperor may again be noticed. The banner is given by Richard II. who married Anne, daughter of the emperor. The arms of the empire are the first of those on the wall arcade of the north aisle of the nave. The arms of France ancient are next.

[c] There were three pairs of silver gilt censers in 1540 (p. 317).

[d] See Appendix IV.

[e] There was only one ship for incense in 1540 (p. 320), which could possibly represent one of these, as the second (p. 322) had the arms of Eslyp [Islip] on the lids: "a lytle dog of sylver" is spoken of under each entry, for the hand or hasp; was it at the pointed end of the lid, by which the lid could be raised?

De Situlis et Aspersoriis. Capitulum v.

Situla vero est una[a] argentea ~~cum antiquis armis anglie et~~ unum Aspersorium Argenteum pro eadem deputatum.

[Et in incremento de novo una situla costata argentea cum uno aspersorio argenteo pro eadem.]

De Candelabris. Capitulum vj.

Candelabra argentea sunt octo quorum duo sunt magna ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii ad modum columpnarum fabricata et sex alia sunt minora.[b]

[Et in incremento de novo quatuor candelabra argentea cum armis domini Simonis Cardinalis in medio amelatis ex dono eiusdem S.]

Tercia Pars.

Tercia pars principalis de Ornamentis altaris.

De Frontellis. Capitulum j.

Frontella quidem sunt quindecim quorum primum viride cum regibus et episcopis ex auro brudatis et in tabernaculis sedentibus.[c] ¶ Secundum aureum brudatum cum hystoria Nativitatis domini et passionis Sancti Thome et vita sancti Edwardi.[d] ¶ Tercium rubeum brudatum cum leopardis et circulis aureis. ¶ Quartum nigrum brudatum cum avibus et talentis et frectis transversis. ¶ Quintum cum armis

[a] There was only one holy water vat in 1540 (p. 320): "A Haly water Pott with a bayle and a spryngele all of sylver parcell gylt the spryngele fylled with burstyls complete, iiij^{xx} xvj unces."

[b] There are only four pair of candlesticks of silver in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 317). According to Dart (*op. cit.* Bk. 1. chap. iii. p. 26, see also vol. ii. p. 4) Henry III. gave a circle of silver for wax candles in the 28th year of his reign.

[c] This must be "a goodly fronte ffor beneth of grene satten garnysshyd with gold of dyvers Kyngs and bysshops with scouchyns with lyons at both the ends." (Inventory, 1540, p. 325.)

[d] The same also: "An Awlter clothe for benethe of gold nedyll work with the Birth of o^{r} Lord and Seynt Edwards story with ij addycons at the end of nedyll work garnyshed with perlys." (Inventory, 1540, p. 325.) From the life of St. Edward being embroidered on this frontal, it was very likely *opus Anglicanum*. Was it the famous frontal given by Henry III. about 1271? (Rock, *Textile Fabrics* Introduction, p. xxxv.)

Anglie et Francie ex dono domini Johannis Graunsoni quondam episcopi Exoniensis.[a] ¶ Sextum viride cum aurifragijs deputatum vigilijs principalibus.[a] ¶ Septimum de panno albo auro contextum admodum stellarum cum frontilecto eiusdem secte.[b] ¶ Octavum similiter album auro intextum de panno damasci indentatum ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Nonum de panno aureo de luca varij coloris stragulatum et diversis literis inscriptis cum frontilecto eiusdem secte eiusdem Cardinalis[c]. ¶ Decimum de armis Anglie et Francie in Rubio et blodio velvecto cum leopardis et floribus deliciarum contextis de sepultura Edwardi tercii.[d] ¶ Undecimum de nigro chamellet cum frontilecto eiusdem secte habens in medio crucifixum cum duabus ymaginibus deauratis videlicet Marie et Johannis et in quolibet latere tres leones deauratos stantes in Rubeo velvecto[e] cum duobus scutis ex utroque latere frontelli Canc' scilicet et flandre. Ac eciam duo Scuta de armis ecclesie Westm' ex utraque parte crucifixi predicti quod est ex dono Nicholai L. abbatis ¶ Duodecimum nigrum cum signis[f] deauratis stantibus in naviculis ad arbores colligatis cum frontilecto eiusdem secte. ¶ Terciumdecimum albi coloris supra contextum vineis viridibus cum aurifragiis ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii cum frontilecto eiusdem secte. ¶ Quartumdecimum blodij coloris cum Archangelis deauratis[g] contextis ex dono domini Edmundi quondam comitis lancastrie. ¶ Quintumdecimum frontellum pro tempore quadragesimali assignatum magno altari de panno de bawdekyn coloris de tawny[h] cum frontilecto et uno Reredos attingente usque ad celaturam predicti altaris unius secte in quibus

[a] Cf. "The Vigyll ffrontal of grene cadas." Invent. 1540, p. 326. "[Sold] ij grene copes of bawdkyn servyng for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost", (p. 334) "oon albe of grene velvett embrothered with sterrys for the Prior in Principal Vigills (*erased*)" (p. 337). Green was clearly the colour at Westminster for principal vigils.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 326: "Another for benethe for the day of ye Epiphanye of whyte wyth starrys."

[c] No doubt of a suit with the ridells described below (cap. v.)

[d] Cf. "A nother of blewe velvett with ffloure de lyces and lypards. A frontell belonging to the same." (Inventory, 1540, p. 326.)

[e] The arms of England. Very likely *opus Anglicanum*.

[f] The swan . . . this majestic creature was a favourite with Sicilians." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. lxix. of Introduction.)

[g] Cf. "A nother of blewe with angells for Mygelmas day." (Inventory, 1540, p. 326.) Archangels are, however, very common in this Inventory of 1388 upon all colours.

[h] Tawny, as the colour for Lent, should be noted.

continentur ymago crucifixi Marie et Johannis Agnus dei cum Ewangelistis[a] et unum par Ridellarum eiusdem coloris de tartaryn ex dono N. L. abbatis.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Frontilectis. Capitulum ij.

Frontilecta sunt undecim quorum sex frontelle eiusdem secte sunt consute et quinque sunt frontilecta pallis altaris consuta quorum primum cum diversis scutis et perillis permixtis est ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii ¶ Secundum vero latum cum ymaginibus de opere romano ex dono domini Johannis Graunsoni episcopi Exoniensis. ¶ Tercium autem de rubeo velvet cum rosis deauratis et et (*sic*) avibus de perillis ex dono Nicholai litlyngton Abbatis. ¶ Quartum vero de armis Anglie et Francie in Rubio blodio velvet receptum de Sepultura Regis Edwardi tercii.[b] ¶ Quintum autem cum floribus deliciarum deauratis et stellis argenteis in circulis.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De pallis. Capitulum iij.

Palle[c] vero sive togelle[d] magni altaris sunt decem ex quibus quinque sunt de opere Parisie vel Northfolchie.[e] relique autem quinque constant de panno lineo sine opere curioso.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Custodibus.[f] *Capitulum iv.*

Paria quidem custodum sunt tria ex quibus primum par est de rubeo velvett uterque continens quinque Leopardos aureos brudatos et habet eciam uterque bor-

[a] Cf. among the *Lent Stuff* of the Inventory of 1540 (p. 327): "A yellowe awter clothe with the iiij Evaungelysts."

[b] See above Chapter j. § x.

[c] *Palla altaris* is the usual medieval name for the linen covering of the altar.

[d] Togilla, a towel. See *Promp. Parv.* 498. In 1540 there were eight cloths of linen (p. 342).

[e] Norfolk work is no doubt worsted.

[f] Custodibus: these are the costers to the altar, side-curtains.

duram de blodio panno deaurato.[a] ¶ Secundum vero par custodum est de rubeo velvett' et continet uterque quatuor ymagines et unum Leopardum in summitate eiusdem ex dono Nicholai Litlington Abbatis. ¶ Tercium autem par est de rubeo panno deaurato habens in parte inferiori ymagines salvatoris et beate virginis cum suo infantulo ac duodecim apostolorum.

[Et in incremento de novo].

De Ridellis. Capitulum v.

Paria quippe Ridellarum sunt sex[b] quarum primum par deauratum diversorum colorum stragulatum diversis litteris permixtum quondam Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Secundum vero par de albo panno dicto de Satyn receptum de sepultura Regine Philippe.[c] ¶ Tercium autem par est ex panno blodio de tartaryn ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Quartum vero par [. . .][d] est ex blodio panno de sarcinet cotidianum. ¶ Quintum autem par ex nigro panno de Satyn ex dono Nicholai Litlington Abbatis. ¶ Sextum vero par est de rubeo panno de Sarcynet cotidianum.

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De Calicibus. Capitulum vj.

Calices mempe (*sic*) sunt octo argentei et deaurati cum totidem patenis quorum primus est magnus cum duabus auriculis[e] pro oblatis deputatus et duo disci ornati pro eodem auro et lapidibus quorum unus est de Berillo et alter de Calcidonio et

[a] The arms of Richard de Bynteworth, bishop of London in 1338-39, were, *Gules, five lions rampant in cross or.*

[b] In 1540 there were eight pairs of curtains; green for St. Edward's days, blue for Michaelmas, and crimson for cotidians (p. 342).

[c] White was used at funerals at this time. Otto de Grandison in 1358, willed that "only a white cloth with a red cross" should be laid over his body at his funeral. (Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, Lond. 1676. Vol. ii. p. 18.)

[d] Word elided.

[e] This is clearly a ministerial chalice with two handles, such as was common before Communion in both kinds was restricted to the celebrant, or his immediate ministers. See the drawings in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. chalice. I cannot identify this chalice in the Inventory of 1540. The spoons may have been used for either straining the wine or for adding a small quantity of water to the wine in the chalice. It is less likely that they were used for Communion by intinction.

duo Cocliaria aurea ex dono quondam Regis Henrici tercii. ¶ Secundus et tercius sunt ex dono domini N. Abbatis amelati cum literis N. et L. et in una patena continetur ymago divine maiestatis et in altera ymago veronice cum versu. **Solus ab eterno** et cetera.[a] ¶ Quartus argenteus et deauratus cum lapidibus diversis et perillis in pede ex dono Roberti[b] quondam Prioris prout in fundo eiusdem describitur. ¶ Quintus cum ymagine beate marie et alijs ymaginibus et angelis in pede ex dono Helye[c] quondam prioris prout in patena eiusdem describitur. ¶ Sextus habens in patena solam ymaginem crucifixi. Septimus argenteus deauratus habens sub pede quatuor literas I. M. R. et E.[d] ~~in custodia Johannis Wrottyng~~ ¶ ~~Octavus calix parvus est et parvi ponderis~~ ¶ Item due patene argentee [et bene][e] deaurate ad magnum altare deputate pro oblacionibus faciendis.[f]

[Et in incremento de novo.]

De corporalibus. Capitulum vij.

Caselle quidem corporalium sunt novem de quibus prima est aurea auro contexta cum duobus Scutis et perillis albis et rubeis per circuitum ad modum vinee insertis cum panno corporali. ¶ Secunda est de viridi velvecto brudata in

[a] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 321: "The best Chales with a Patent of sylver and gylt the Patent haveying the ymage of the Father in the myddyst enamyled and over the ffoot of the same chales the ymages of ye Crucifix Marye and John with thes ij letters N and L crownyd and enamyld, lxxij unces. The second chales with a patent of sylver and gylt with the fygure of Cryst syttyng in the Dowme in the myddyst of the patent with thys scripture about the same Ego solus ab eterno creo cuncta liij unces. . . . . the iiij^th^ chales with the patent of sylver and gylt perteynyng to Seynt Blase altar the foote of the same chales being round and haveyng the ymage of Chryst enamylyd on the same with the ymage of the Dowme in the myddyst of the patent enamyled with N and L crownyd at the foot of the same dowme, xxiiij unces." Nicholas Lytlyngton often has his initials crowned; they may be seen thus in his mass book in the chapter library and his gifts to the frater. (Flete's MS. *Chronicon*, chapter library.)

[b] There were two Roberts priors of Westminster; one about 1202, and the other apparently before Richard de Berkyng.

[c] There were also two Helias or Elyas priors, one in abbot Gervase' time, the other in abbot Ware's time.

[d] Possibly the initials of the givers of the chalice. John de Mordon and Richard Excetere are spoken of elsewhere as benefactors. (Pars iij. cap. viij. § iij. and pars iv. cap. x.)

[e] In a later hand, over an erasure.

[f] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 322: "ij Patentes for oblacyons of sylver and gylt with Jhus crowned in the myddes of eyther of the patentes xii. unces."

medio cum pellicanis ex una parte et ~~ex alia parte brudata~~ cum Leopardo et in quatuor partibus agnus dei cum panno corporali. ¶ Tercia de panno brudata continens in una parte ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis et ex altera ymaginem beate virginis cum suo infantulo et duobus angelis thurificantibus et leopardis per circuitum cum panno corporali. ¶ Quarta vero est de panno brudata habens in una parte salutacionem Angelicam et Nativitatem dominicam et ex altera parte unum magnum Scutum cum panno corporali. ¶ Quinta autem brudata continens in una parte Resurrectionem dominicam et apparicionem[a] eiusdem ad magdalenam et ex altera parte unum magnum Scutum consimile predicto Scuto cum panno corporali. ¶ Sexta vero est brudata cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis et quatuor angelis in lateribus et duobus angelis in summitate cum panno corporali. ¶ Septima est brudata cum ymagine maiestatis et quatuor evangelistis ex una parte et ymagine beate virginis cum suo infantulo et quatuor angelis thurificantibus ex altera parte sine panno corporali. ¶ Octava vero brudata cum assumpcione beate marie et quatuor evangelistis ex una parte et ex altera habens ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis cum scutis in summitate cotidianum sine panno corporali. ¶ Nona quidem est de blodio velvecto cum septem tassellis rubei cerici cum panno corporali eciam cotidianum.[b]

[¶ Et in incremento de novo unum corporale cum casella brudata et ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis in una parte. Et Marie Johannis Baptiste et Jobannis Ewangeliste.][c]

De Missalibus et alijs libris. Capitulum viij.

Missalia et alij libri sunt septemdecim de quibus quinque sunt Missalia quorum primum unum bonum Missale et grande ex dono quondam Nicholai Lytlington abbatis.[d] ¶ Secundum ex dono domini Willelmi Curtlyngton[e] Abbatis et remanet continue in capella Abbatis. ¶ Tercium ex dono fratris Johannis de Mordoñ. ¶ Quartum cotidianum pro magno altari. ¶ Quintum

[a] This word has been much tampered with.

[b] Here blue is the quotidian colour.

[c] This would seem to be the corporas case described in the Inventory of 1540, p. 341: "The iij[de] of the ymage of our Lady and saynte John Baptiste and saynte John evangeliste on the oon syde and the crucifix on the other syde of clothe of gold garnyshed with perles."

There are also nine corporas cases in the Inventory of 1540, but this is the only one which I can identify.

[d] This still happily exists in the chapter library. It is spoken of in the Inventory of 1540, p. 343.

[e] William Curtlynton was abbot from 1315 to 1333.

missale pulcrum sine epistolis et evangelijs.[a] ¶ Sextus liber cum evangelijs tantum ad magnum altare cotidie legendis. ¶ Septimus liber cum epistolis tantum cotidie legendis.[b] ¶ Octavus et Nonus liber benedictionales cum coronacione regum et alijs in eisdem contentis.[c] Decimus et undecimus sunt collectaria pro capitulis et collectis ad horas dicendis quorum unum est bonum et novum ex dono domini Nicholai litlington quondam Abbatis et alterum vetus.[d] Duodecimus et Terciusdecimus sunt psalteria quorum unus fuit domini Regis Henrici tertii cum Apocalipsi in fine alterum vero cum diversis ymaginibus depictis post kalendare.[e] ¶ Quartusdecimus pro aqua benedicenda diebus dominicis[f] qui remanet in custodia serviencium ecclesie. ¶ Quintusdecimus pro cereo paschali benedicendo[g] et alijs pluribus in eodem contentis. ¶ Sextusdecimus et septimusdecimus sunt quaterni boni pro lectionibus legendis in vigilia pasche et pentecostes.[h]

[a] A mass-book without epistles and gospels would be most likely a sacramentary.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 343: "a Gospell Booke cotidyan for the high awlter, ij° folio in via alii autem." These are words from the Gospel for the first Wednesday in Advent, Westminster use. (Matth. xxi. 1-9.) *Principium* was the gospel for the first Sunday, as at Hereford, and among the Cistercians and others. "A Pystle Booke cotidian ij folio mansuetus emisit."

[c] Cf. "A Pontificall with a coveryng of clothe of golde and a claspe of sylver ij° folio Dominum carnem. A nother Boke of Coronacyons of Kyngs ij° folio quia non erat." Invent. 1540, p. 344.

[d] The first of these is in all likelihood the one described as "a Collector for Collects and chapters servyng for o^r father Abbott of Abbott Lytlyngton's gyffte for Principall ffeasts withoute claspys covered with olde bawdekyn. a Collector for the Prior when he dothe servys ij° folio exita dñe with ij claspes of sylver and gylt." (Invent. 1540, p. 344.) *Excita domine* are the first words of several of the Advent collects, Westminster use; it may have been that for the fourth Sunday in Advent.

[e] There can be no doubt that these two books are described in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 344): "A Sauter for the Kynge somtyme callyd Kynge Henry the iij^de with the Apocalyppes in the end ij° folio Super Sion haveing clasps of sylver. a nother Sauter with dyvers ymages affter the Calender ij° folio tunc loquetur." Super Sion: ps. ii. 6. tunc loquetur: ps. ii. 5. The latter of these psalters answers in its description to a psalter in the British Museum (2. A. xvij), and the Calendar of which would point to Westminster.

[f] Cf. "a nother Boke for Holy Water for Sondays ij° folio benedicere et sanctificare. (Invent. 1540, p. 344). The office for blessing holy water will be found in abbot Lytlyngton's book immediately after the calendar, and it corresponds closely with that of Sarum. The words "benedicere et sanctificare" are to be found in the second collect.

[g] The ceremonies at Westminster on Easter Even differed in some points from those at Rôme or Sarum, but they had much more likeness to those of the latter; while the ceremonies at Monte Cassino in 1515 were closely akin to those at Rome. (*Missale Monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis congregationis alias Sancte Justine*, Venetiis, de Giuntis, 1515.)

[h] Cf. "A nother to bless the pascall folio secundo Iudas Scaryott with Lessons for Ester and Whitsontyd and a nother Quere for the same feasts ij° folio illum est qui." (Invent 1540, p. 344.) The Westminster text of *Exultet* corresponds with that of Sarum at the end.

[Et in incremento de novo unus liber epistolarum cum ymaginibus prophetarum in principio depictis.][a]

De Textibus. Capitulum ix.

Textus autem sunt sex quorum primus magnus cum ymagine Trinitatis et duobus angelis argenteis et deauratis in parte superiori et ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis in parte inferiori habens triffuratas aureas cum lapidibus diversis et perillis permixtis. ¶ Secundus autem cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis in triffurato auro et lapidibus ac perillis in quo deficit unus magnus lapis cristallinus.[b] ¶ Tercius cum trinitate et laminis amelatis intriffuratis argenteis et deauratis. ¶ Quartus parvus est et ornatus cum argento deaurato solam habens ymaginem planam crucifixi cum lapillis. ¶ Quintus parvus pro missa matutinali deputatus ornatus cum argento deaurato ymaginem habens argenteam crucifixi tantum. ¶ Sextus vero omni ornamento spoliatus per quendam furem.

[. . t in incremento de novo unus textus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis de assumpcione beate Marie. Item unus textus vetus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Iohannis et quinque lapidibus incertis. Item unus textus ornatus platis argenteis et deauratis cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Johannis cum duobus mocys (*sic*)[c] in summitate amelatis. Item unus textus parvus ornatus platis argenteis cum ymaginibus crucifixi Marie et Iohannis sole et luna in summitate deauratis. Item unus textus parvus ornatus platis argenteis cum magestate et quatuor ewangelistis. Item unus parvus textus ornatus platis argenteis cum ymagine crucifixi eburnea in medio.]

[a] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 344: "A nother booke of Pystles with ymages in begynnyng ij° folio Sibi Populum." (Perhaps from *Ep. ad Titum*, ii. 14, the first mass of Christmas.)

[b] Cf. the Inventory of 1540, p. 323. There were only two texts in the later inventory. At Canterbury in 1315 the books were also arranged in a chapter separate from the texts. Several of the latter are described as *sine libro*, and, although a *textus* is usually a copy of the Gospels, yet one of those at Canterbury contained a psalter of St. Thomas. (J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, Lond. 1726. Appendix, p. xvii.) At Durham, "the Gospeller did carrye a marvelous FAIRE BOOKE, wh. had the Epistles and Gospells in it, and did lay it on the Altar, the which booke had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver, of goldsmiths worke, all parcell gilt, verye fine to behould: which booke did serve for the PAX in the masse." (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, No. 15, p. 7.)

[c] Mocys, moyces, the clasp of a cope. In this case, very likely, they are the clasps of the book. "Una capa . . . . Sancto Andrea in le moyce." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 228.)

De tabulis osculatorijs. Capitulum x.

Tabule osculatorie sunt quatuor[a] unde tres argentee et amelate pro pace danda quarum due sunt ex dono N. L. Abbatis quondam unde in una habentes 𝔑. 𝔏. sculptas et in altera 𝔑. 𝔏. sub pede crucifixi et in lateribus tabule amelate. ¶ Tercia parva est ex dono quondam fratris Johannis Somerton cum una lingula in tergo[b] eiusdem. ¶ Quarta tabula est magna et cupria deaurata cum ymagine crucifixi Marie et Johannis et scutis Anglie et francie.

[. . t in incremento de novo una de auro puro et perillis cum ymagine crucifixi.]

De Pelvibus. Capitulum xj.

Pelves enim sunt .iiij. unde .ij. majores ex dono quondam.N.lytlyngtoñ abbatis quarum una continet in fundo salutacionem beate virginis. Altera vero ymagines Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Due autem alie sunt minores quarum una continet in fundo ymaginem Sancti Petri altera quidem ymaginem Sancti Pauli.[c]

[. . t in incremento de novo duae pelves argentee argentee (*sic*) et deaurate cum ymaginibus Sancte Trinitatis et beate virginis infra medium solis in fundo ex dono domini T. Ducis Glowcestrie.[d]

Item una pelvis lata boni ponderis cum scuto rubei coloris et quinque stellis aureis in fundo cum aquario pro eadem . ex dono domini W. Dittoñ.

Item una pelvis parva argentea et deaurato cum sole et scriptura ihc in medio. Et unum cocleare pro eadem ad oblacionem specialiter deputata.]

[a] In the Inventory of 1540 there were "ij Paxes of sylver and gylte, one of them belongyng to the lady Margarett's Awlter, haveying theron the fygure of the Trinitie and portculles enamyled, the other haveynge theron graved the fygure of Cryste appon the Crose with Mary and John xi. unces" (p. 319). The portcullis on the first of these would make it in all likelihood later than 1388, and the other pax bredes described were enamelled, not graven, nor were they of copper.

[b] Representations of the pax brede have often a handle at the back, by which the instrument could be carried and presented.

[c] Cf. "one aulter Bason gilt wth a roose in the bottome and therin graven S^{t}. peter and S^{t}. Paull poz. xxx. oz. di." (*Inventory of the King's Jewel-house* 1547. MS. cxxix. penes Soc. Ant. Lond. fol. 117.)

[d] See Appendix iv. in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 320): "A Basyn of sylver and gylt with the ymage of the Trinitie in the myddyst enamyled with vj scochons of sylver and gylt enamyled apon the edge. An other Basyn of sylver and gylt with o^{r} Lady syttyng in the myddyste enamelyd with iiij scoucheons of sylver and gylt enamelyd apon the edge lxxvj unces." It may be noted that the altar basons often occur in pairs.

De Ursiolis et Ampullis. Capitulum xij.

Ursioli sive phiale[a] et ampulle sunt decem de quibus due phiale sunt argentee et deaurate ex dono quondam N. L. Abbatis. ¶ ~~Tercia et quarta alie minores argentee et deaurate cum fistulis.~~[b] ¶ Quinta et sexta . . . alie argentee minime deaurate pro altari cotidiano. ¶ ~~Septima parva argentea cum fistula sola tantum.~~ ¶ Octava ampulla[c] est magna et deaurata pro crismate sancto imponendo. ¶ Nona et decima argentea sed minime deaurate quarum una continet oleum sanctum altera . . quidem oleum infirmorum.

[. . t in incremento de novo duo urseoli argentei et deaurati cum versibus in circuitu medio descriptis pro oblacione facienda.[d]]

[a] The *ursioli* or *phialae* are what we now a days call cruets, in which the wine and water were taken to the chalice and therein mixed.

[b] Mr. W. H. St. John Hope points out to me that *fistula* here may mean a spout (See Spowte, *Prompt. Parv.*, and drawing of a medieval altar cruet in *Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*, Parker, Oxford, 1845.) and in support of his view I have noticed that at York soon after 1500 there was: "alia phiala argentea . . . . cum ij le Spowtes." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 216.) Ordinarily, in liturgical language, the *fistula* is a tube or reed by means of which the contents of the chalice were received. When the Pope celebrated pontifically, both he and his ministers received in this manner. See the drawing of the Communion of the Pope in Angelo Rocca. (*Opera omnia*, Romae, 1719, t. i. p. 14.) This mode of receiving the Communion was once widely spread, and persisted in some French monasteries long after the Lutheran Reformation. (A. du Saussay, *Panoplia sacerdotalis*, Pars I. Lib. viii. § xii. Lut. Paris, 1653, p. 244.)

[c] The *ampullae* are for the holy oils; the largest and most important for the *crisma* or cream, compounded of oil and balm; the two others, *oleum sanctum* and *oleum infirmorum* are of simple oil. All three are blessed by the bishop on the Thursday before Easter. Cf. Inventory of 1540 (p. 324): "An other pott with hys cover of sylver and gylt haveyng in them Holy Oyle and creme with ther stekes in them weying all together, oyle and all, lxxj unces." The *stekes* are perhaps the rods by means of which the oils were applied to the surface of the body. Such for the *oleum infirmorum* at the death-bed of abbot Islip may be seen figured in the Islip Roll, reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Lond. 1815, vol. iv.

[d] *Pro oblacione facienda.* At Westminster it may be noted that the chalice was prepared while the priest was vesting. After the priest had taken the stole, and before he had taken the chasuble, he mixed water with the wine in the chalice. (See abbot Lytlyngton's mass-book in the chapter library.) I have found a custom exactly like this in only one other church, that of St. Martin at Ainay, Lyons, also a Benedictine house. (*Missale secundum usum monasterii Sancti Martini Athanaci*, 1531. Tractatus pro eruditione sacerdotum.) Of course the custom of preparing the elements before mass began was very widely spread in the middle ages.

De Pixidibus. Capitulum xiij.

Pixis est una argentea pro oblatis imponendis.[a]
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Calefactorijs.[b] *Capitulum xiiij.*

Pile calefactorie. sunt tres quarum prima est argentea et deaurata cum suis appendicijs intrinsecus[c] ¶ Secunda et tercia cuprie et deaurate cum suis appendicijs intrinsecus.
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Muscarijs. Capitulum xv.

Muscarium ad fugandum muscas[d] est unum argento in manubrio laminatum.
[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Superaltaribus. Capitulum xvj.

Superaltaria[e] quippe sunt tria quorum primum et secundum sunt ex lapide Jaspidis. ¶ Tercium marmoreum.

[a] The pyx was commonly used for the reservation of the Eucharist, but it was also used for carrying the bread to the altar. At York soon after 1500, there were: "Una pixis argenti . . . pro pane portanda diebus ferialibus, pond. x unc. di. . . . . Una pixis argenti deaurati cum rotundo nodo pro pane portanda ad summum altare in festis duplicibus, pond. j. lb." (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc. 1859, p. 221.) In the Inventory of 1540, p. 322, there is: "A box for Synging bred of sylver whyte, ij unces di."

[b] Cf. "Unum pomum de cupro superauratum ad calefaciendum manus." (*Lichfield Sacrist's Roll*, 1345. Ed. Cox and Hope. In *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, iv. 109.) Amongst the *instrumenta* of the Coronation of the Roman emperor were these *poma*. One is still kept in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, and another is in the treasury at Halberstadt. (F. Bock, *Kleinodien des heil. röm. Reiches*, § 117, and Taf. xx. Fig. 28.)

[c] The appendages may be the iron to be heated, and then encased in metal, which was again put inside the perforated *pila*. "Item one warminge ball of silver with a pece of iron in it, poiz together vj oz." (Henry VIII.'s Jewel Book, MS. cxxix., fo. 139, in the library of our Society.)

[d] Several instances of the liturgical fan in this country are given in a paper by Mr. Albert Way. (*Archaeological Journal*, 1848, vol. v. p. 201.)

[e] The super altar was a small portable altar. Jasper was a favourite material for them. In a commission from Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York from 1508 to 1514, a suffragan is

[. . t in incremento de novo unum superaltare bonum marmoreum. Item unum superaltare de alabastro.]

De Pectinibus. Capitulum xvij.

Pectines autem eburnei sunt duo[a] quorum primus est integer et planus. Secundus scul[p]tus sed in medio confractus.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Manutergijs. Capitulum xviij.

Manutergia quidem sunt tria de opere Parisiensi ad magnum altare deputata.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Sudarijs. Capitulum xix.

Sudaria sunt duo de Cerico stragulata pro patenis tenendis ad missas.[b]

[. . t in incremento de novo unum sudarium de albo cerico cum stragulis aureis et cericis varij coloris pro festis principalibus.]

allowed to bless altars, "necnon viatica seu portatilia quae superaltaria vulgariter nuncupamus." (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Soc. Ed. Dr. Henderson, 1875, Preface, p. v.) Almost the same words are to be seen in the commission of bishop Vesey of Exeter in 1521. (*Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy Bishop of Exeter*, Ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847. Glossary sub v. altare portatile.) The gradin upon which the candlesticks and cross are set on the altar in modern times was unknown in the fourteenth century.

[a] The abbot of Westminster combed his hair before washing hands, as preparation for mass. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 29.) The comb was also used by English bishops. "Caligis et sandaliis impositis, pontifex prius quam sibi amictum imponat, caput pectinet, manus et faciem lavet." (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Soc. 1875, p. 3.) In 1245 there was a silver gilt comb, six ivory, and ten other combs at St. Paul's. (See Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, *Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. pp. 458 and 472.)

At Westminster the presence of combs is noteworthy because they were part of the *instrumenta* of a coronation. Amongst the Regalia at Westminster, destroyed by the rebels in 1649, was "one old combe of horne, worth nothing." (*Archaeologia*, 1806, vol. xv. p. 289.) In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 345) was "A combe of yvory servyng for prestes when y^ei^ fyrst say maase," though, I fear, I cannot exactly understand the note which the editor adds: "This important entry shows the use of the comb so often mentioned in inventories and occasionally found in tombs."

[b] The *sudarium* has here plainly the same office that the *velum subdiaconale* fulfils in the modern ceremonial. It may be noteworthy that this inventory gives no description of an ornament that can be identified with the modern silk cahlice veil. In 1540 there were no less than thirteen sudaryes (p. 343).

De Cervicalibus. Capitulum xx.

Cervicalia sunt xvj. quorum primum est frectatum cum perillis diversorum colorum de diversis armis. ¶ Secundum et tercium de blodio velvecto contexto cum armis comitis Lancastrie de una secta ex dono N. L. Abbatis. ¶ Quartum brudatum continens in se quandam ymaginem sedentem in Cathedra habentem tria capita.[a] ¶ Quintum rubeum brudatum habens in medio. cor de perillis et avem desuper stantem.[b] ¶ Sextum rubeum habens in medio [ymaginem sancti Edmundi Re]°gis. Septimum et Octavum et nonum cum diversis Scutis. ¶ Decimum et undecimum de nigro velvecto. ¶ Duodecimum et tercium decimum de viridi velvetto stragulato. ¶ Quartumdecimum et quintum decimum de viridi Tartaryn. Sextumdecimum pro abbate quando residet in capitulo.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Tabulis Plicabilibus. Capitulum xxj.

Tabule sunt due plicabiles ex dono N. L. Abbatis bene depicte quarum prima continet in se in una parte ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis et marie magdalene. In altera vero parte continentur ymago beate virginis tenens filium in gremio et ymagines Johannis baptiste et Katerine. ¶ Secunda vero tabula continet in se in una parte salutacionem beate virginis. In altera vero parte Nativitatem domini.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Cathedris et pannis cathedralibus. Capitulum xxij.

Cathedre sunt tres pontificales quarum una est deargentea. Secunda et tercia ferree[d] et tres panni eisdem Cathedris deputati quorum primus est panno

[a] Possibly a representation of the Holy Trinity.

[b] Probably the crest or badge of some unknown donor or patron.

[c] These words written over an erasure.

[d] There were two "cheyres," and three cloths for the same in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 349), and "a gret blewe clothe with Kyngs on horsse bake for Saynt Nicholas cheyre" (p. 328). In the South Kensington Collection, No. 8589, is a "piece of silk and linen Tissue . . . . crowned kings on horseback amid foliage, each holding on his wrist a hawk, and having a small dog on the crupper of his saddle. Sicilian, early 13th century." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. 223. See also Introduction, p. lxviii.) See also below, Pars vj. cap. iij.

albo auro contexto in medio. ¶ Secundus autem de panno blodio de dyaspyn in medio. ¶ Tercius vero de panno viridi de dyaspyn in medio. Qui omnes sunt bordurati de panno stragulato rubei et blodei Sandelli unius secte ex dono Symonis Cardinalis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Velo e[t] pannis quadragesimalibus. Capitulum xxiij.

Velum est unum pro magno altari de Serico in medio divisum[a] Crocei et blodij coloris et sex alij panni quadragesimales quo primus pannus lineus latus cum signis dominice passionis pro cruce velanda. ¶ Secundus et tercius pro ymaginibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli velandis.[b] ¶ Quartus et quintus pro costis magni altaris. ¶ Sextus longus pro trabe sub pede Crucifixi velanda.[c]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

Quarta Pars.

Quarta pars principalis de Albis principalibus aureis et de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis una cum albis Sancti Dunstani.

De Albis principalibus de Serico[d] cum pararuris (sic) *brudatis. Capitulum j.*

Albe sunt viginti de serico principales quarum prima cum paruris crocei coloris cum bizancijs de secta cape principalis Sancti Edwardi de sepultura eius[e] ¶ Secunda cum una parura rubea continens salutacionem angelicam ad beatam virginem salutacionem elizabeth nativitatem domini oblacionem trium magorum et purificacionem in una parte. Et in altera vero parte alterius coloris continet assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines .xij. apostolorum. ¶ Tercia contexta cum auro continet in una parte ymaginem christi cum sex apostolis et duobus

[a] A good representation of a white Lenten veil *in medio divisum* at the moment of consecration may be seen in F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1871. Bd. iii. Taf. viii. When I was at Toledo in 1884, the Lenten veil there was raised, not divided, in the middle at the consecration.

[b] There is nothing in the Lent stuffs of the Inventory of 1540 (pp. 327 and 345) which I can identify except the "ij clothes for Peter and Paule: a gret clothe paynted for the crucifix over the highe awlter."

[c] Cf. *Vetusta Monumenta*, Lond. 1815, vol. iv. plate xviii. for the crucifix, SS. Peter and Paul from the Islip Roll in the library of our Society.

[d] The language here seems very precise, that the albs were of silk, with embroidered apparels. Was the long vestment itself of silk, and not of linen?

[e] See Paris vj. cap. ij. § 3 for the copes made of the cloths taken from the body of St. Edward.

angelis. Et in altera parte continet ymaginem beate marie cum sex apostolis et duobus angelis. ¶ Quarta cum paruris de aurifragijs aureis sine aliquo opere. ¶ Quinta continet arma regis anglie Francie et Comitis Warwichie in una parte contexta. Et in altera de consimili opere arma sancti Edwardi comitis lancastrie et sancti edmundi. ¶ Sexta septima octava et nona cum paruris viridibus contextis cum scutis de armis antiquis anglie de secta quarum una illarum habet in pectore ymaginem trinitatis contextam super rubrum samite cum quatuor ewangelistis. ¶ Decima de viridi samite contexta cum leopardis in bicirculis.[a] ¶ Undecima nigra in una parte contexta cum ymaginibus duodecim apostolorum in tabernaculis. Et in altera parte totidem apostoli consimilis operis nominibus eorum super capita descriptis cum stola et manipulo de secta aliqualiter unde in medio stoli (*sic*) et manipuli agnus dei cum duobus angelis auro sunt context'. ¶ Duodecima cum paruris nigris aurifragiatis continens in una parte historiam christi invitati ad nupcias cum aliis. Et in altera parte continet hystoriam nativitatis christi cum alijs. ¶ Terciadecima rubea contexta cum crucibus stellis et talentis. ¶ Quartadecima frecta cum aurifragijs tantum. ¶ Quintadecima cum crucibus rosis et nodis auro contextis. ¶ Sextadecima de blodio Samyt cum leonibus rapacibus in tabernaculis aureis. ¶ Septimadecima de samyt murrei coloris cum leopardis in bicirculis auro contextis. ¶ Octavadecima cum lunis avibus et rosis parvis contexta cum borduris et palis avibus leonibus griffonibus et alijs intertextis. ¶ Nonadecima [et vicesima cum paruris brudatis de historijs veteris testamenti de una secta].

De albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum ij.

Albe principales auree auro contexte brudate sunt septem cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum hystoria sancti Thome martyris ex utraque parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum decollacione sancti Johannis baptiste in una parte et passione sancti Thome martyris in altera parte cum passionibus diversorum sanctorum cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum passione domini in una parte. Et coronacione beate marie in altera parte

[a] In F. Fischbach's *Ornament of Textile Fabrics* (English Edition), there is a green fabric with two leopards, in double circles, facing each other with the Persian sacred tree between them (4, A.) The author refers the stuff to Antioch between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Charles de Linas gives a plate of a red stuff with two leopards in double circles, but not the same design. (*Anciens Vêtements Sacerdotaux*, Paris, 1860, against p. 17.) It is not an uncommon device.

consuta cum rosis albis de perillis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta cum maiestate et ymaginibus petri et pauli ex una parte et Coronacione beate Marie et ymaginibus katerine et Margarete ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo fere de secta. ¶ Quinta cum salutacione beate Marie et ymagine beate anne et salutacione elizabeth ex una parte et oblacione trium magorum ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sexta cum ymagine christi et sex apostolorum in una parte. Et ymagine beate Marie et sex apostolorum ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septima cum cena domini et prodicione Jude cum alijs in una parte. Et nativitate christi et oblacione trium magorum cum alijs in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. t in incremento de novo una alba brudata habens ex utraque parte assumpcionem beate marie cum diversis ymaginibus et rubeis rosis intermixtis cum stola et manipulo eiusdem secte].

De albis principalibus aureis auro contextis brudatis [sine] *stolis et manipulis. Capitulum iij.*

Albe principales auree auro contexte brudate sunt sex sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum quinque capitibus in una parte. Et totidem cum circulis argenteis in altera parte contextis. ¶ Secunda cum Nativitate christi et salutacione beate marie cum alijs in una parte. Et coronacione beate marie et nece infantum cum alijs in altera parte. ¶ Tertia contexta cum rubio et viridi cerico cum rosis argenteis et ymaginibus christi petri et edwardi in una parte et ymaginibus beate marie katerine et margarete cum rosis argenteis intermixtis ex altera parte.[a] ¶ Quarta cum oblacione trium magorum cum alijs in una parte et nativitate christi cum alijs in alia parte in tabernaculis contextis. ¶ Quinta de opere indento diversi coloris et varijs bestijs desuper intextis. ¶ Sexta cum Agno dei bis contexto cum alijs in una parte et armis comitis de Wareyne cum alijs in altera parte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis rubeis principalibus cum stolis et manipulis brudatis. Capitulum iv.

Albe Rubee principales auro brudate sunt octodecim cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima de samyt cum maiestate in circulo et duodecim apostolis in una parte in tabernaculis sedentibus. Et maiestate in circulo cum totidem apostolis in

[a] The original paragraph has been erased, and these words written in its place.

tabernaculis sedentibus in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta cum tintinabulis argenteis. ¶ Secunda cum ymagine sancte marie cum duodecim mensibus et alijs in circulis in una parte. Et ymagine crucifixi et duodecim signis et alijs in circulis in alia parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum sancto Petro et quatuor regibus super Griffonibus sedentibus in una parte. Et sancto petro et totidem regibus. In altera parte super griffonibus sedentibus cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta cum maiestate et sex apostolis stantibus in tabernaculis in una parte. Et ymagine beate marie Johannis baptiste sancti Edwardi et aliorum consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta ¶ Quinta cum maiestate et ymagine beate Johannis baptiste et katerine infra circulos albos de serico in una parte cum quatuor evangelistis. Et coronacione beate virginis et ymaginibus petri et pauli consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sexta cum maiestate et ymaginibus Johannis et edwardi cum coronis auro contextis in una parte. Et ymaginibus beate Marie katerine et Margarete consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septima cum archangelis auro textis stantibus in tabernaculis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Octava cum maiestate et duodecim apostolis binis in tabernaculis sedentibus in una parte. Et cum quinque hystorijs de quibus fuga christi in egyptum est ultima in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. Nona de velvet cum maiestate et duobus angelis stellis et lunis intextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Decima de velvet cum maiestate per omnia priori consimilis excepta quod super capita ymaginum sunt capita leopardorum auro contexta cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Undecima de velvet cum duabus ymaginibus stantibus in medio cum duobus scutis videlicet Edwardi et edmundi in una parte et duabus ymaginibus stantibus in medio et duobus scutis videlicet istius ecclesie et domini N. L. abbatis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Duodecima de velvet cum salutacione beate Marie et quatuor ymaginibus et parvo puero nudo in una parte et sex ymaginibus de quibus katerina et margareta sunt in medio ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo minime de secta.[a] ¶ Terciadecima cum maiestate et decem ymaginibus in tabernaculis nominibus eorum supra capita descriptis in una parte et maiestate cum totidem ymaginibus consimilis operis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quarta decima cum babwinis[b] pugnantibus et

[a] *i. e.* a bad match.

[b] *Anglice*, baboons. Bock notes the frequency with which beasts were made to fight each other in the Italian designs of the end of the fourteenth century. (*Geschichte der lit. Gew.* i. 67.)

floribus intermixtis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quintadecima cum ymagine christi stante in medio et ymaginibus petri et pauli cum lunis aureis et stellis argenteis intertextis in una parte et ymagine beate marie katerine et margarete consimilis operis in altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Sextadecima cum ymagine christi duobus angelis Petro et paulo et lunis et stellis intertextis in una parte et ymagine beate Marie duobus angelis katerina et margareta lunis et stellis intertextis ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Septimadecima cum agno dei in medio leone griffone cervo et pantera infra circulos ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Octavadecima cum tribus viridibus circulis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo].

De albis rubeis principalibus sine stolis et manipulis brudatis. Capitulum v.

Albe rube (*sic*) principales auro brudate sunt xxvij sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum sex ymaginibus in tabernaculis stantibus in utraque parte inter quos Petrus et Paulus sunt in medio consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda cum archangelis auro textis et pinctiolis aureis intermixtis. ¶ Tercia cum maiestate et decem apostolis ex una parte et ymagine beate marie cum totidem apostolis ex altera parte. ¶ Quarta cum oblacione magorum presentacione christi in templum assumpcione beate marie et coronacione eiusdem in una parte. Et Nativitas beate marie cum salutacione eiusdem et Nativitate Christi cum oblacione eiusdem in medio ex altera parte. ¶ Quinta contexta cum sex mensibus in una parte. Et cum totidem mensibus in altera parte consimilis operis. ¶ Sexta cum griffonibus et leonibus infra circulos ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Septima cum griffonibus tantum infra circulos contextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Octava admodum scakarij cum rosis lunis crucilectis et parvis talentis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis ¶ Nona decima undecima et duodecima cum rosis lunis et talentis auro contextis de una secta. ¶ . . . . Terciadecima et quarta decima cum rosis lunis talentis et crucilectis auro contextis de una secta. ¶ Quintadecima sextadecima et septimadecima cum leonibus et griffonibus in parvis circulis cum lunis crucilectis et talentis intertextis de una secta. ¶ Octava decima cum falconibus aureis in circulis erectis ac capitibus leonum inter circulos

[a] Cf. in Inventory of 1540, p. 337: "A nother albe haveyng wrought on the perles a egle a gryffen a holly lambe and a lyon with dyvers other beasts."

cum alijs folijs diversis aureis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Nonadecima cum duobus ymaginibus in stragulis super nigro brudatis in una parte. Et una ymagine ex altera parte consimilis operis. ¶ Vicesima cum lunis rosis pinctiolis et stragulis in utraque parte consimilis operis contexta. ¶ Vicesima prima cum leonibus griffonibus et hominibus pugnantibus in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis auro contexta. ¶ Vicesima secunda cum leonibus in circulis et rosis in minoribus circulis unius operis ex utraque parte contextis. ¶ Vicesima tercia cum bestijs deformibus in bicirculis cum sex aurifragijs ex utraque parte contextis consimilis operis. ¶ Vicesima quarta cum leonibus et griffonibus sagittas in corpore portantibus in circulis debili auro textis. ¶ Vicesima quinta cum maiestate in bicirculis et decem ymaginibus in tabernaculis stantibus in una parte. Et totidem ymaginibus cum maiestate consimilis operis in altera parte. ¶ Vicesima-sexta cum avibus et diversis bestijs floribus et aurifragijs ex utraque parte consimili opere contextis. ¶ Vicesima septima cum aurifragijs tantum ex utraque parte consimilis operis contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo].

De albis Nigris principalibus brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum vj.

Albe nigre principales auro brudate sunt quinque cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum maiestate papis regibus et episcopis ex una parte. Et beata Maria Edwardo et Johanne laurentio et Katerina et duabus alijs virginibus ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum Johanne baptista katerina et margareta et rosis rubijs quasi in vinea intertextis in utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia quarta et quinta nove de sa[t]yn contexte cum floribus aureis cum una stola et duobus manipulis de secta ex dono symonis quondam Cardinalis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis nigris principalibus brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum vij.

Albe nigre principales auro brudate sunt xxiij. sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum archangelis stantibus in tabernaculis et pinctiolis aureis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda cum passione beate katerine martyris ex utraque parte intexta. ¶ Tercia cum maiestate et sex apostolis in una parte sedentibus. Et beata Maria cum sex virginibus lampades in manibus tenentibus

ex altera parte. ¶ Quarta cum leonibus rubijs aurea capita habentibus et columbis albis cum capidibus (*sic*) alis et pedibus aureis in quadrangulis existentibus.[a] ¶ Quinta cum Griffonibus leonibus crucibus et alijs bestijs in triffuratis.[b] ¶ Sexta cum leonibus griffonibus rosis crucibus et triffuris ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Septima cum agno dei in medio sagittarijs. Cervis et avibus in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Octava cum leonibus aquilis rosis et parvis talentis . . . . . ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Nona cum lunis et parvis talentis et frectis aureis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Decima frecta cum lunis rosis crucilectis et parvis talentis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Terciadecima cum bestijs et crucibus in circulis rosis et alijs folijs extra circulos in utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Quartadecima cum rosis lunis stellis et talentis in utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Quintadecima cum diversis circulis bestijs in eis contentis unde in uno circulo in una parte continetur homo tenens pissem (*sic*) in manu.[c] ¶ Sextadecima de eadem secta except' quod in uno circulo ex una parte continetur ymago hominis sedentis et in circumferencia circuli describitur Osbertus Secristeyn. ¶ Septimadecima cum capitibus leopardorum coronatis et stellis. ¶ Octavadecima cum leonibus crucibus et ramis. ¶ Nonadecima cum cervis et ramis. ¶ Vicesima cum leonibus et ramis. ¶ Vicesima prima de samyt frecta cum aurifragijs. ¶ Vicesima secunda. Et vicesima tercia de samyt stragulata cum aurifragijs de una secta. + 8

[¶ Undecima cum lunis stellis et talentis in utraque parte consimilis operis. Duodecima frectata cum stellis et parvis talentis in utraque parte unius operis. . . t in incremento de novo.] + 8

De albis principalibus Murrei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum viij.

Albe principales murrei coloris brudate sunt due cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum archangelis aureis in tabernaculis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum maiestate et sex apostolis in cathedris sedentibus ex una parte et beata Maria cum sex virginibus lampades in manibus tenentibus ex altera parte cum stola et manipulo quasi de secta cum episcopis contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Cf. Fischbach, 100. A.

[b] Cf. Fischbach, 96. B.

[c] Was the man holding a fish, a fisherman bringing a tithe salmon to the sacrist, Osbert? For account of the tithe of salmon see Dart, *op. cit.* Book ii. chap. iv. p. 48, and Sporley and Flete's MSS.

De albis principalibus Murrei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum ix.

Albe principales murrei coloris brudata est una cum leonibus aureis in circulis cum duobus scutis in medio sine stola et manipulo.

[t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus albi coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum x.

Albe principales albe coloris brudate sunt due quarum prima cum armis Ierosolyme et scutis petri et edwardi cum corvis cornubie in utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.[a] ¶ Secunda cum armis Ierosolyme et duobus alijs scutis rubijs in una parte. Et armis antiquis anglie cum aliis duobus scutis edwardi et edmundi cum aliis parvis scutis in utraque parte intermixtis cum stola et manipulo de secta. . . t in incremento de novo

[una alba brudata cum ymagine beate marie et duobus apostolis ex una parte et Thoma apostolo et alijs duobus apostolis ex altera ex dono fratris Richardi Excetere.[b]]

De albis principalibus blodei coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum xj.

Albe principales blodij coloris brudate sunt cum stolis due[c] et manipulis

[a] This must have lasted till the Dissolution. "Oon albe with white parells of nedle worke haveynge the armys of Iherusalem of Seynt Peter and Paule and Seynte Edwarde on both sydes of lyke work with stoll and phanam." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

[b] The same with the following: "A nother albe with parells of whyte embrothered on the oon syd with the ymages of o[r] Lady and ij of the Apostells and on the other syd the ymages of Seynt Thomas thappostell with ij other apostells." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

[c] "Oon albe with parells of blew velvett the ymages of o[r] Lady Saynt Anne Saynt Katheryn Seynt Margarett with a vyne and lybards hedds on the oon syde and Seynt Peter Seynt Paule and Seynt Xpofer on the other syd with stoll and phanam to the same.

"a nother albe with parells of blewe velvet haveyng the coronacion of o[r] Lady Seynt Peter and Paule in tabernacles on the oon syd and y[e] salutacion of o[r] Lady Seynt John the Ewangelist and Seynt Edward in lyk wyse on the other syde with stoll and phanam." (Invent. 1540, p. 337.)

quarum prima de velvet cum ymaginibus Anne et filie sue katerine et margarete cum vinea circumtexta et capitibus leopardarum in una parte. Et ymaginibus Christofori Petri et Pauli ex alia parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta ex dono Symonis quondam cardinalis. ¶ Secunda de velvet cum coronacione beate Marie et ymaginibus Petri et Pauli in tabernaculis viridibus in una parte. Et salutacione beate Marie et ymaginibus Johannis et Edwardi ex altera parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta ex dono Nicholai lytlyngton abbatis.

[t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus blodij coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xij.

Albe principales blodij coloris brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima de samit cum hominibus super equos equitantibus admodum hastilidii ludentibus in bicirculis aureis consimilis operis in utraque parte. ¶ Secunda admodum vinee auree cum babewynis pugnantibus secures in manibus habentibus ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Tercia cum duobus griffonibus et alijs bestijs cum faciebus mulierum in manibus arcus habentibus[a] ex utraque parte in vinea impressis. ¶ Quarta cum griffonibus et floribus aureis in vinea impressis ex utraque unius operis. ¶ Quinta cum albis rosis capitibus leopardorum et floribus deliciarum aureis cum rubea bordura et viridi vinea desuper contexta ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Sexta de eadem secta excepta bordura que est alba cum viridi vinea et avibus desuper contextis. ¶ Septima contexta cum parvis leonibus et aquilis aureis ex utraque parte consimilis operis.

[. . t in incremento de novo una alba brudata cum ymagine Sancti Johannis Ewangeliste et duobus nodis de ihc in una parte et Jacobi apostoli[b] et nodis similibus ex altera ex dono fratris J. Stowe.][c]

[a] Bock gives a reproduction of a red stuff, showing monsters with women's heads (*Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, Bonn, 1859, Bd. I. Taf. vi. in Liefer. ii. See also p. 177) of which Dr. Rock gives a full description (*Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. 157) as No. 8239 in the South Kensington collection.

[b] Cf. Inventory of 1540, p. 337: "A nother albe with parells of blew haveyng Saynt John the Ewangelist and Seynt Jamys on every syde."

[c] John Stowe was elected archdeacon in 1388.

De albis principalibus Glaucei coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiij.

Albe principales Glaucei coloris brudate sunt novem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum duodecim mensibus et alijs in circulis auro contextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Secunda tercia quarta quinta et sexta cum grifonibus et avibus aureis de una secta. ¶ Septima cum rubijs rosis in bicirculis ex utraque parte unius operis. ¶ Octava cum rosis rubiis et floribus in circulis ex utraque parte consimilis operis. ¶ Nona cum rosis rubiis in circulis blodijs et aurifragijs intermixtis in utraque parte unius operis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus viridis coloris brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiiij.

Albe principales viridis coloris brudate sunt quinque cum stolis et manipulis. quarum prima cum scutis antiquis Anglie et Francie et Hyspannie cum duobus alijs in una parte. Et armis anglie warwychie et warennie cum alijs duobus ex altera parte et floribus deliciarum intermixtis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum scutis anglie et alijs scutis cum crucibus de Hermyn [a] vineis aureis et rosis rubeis in vineis pendentibus cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Tercia cum quinque scutis in una parte. Et totidem in alia cum ramis aureis rosis rubijs et alijs intertextis. ¶ Quarta de velvet cum stellis auro et argento contextis et ramis aureis cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Quinta de samyt cum rosis rubijs et stellis aureis rubio serico frectis cum nodis aureis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis viridis coloris brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xv.

Albe principales viridis coloris brudate sunt quinque sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum antiquis armis anglie Sancti Edwardi et sancti Edmundi in una parte. Et armis comitis warennye warwychie et Oxonie ex altera parte cum ramis aureis intertextis.[b] ¶ Secunda admodum vinee rosis et parvis avibus aureis

[a] These crosses of ermine are an heraldic charge.

[b] This also survived: "An other albe with parells haveyng on the oon syd the armys of England and Seynt Edmond and Seynt Edward and on the other syde the armys of Warwyke and Spencer, and of the Erle of Oxfford." (Invent. 1540, p. 337.) The arms of Spencer are not, however, those of Warren.

intertextis. ¶ Tercia cum griffonibus aureis in bicirculis rosis rubijs et parvis talentis aureis intertextis. ¶ Quarta cum leonibus et griffonibus aureis in circulis et rosis rubijs inter circulos contextis. ¶ Quinta cum vineis aureis et babewynis similiter pugnantibus in manibus secures habentibus.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus diversorum colorum brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvj.

Albe principales diversorum colorum brudate sunt due cum stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum tribus leonibus rapacibus in una parte de quibus unus argenteus contextus in blodio et alij duo nigri contexti in argento. Et in alia parte cum duobus leonibus nigris rapacibus contextis in argento cum stola et manipulo de secta. ¶ Secunda cum diversis armis videlicet Herfordie et alijs armis ignotis in quibus capita presbiterorum[a] sunt intexta stellis aureis et rosis argenteis intertextis ex utraque parte consimilis operis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De albis principalibus Sancti Dunstani non brudatis. Capitulum xvij.

Albe principales Sancti dunstani quibus in vita sua fuerat indutus non brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis contexte de serico et vario opere aurifragiate quarum due sunt de una secta et quinque de opere diverso et quia sunt reliquie inter albas principales reputantur propter reverenciam dicti sancti.[b]

[a] Cf. Inventory, 1540 (p. 337): "A nother albe with grene perles haveyng theron a preests hed with divers pleynsong nottes"; (p. 338), "ij other albes . . . . haveyng on prests hedd."

The arms of Hereford were those of De Bohun: *Azure, a bend argent, cotised or, between six lioncels rampant gold.* This may partly explain the arms on the first set of albs in this chapter.

[b] "viij other albys with parells of bawdekyn and nedyll worke together of dyvers collors serveynge only for Saynte Dunstan's daye." (Invent. 1540, p. 338.)

Quinta Pars.

Quinta pars principalis de albis simplicioribus de diversis coloribus cum et sine stolis et manipulis.

De albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum j.

Albe rubee de panno aureo non brudate sunt decem quarum tres cum signis et floribus intertext' cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de una secta. ¶ Quarta et quinta cum avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus et albis floribus intertextis cum una stola et duobus manipulis. Sexta septima octava nona et decima de panno aureo de luca[a] varij coloris stragulato et diversis litteris inscriptis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo tres albe cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de nobili panno aureo de damask ex dono domini Thome ducis Glowcestrie.[b]]

De Albis rubijs de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum ij.

Albe rubee de panno rubeo non brudate sunt quinque sine stolis et manipulis quarum tres cum avibus et stragulis et in stragulis sunt bestiole auro texte sine stolis et manipulis. Et alie due cum pavonibus rotulas in rostris tenentibus sine stolis et manipulis.

[Et in incremento de novo sex de una secta cum bestijs cubantibus inter duos rotulos cum circulis blodeis rosis aureis intertextis. ¶ Item octo cum bestijs et avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus de una secta. ¶ Item novem cum leonibus et gruibus colla circa arbores volventibus de una secta. Item octo cum leonibus ramis et coronis aureis de una secta. ¶ Item sexdecem cum signis aureis ad modum rosarum contextis et diversis nodis intermixtis de una secta. ¶ Item]

De albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum iij.

Albe blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt tres cum archangelis aureis[c] contextis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Cf. the frontal and ridells of this material (pars iij. capp. j and v.) given by Simon Langham as well as with the copes and other vestments (pars vj. cap. x.).

[b] See Appendix IV.

[c] Possibly for Michaelmas, as blue was the colour at Westminster for this feast. Cf. "a nother albe with parells of blew damaske garnysshed with angelles of gold and this ij letters R and C. of Dan Robert Callowys gyffte." (Inventory, 1540, p. 337.)

De Albis blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum iiij.

Albe blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt decem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum bestijs aureis sub arboribus sedentibus et rotulas in ore tenentibus sine stolis et manipulis. ¶ Secunda et tercia cum griffonibus et alijs bestijs et cisternis aquam emittentibus pro episcopo sancti Nicholai. ¶ Quarta quinta sexta septima octava nona et decima de velvet cum stragulis aureis et sericis unde una cum lunis et stellis aureis intermixtis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum v.

Alba est una de panno aureo non brudata cum arboribus maioribus et minoribus contextis cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis Albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum vj.

Albe albi coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt novem sine stolis et manipulis quarum prima cum avibus et floribus aureis contextis cum una bordura magna circumligata. ¶ Secunda et tercia de eadem secta sine bordura. ¶ Quarta cum bestijs floribus et ramis aureis contextis. ¶ Quinta cum floribus et avibus vario opere contextis. ¶ Sexta septima octava et nona de panno aureo de damask opere indentato contexte.

[. . t in incremento de novo una alba panni de ciprys cum falconibus aureis et floribus intermixtis. Item sex albe cum gruibus colla circa ramos volventibus et leonibus interpositis de una secta.]

De Albis Murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis.
Capitulum vij.

Albe Murrei coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt quatuor de una secta cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis eiusdem secte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis de panno Aureo non brudatis de armis Anglie et Francie cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum viij.

Albe de panno Aureo non brudate de armis anglie et Francie sunt tres cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis ex dono Marie comitisse de Penbrok.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis scutatis auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum ix.

Albe scutate auro non brudate cum diversis armis sunt tres cum stolis et manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis Scutatis auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum x.

Albe scutate cum diversis armis auro non brudate sunt duodecim sine stolis et manipulis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xj.

Albe rubee auro non brudate sunt sex de dyaspyn cum pavonibus cum . . j stola . . . ij manipulis de una secta.[a]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis rubijs auro non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis Capitum xij.

Albe rubee auro non brudate sunt duodecim sine stolis et manipulis quarum tres de rubio et viridi coloribus cum leopardis aureis in rubio contextis de una secta pro commemoratione apostolorum octo autem de alia secta cum gallis aureis et floribus aureis et argenteis intertextis una vero alia cum avibus capitibus et pedibus deauratis de panno vocato dyaspyn.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] The numerals originally were ij and iij.

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiij.

Albe viridis coloris auro non brudate sunt septem cum armis anglie et hyspannye pro regina Alianora[a] assignatis quarum una cum stola et manipulo de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis viridis coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xiiij.

Albe viridis coloris non brudate sunt septem sine stolis et manipulis quarum sex de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs blodijs cum capitibus et pedibus aureis de una secta una vero alia alba cum ramis aureis.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis albi coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xv.

Albe Albi coloris non brudate sunt quinque quarum tres cum folijs viridibus admodum vinearum cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de eadem secta. Due autem alie de dyaspyn cum avibus capitibus et pedibus deauratis cum una stola et duobus manipulis de secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De Albis murrei coloris non brudatis sine stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvj.

Albe Murrei coloris non brudate sunt septem de dyaspyn cum griffonibus avibus et floribus contextis sine stolis et manipulis de una secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

[a] Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I. Apparently in a set with these albs there are a green cope, a chasuble, and two tunicles, also with the arms of England and Spain, likewise said to be "assigned" for queen Eleanor (*Minus Registrum*, ca. vij.) and a pair of green cloths with the same arms (pars vij. ca. v.) for the same queen. Were these ornaments worn at her obits? Mr. W. H. St. John Hope (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 256) has shown that, though black was the usual English colour for obits both in the rules and in practice, yet there are instances of green being used for obits; in one case, the green vestments were bequeathed for this purpose by a bishop. I have in my possession one or two rare liturgical books, printed in Italy, in which green is given as a permissible alternative to black in the office of the dead: "pluviale nigrum vel viride." (*Liber Sacerdotalis*, Venetiis, 1537, fo. 183, and *Liber Fam. Clericorum*, Venetiis, 1550, fo. 94 b.)

De Albis nigri coloris non brudatis cum stolis et manipulis. Capitulum xvij.

Albe nigri coloris non brudate sunt tredecim de una secta cum una pala in medio parurarum de panno aureo blodij coloris cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis eiusdem secte.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De stolis et manipulis principalibus diversorum colorum. Capitulum xviij.

Stole principales sunt quinque cum totidem manipulis consutis sive contextis de serico. Item due stole de rubio samyt cum duobus manipulis quarum una contexta est cum aurifragijs cum manipulo de secta. Duo autem manipuli alij sine stolis de rubio samyt quorum unum contextum cum ymaginibus et alterum cum stellis. Vnum manipulum sine stola de nigro samyt auro contexto. ¶ Item due stole albi coloris cum tribus manipulis quarum una est de panno aureo cum duobus manipulis de secta. Et altera de bawedekyn cum manipulo de secta. ¶ Item due alie stole blodij coloris de dyaspyn cum tribus manipulis de eadem secta.

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

Sexta Pars.

Sexta pars principalis de capis casulis et tunicis diversorum colorum principalibus et simplicioribus au[r]o brudatis et auro non brudatis.

De capis principalibus aureis brudatis sine casulis et tunicis. Capitulum j.

Cape Auree principales brudate sunt sex cum diversis hystorijs desuper contextis quasi de una secta sine casulis et tunicis.[a]

[. . t in incremento de novo.]

De capis casulis et tunicis principalibus brudatis diversorum colorum de sectis. Capitulum ij.

Capa est una optima nigri coloris brudata cum griffonibus avibus et alijs bestijs aureis in bicirculis rosis et floribus aureis intertextis vocata Otewy.

[a] It may be noted that there were "v copys of nedyll worke one of them callede Seynte Peter's cope lynede with crymson satten, etc." in the Inventory of 1540, p. 313. For a note of the delivery of these five copes, St. Peter's, of angels, and the three Jesses into the king's hands, see *Archaeologia*, 1871. xliii. 246.

¶ Item una casula nigra cum lunis[a] crucibus et talentis cum uno aurifragio ex parte anteriori contexto laminis aureis lapidibus et perillis de quibus deficiunt quindecim lamina et quindecim perille. ¶ Item tres cape Sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus[b] unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. ¶ Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis[c] de quibus due sunt cum aurifragijs novis ex dono fratris Johannis Somerton. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Samyt contexta cum leopardis aureis et aurifragijs latis cum ymaginibus Johannis et edwardi in viridi stantibus et stellis aureis intertextis. ¶ Item una casula de Samyt blodij coloris cum castellis et regibus vinea aurea circumducta. ¶ Item alia casula de Samyt viridis coloris brudata cum stellis et nodis cum aurifragijs rubiis crucifixo et regibus intertextis. ¶ Item alia casula Murrei coloris cum duabus tunicis contexte cum lunis stellis et rosis cum rubijs aurifragijs regibus intertextis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt context' cum leopardis aureis.+ ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubi (*sic*) Samyt brudato cum leopardis et castellis[d] unde aurifragia cape et casule de blodio Serico contexto in se continent cruces de perillis. ¶ Item una capa blodij coloris de Satyn contexta cum coronacione beate Marie Nativitate christi et salutacione beate virginis in parte posteriori in medio et alijs ymaginibus quasi in vinea contextis perillis consutis cum aurifragio aureo ymaginibus desuper contexto cum Caperone lapidibus et perillis ac duabus avibus de perillis operose contextis ex dono domini Symonis cardinalis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de blodio velvet cum ymaginibus in vineis circumductis et capitibus leopardorum aureis perillis ornatis ex dono eiusdem Symonis. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Samyt cum tribus magnis leopardis[e] ex parte posteriori et duabus tunicis

+ 8

[a] This word is written over an erasure.

[b] Certain cloths, as well as the ring spoken of above (Pars j. cap. iv.) were taken from the body of St. Edward when he was enshrined in 1163. These three copes are made of these cloths; but in monastic Westminster copes can hardly be said to be "vestments for the holiest worship of the sanctuary." (E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, chap. xi. Oxford, 1877, 3rd. ed., vol. iij., p. 34.)

[c] The coronation pallium of the kings of England appears to have been woven with golden eagles down to the time of the destruction of the coronation *instrumenta* by the rebels in 1649. (*Liber regalis*, Roxburgh Club, 1870, p. 16. *Rutland Papers*, Camden Society, 1842, p. 18. Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, Lond. 1820, p. 79.)

[d] For the arms of England and Castile, the latter being *gules, a triple towered castle or.*

Cf. in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 331): "A cape of red taffeta a chezebelle ij tunycles with stolles and phanams garnyshed with castells and lyons of brodery work ffor the Apostelles consuetts." See also p. 330; see also last item in this chapter.

[e] The arms of England.

cum minoribus leopardis. ¶ Item una casula rubia de samyt cum ymagine sancti edwardi in parte posteriori cum leopardis nodis et rosis aureis pariter contextis cum duabus tunicis de Samyt diversi operis unde una cum diversis bestijs in bicirculis contextis quondam Willelmi conquestoris et altera contexta cum stellis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio Samyt cum aurifragijs ornatis. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de blodio velvet cum coronis aureis unde in posteriori parte cape ymago crucifixi Johannis et Marie et alia ymago beate virginis cum suo infantulo in medio sunt contexte ex dono Jacobi Palmere. Item una casula albi coloris contexta cum stellis aureis et crucifixo Maria et Johanne in viridi contextis in parte posteriori. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de nigro Satyn contexto cum floribus aureis cum albis ut supra ex dono domini Symonis Cardinalis. [¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt cum castellis et leopardis aureis intertextis[a] unde in tunicis sunt arma comitis cornubie. . . t in incremento de novo.]

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De Capis Rubijs principalibus auro brudatis. Capitulum iij.

Cape rubie principales auro brudate sunt due et triginta quarum octo et viginti sunt de rubio Samyt de quibus prima cum hystorijs Nativitatis et passionis domini in bicirculis rosis aureis inter circulos contextis. ¶ Secunda et tercia contexte cum hystoria Jesse.[b] ¶ Quarta cum castellis et floribus deliciarum[c] interfrectis. ¶ Quinta frectata cum aurifragijs tantum cum tintinabilis (*sic*) in fimbrijs. Sexta septima et octava cum historijs diversis infra circulos et rosis aureis contextis. ¶ Nona cum diversis hystorijs in quadrangulis[d] rosis et floribus intermixtis. ¶ Decima undecima duodecima terciadecima quartadecima quintadecima et sextadecima cum diversis ymaginibus in circulis rosis aureis intertextis quasi de una secta. ¶ Septimadecima cum hominibus equitantibus falcones in manibus tenentibus cum rosis aquilis et stellis intertextis.[e] ¶ Octavadecima nonadecima cum sagittarijs leonibus in gutture sagittatis sagittis et stellis intermixtis. ¶ Vicesima cum diversis hystorijs in quadrangulis et

[a] See above, pars vj. cap. ij. § 10.

[b] See above, the note to the vernacular directions at beginning of the inventory.

[c] Fleurs-de-lys and castles, the arms of France and Castile. Cf. No. 8592 in the South Kensington collection: "a piece of silk Damask; ground, red; pattern, the Castle of Castile and fleur-de-lis, both in yellow. Spanish, thirteenth century." (Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, Lond. 1870, p. 225.)

[d] Quadrangulis, lozenges.

[e] See above, note to Pars iij. cap. xxij.

angelis intermixtis. ¶ Vicesima prima cum diversis hystorijs in circulis et angelis thurificantibus intermixtis. ¶ Vicesimasecunda cum leopardis infra circulos cum crucibus nodis et rosis intermixtis. Vicesimatercia cum leopardis nodis et rosis contextis. ¶ Vicesima quarta cum griffonibus infra circulos crucibus et capitibus leopardorum intertextis cum tintinabulis in fimbrijs. iste tres cape predicte sunt ex dono R. Berkyng abbatis. ¶ Vicesima quinta et vicesima sexta cum diversis historijs et leonibus infra circulos et leonibus intermixtis que per quendam (*sic*) pluviam sunt deteriorate. Vicesima septima simpliciter cum aurifragijs. ¶ Vicesimaoctava cum tribus magnis leopardis.[a] ¶ Vicesima nona de serico contexta cum hystoria Sancti Edwardi infra circulos. ¶ Tricesima de velvet cum leopardis aureis et fimbria de blodio velvet cum floribus deliciarum intertextis quondam domini Johannis de Eltham.[b] ¶ Tricesima prima de Camaca cum crucifixo Maria et Johanne in parte posteriori et ymaginibus Katerine et Margarete et angelis in nubibus ex dono domini Symonis Cardinalis. ¶ Tricesimasecunda de satyn cum coronis aureis et crucibus argenteis contexta et dono eiusdem Symonis.

De Capis principalibus blodij coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum iv.

Cape principalis blodij coloris auro brudate sunt quatuor quarum prima et secunda cum regibus et episcopis infra circulos sedentibus et angelis in manibus coronas tenentibus intertextis de una secta. ¶ Tercia cum regibus castellis et nodis intertextis. ¶ Quarta cum leopardis griffonibus et stellis inter nodos contextis.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa de blodio velvet cum stellis aureis et ihc in medio descript'. Item una capa de blodio velvet cum literis M aureis de cygnis contextis[c] ambe ex dono domini W. Colchestre Abbatis.[d]

[a] The arms of England.

[b] The arms of John of Eltham on his effigy in Westminster Abbey consist of the three lions of England within a bordure charged with the fleurs de lys of France. The design of the cope is thus a mere reproduction of the former owner's arms.

[c] Cf. in Invent. of 1540 (p. 333): "[Sold] ij Copes of blewe velvett oon of them beynge garnysshed with brothered sterrys of gold the other with thys letter M crownyd of gold the orpheus of crymsyn velvett with bells of gold." Is the letter M the initial of Mary Bohun, wife of Henry of Bolingbroke, and are the swans the Bohun swans?

[d] William of Colchester was elected abbot in 1386, and was abbot at the time of the making of this inventory.

De capis principalibus viridis Coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum v.

Cape principales viridis coloris auro brudate sunt tres quarum prima cum armis antiquis anglie et nodis intertextis. ¶ Secunda cum armis antiquis comitis Cornubie et nodis intermixtis ambo ex dono R. berkyng albatis.[a] (*sic.*) ¶ Tercia cum regibus sedentibus et Castellis infra circulos et nodos intertextis.

De Capis principalibus quasi Murrei coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum vj.

Cape principales Murrei coloris auro brudate sunt tres quarum prima cum ymaginibus sedentibus infra circulos rosis et nodis intermixtis. ¶ Secunda cum griffonibus et floribus in vinea aurea contextis. ¶ Tercia cum Griffonibus et leonibus coronatis in quadrangulis floribus deliciarum aureis intermixtis.

De capis principalibus Glaucei coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum vij.

Capa principalis glaucei coloris aura brudata est una cum griffonibus et avibus aureis.

De Capis principalibus diversorum colorum auro brudatis. Capitulum viij.

Capa principalis diversorum colorum auro brudata de velvet videlicet Rubio et blodio est una cum novis armis anglie contexta pro parvulo episcopo sancti Nicholai assignata.

De Capis principalibus nigri coloris auro brudatis. Capitulum ix.

Capa principalis nigri coloris auro brudata est una cum aurifragijs frectatis tantum.

[a] In Chron. Johannis Flete (penes Dec. et Cap. Westmon.) we are told of Richard Berkyng in 1238: "predictus Abbas in capitulo coram toto conventu dedit ecclesie Westmonaster' duas capas virides brudatas unde una cum armis antiquis Anglie et nodis intermixtis quas emerat sumptibus suis propriis ad Dei laudem et ecclesie." Above he says: "Duas eciam cortinas sive dorsalia chori de historia Domini Salvatoris et beati Regis Edwardi sumptibus propriis et expensis fieri procuravit ac eidem ecclesie dedit et reliquit."

De Capis Casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum Colorum de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum x.

Capa est una cum casula et duabus tunicis de panno aureo rubio cum avibus et stragulis et in stragulis sunt bestiole auro contexte cum albis de secta ut supra. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum avibus ramos in rostris tenentibus et albis floribus intermixtis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono Symonis Cardinalis. Item quinque cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum pavonibus rotulas in rostris tenentibus cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis de panno rubio cum signis et floribus intextis ex dono Nicholai abbatis cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ Item quatuor cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis de panno aureo de luca varij coloris stragulat' et diversis literis inscript' cum albis frontello et frontilecto ut supra de secta.[a] ¶ Item decem cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis Murrei coloris cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum albis ut supra de secta. ¶ [Item decem cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis murrei coloris cum frectis aureis et floribus intertextis cum albis ut supra.][b] ¶ Item una capa cum tribus casulis et duabus tunicis murrei coloris cum arboribus et avibus auro contextis de una secta. ¶ Item una capa et casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum signis aureis quasi in aqua natantibus de una secta. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum floribus et avibus vario opere contextis de una secta cum una alba ut supra ex dono domini Symonis cardinalis. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis albi coloris cum arboribus et talentis aureis intextis cum una alba ut supra. ¶ Item due cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis diversorum colorum cum armis anglie et francie aurifragiatis cum armis comitisse de Penbrok cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono Marie comitisse eiusdem. ¶ Item tres cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis blodij coloris cum archangelis aureis intextis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono domini Edmundi comitis lancastrie. ¶ Item una capa cum casula et duabus tunicis nigri

[a] Cf. the frontal above (pars iij. cap. l. § ix.) given by Simon Langham and the albs (pars v. cap. j.) all of the same stuff. See also the ridells (pars iij. cap. v. § j.) In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 330) are "iiij copys a chezabull ij tunycles with v albys with oon stoll and iij phanams of bawdekyn haveyng in hit strypes of gold with Greke letters for Relyque Sonday." For the rest of this *Pars*, the reader may compare Fischbach, *passim*.

[b] The words within brackets have been struck through with a red line.

coloris cum avibus flores in rostris tenentibus et parvis cervis aureis infra circulos de floribus iacentibus.

[. . t in incremento de novo tres cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis rubei coloris de nobili panno aureo de damask cum aurifragijs de nigro velvet brudatis cum literis T. et A. et cygnis de perillis ex dono domini Thome Ducis Glowcestrie cum alba ut supra.][a]

[here two leaves with headings *Sexta Pars* but otherwise blank.]

De capis rubijs simplicioribus de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xj.

Cape rubee simpliciores de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt octo et quadraginta quarum prima de panno de cypro[b] cum bestiolis aureis et blodijs foliis. ¶ Secunda cum bestijs transversis et ramis cum albis floribus intextis. ¶ Tercia quarta cum floribus et diversis nodis aureis vario opere contextis de secta. ¶ Quinta sexta et septima cum leonibus ligatis ad ramos aureos cathenis de secta. ¶ Octava nona decima undecima et duodecima cum bestijs iacentibus et de ore eorum ramis exeuntibus cum alijs floribus aureis blodio et albo in medio intertextis de secta. ¶ Terciadecima quartadecima quintadecima sextadecima septimadecima nonadecima cum avibus aureis quasi in quodam circulo volutis tenentibus coronas in rostris de una secta. ¶ Vicesima una vicesima secunda cum bestiolis aureis iacentibus rotulos in ore tenentibus unde in quibusdam de rotulis describitur **tenonus fort** de una secta. ¶ Vicesima tercia xxiiij. xxv. xxvj. xxvij. xxviij. cum floribus deliciarum et alijs floribus aureis intermixtis de una secta. ¶ Vicesima nona. xxx. xxxj. xxxij. xxxiij. xxxiiij. xxxv. xxxvj. xxxvij. xxxviij. xxxix. cum avibus maioribus infra ramos bestiolis desuper iacentibus avibus minoribus flosculis aureis et blodijs intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quadragesima xli. xlij. xliij. xliiij. cum arboribus aureis et rotulis aureis blodij[s] litteris intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quadragesimaquinta xlvj. xlvij. xlviij. cum signis colla circa ramos volventibus circulis in summitate ramorum contextis de una secta.

[a] See Appendix IV. Cf. in Inventory of 1540 (p. 329): "iij Copys a chezabull ij tunycles with iij albys with stolls and phanams of fyne bawdkyn, and the orpherys being of blewe velvett with swanys and thys letter "A" of perle of the gyfte of Sir Thomas of Woodstock for Corpus Xpi Day." Thomas of Woodstock married Eleanor Bohun; the "A" is no doubt the initial of Alianora, and the swans are the badge of Bohun.

[b] Here is evidence, if such were needed, that cyprus was not always black. See also cap. xij. *Et in incremento de novo.*

De capis simplicioribus albi coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xij.

Cape simpliciores albi de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt due et viginti quarum prima cum bestijs de quibus quedam habent caudas rubias quedam blodias quedam virides cum alijs bestijs et floribus intertextis vocate Arundel. ¶ Secunda et tercia cum avibus maioribus et minoribus bene formatis et alijs avibus deformibus cum diversis floribus intertextis de una secta. ¶ Quarta et quinta cum signis aureis maioribus extra circulos et minoribus infra circulos de una secta. ¶ Sexta cum bestijs deformibus binis infra quadrangulis coronis et piscibus aureis intertextis. ¶ Septima et octava cum avibus aureis et ramis contextis de secta. ¶ Nona et decima cum gruibus aureis super blodio stantibus ramos in rostris habentibus et alijs bestijs sub arboribus pascentibus de secta. ¶ Undecima duodecima et tertia decima cum diversis bestijs et rotulis rubijs aureis literis intertextis unde in quibusdam rotulis scribitur ic suy sus et in quibusdam tenifort de secta. ¶ Quartadecima quintadecima et sextadecima cum draconibus et floribus aureis et rosis blodijs in nodis contextis de secta [ex dono fratris Johannis Wrottinge].[a] Septimadecima et xviij. cum magnis draconibus et floribus de diversis coloribus de secta. ¶ Nonadecima xx. et xxj. de auro sellariorum[b] cum rosis et avibus deformibus et ramis diversis de secta. ¶ Vicesima secunda cum diversis rosis aureis infra circulos.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa panni de cypris cum falconibus aureis et floribus intermixtis. Item tres cape cum falconibus volantibus et parvis leonibus sedentibus intermixtis. Item una capa cum ramis et bestijs atque capitibus leopardorum intermixtis. Item tres cape cum leopardis super ramos arborum stantibus de secta.]

De capis simplicioribus albi coloris de velvet non brudatis. Capitulum xiij.

Cape simpliciores albi coloris de velvet non brudate sunt due ex dono fratris Johannis Wrottynge.

[. . t in incremento de novo una capa non de velvet sed de baudekyn de damask brudate cum leopardis et floribus deliciarum intermixtis.

[a] In another hand.

[b] I have been unable to find out what may be the saddlers' gold of which copes can be made.

De capis simplicioribus blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xiiij.

Cape simpliciores blodij coloris de panno aureo non brudatis sine casulis et tunicis sunt xliij quarum prima et secunda cum bestijs aureis sub arboribus sedentibus et rotulos in ore tenentibus de una secta. ¶ Tercia et quarta cum avibus et bestijs infra circulos floribus et rosis intertextis de secta. ¶ Quinta vj. vij. viij. ix. x. xj. cum arboribus et rotulis aureis blodijs litteris intertextis de secta. ¶ Duo decima et xiij. cum avibus sub ramis aureis stantibus rubium (*sic*) cum pinctiolis aureis in alis habentibus de secta. ¶ Quartadecima et xv. cum ramis aureis et parvis avibus intertextis de secta. ¶ Sextadecima et xvij cum leonibus cubantibus infra flores rubio et auro contextas et alijs diversis floribus intermixtis de secta. ¶ Octavadecima xix. xx. xxj. xxij. xxiij. cum leopardis flores admodum semicirculorum cum cathenis rubiis ad colla trahentibus de secta. ¶ Vicesima quarta xxv et xxvj cum faciebus mulierum[a] in medio stellarum contextis de secta. ¶ Vicesima septima xxviij. xxix. et xxx. cum bestijs cubantibus in ramis varij operis de treyfoyl de una secta. ¶ Tricesima prima et xxxij cum avibus ligatis per cathenas ad arbores rotulis in arboribus pendentibus de secta. ¶ [Tricesima tercia][b] et xxxiiij cum diversis floribus et rosis intextis varios flores ex se mittentibus de una secta. ¶ Tricesimaquinta et tricesima sexta cum avibus aureis rubia rostra et rubios pedes habentibus cum semicirculis super capitibus eorum de secta. ¶ Tricesima septima et xxxviij. ad modum skakarij auro contexta griffonibus et alijs bestijs infratextis de secta. ¶ Tricesimanona xl. xlj. et xlij. cum vulpibus aucas per collum infra circulos tenentibus de secta. ¶ Quadragesimatercia cum griffonibus et alijs bestijs et cisternis aquam emittentibus pro episcopo Sancti Nicholai assignata.

De capis simplicioribus nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudatis. Capitulum xv.

Cape simpliciores nigri coloris de panno aureo non brudate sine casulis et tunicis sunt quatuor cum avibus ramusculos in ore tenentibus et alio vario opere intertexto de una secta.

[a] See above, note to Pars iv. cap. xij. § 3.

[b] In another hand over an erasure.

De capis casulis et tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de dyaspyus (sic). *Capitulum xxj.*

Cape rubie sunt tres cum una casula et duabus tunicis de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs capitibus et pedibus aureis de una secta.[a] Item una [casula rubia cum duabus tunicis avibus et bestijs aureis][b] et floribus albis intertextis de secta. ¶ Item una casula rubia cum tribus tunicis avibus et bestijs viridibus cum capitibus et pedibus aureis.[c] ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum avibus et bestijs rubijs capitibus et pedibus aureis cum xj . . . . capis dyaspynys quasi de una secta. ¶ Item due cape blodij coloris cum floribus et avibus viridibus pavonibus et bestijs aureis et rubijs intertextis de secta. ¶ Item due cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis blodij coloris de dyaspyn cum avibus et bestijs captibus (*sic*) et pedibus aureis. ¶ Item due tunice albi coloris de dyaspyn cum avibus capitibus eorum aureis cum quinque capis cum bestijs et avibus diversi operis quasi de una secta. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum ramis et floribus aureis.

De Capis Casulis et Tunicis simplicioribus diversorum colorum de Serico et Samyt sine aliquo opere aureo. Capitulum xvij.

Casula est una de rubio samit sine aliquo opere aureo cum nigro aurifragio in parte posteriori ad modum vinee super nigro contexte cum duabus tunicis quasi de secta. ¶ Item una casula rubia de Sarcinet cum duabus tunicis de rubio samyt. Item due tunice de rubio samyt sine casula de secta. ¶ Item due tunice partite de rubio samyt et viridi sine casula de secta. ¶ Item xxix. cape de rubio Samyt ex dono domini Regis henrici tercij quarum novem sunt ex parte deteriorate iuxta aurifragia. ¶ Item casula murrei coloris de samyt cum uno magno aurifragio in parte posteriori ad modum vinee contexte et in parte anteriori cum duobus angelis aureis circa pectus. . . . . cum duabus tunicis de tawny samyt eidem casule assignatis quarum prima cum manicis latis[d] et altera cum stragulis aureis et

[a] See note to Pars j. cap. viij.

[b] The words in brackets are written over an erasure.

[c] Cf. Fischbach, 21.

[d] This pair of tunicles was very likely pontifical. Cf. the rules for the revesting of the abbot at the beginning of the inventory: "the dalmatic with the longest sleeves uppermost." It may also be noted that the tunicles are of tawny colour while the chasuble is murrey. In a copy of Fra Angelico's fresco in the chapel of Nicholas V. in the Vatican of the ordination of St. Laurence, exhibited in the Arundel Society's rooms, the sleeves of the tunicle are tight on the arm, while those of the dalmatic are loose. In other representations the sleeves of the tunicle may be seen to come nearly to the wrist, and conceal great part of the alb.

blodijs. ¶ Item tres casule de samyt murrei coloris cum novem capis eiusdem secte quarum quatuor sunt debiles. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula et duabus tunicis de serico murrei coloris context' cum rubijs floribus. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula albi coloris de Serico sine tunicis de secta cum avibus infra circulos contextis. ¶ Item due cape cum una casula et duabus tunicis albi coloris de serico cum folijs viridibus ad modum vinee desuper contextis cum albis ut supra de secta ex dono domini Edwardi tercij. ¶ Item undecim cape albi coloris de serico quarum due de Samyt et novem de Camaka. ¶ Item una capa cum una casula et duabus tunicis viridis coloris de serico de quibus tunice differunt in serico ex parte. ¶ Item septem cape viridis coloris de samyt de una secta. ¶ Item una casula optima blodij coloris de samyt sine tunicis. ¶ Item una casula aliqualiter blodij coloris de samyt. ¶ Item octo cape blodij coloris de Samyt quarum tres sunt debiles. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis glaucei coloris de Samyt quasi de una secta. ¶ Item octo cape de samyt eiusdem secte [a] ¶ Item una casula nigri coloris de serico cum duabus tunicis de secta cum albis ut supra. Item una capa nigri coloris cum . . . ij. casulis sancti dunstani quasi de una secta.[b] ¶ Item due cape nigri coloris sancti dunstani. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis stragulate quasi de una secta pro commemoratione sancti Edwardi.[c] ¶ Item una tunica stragulata per se de pluribus coloribus pro lectione ad collationem tempore mandati in die cene domini.[d] ¶ Item due tunice cum parvis stragulis de albo et nigro de una secta sine casula.

[Item una casula cum duabus tunicis blodii coloris de samit de una secta.]

[a] Entry omitted. See last item.

[b] "Planeta qua ipse pater Dunstanus inter missas frequenter usus fuerat in abbatia beati Petri quae in occidentali parte Lundoniae sita est, absque ullo auri apparatu existens habebatur." (Miracula Sancti Dunstani, auctore Eadmero in W. Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, Rolls Series, 1874, p. 246.)

[c] See above note to the vernacular directions at the beginning of the Inventory.

[d] Cf. "ij other tunycles of dyvers collors oon to hallowe the Pascall and the other for hym that beryth the Dragon on Easter Evyn." (Inventory of 1540, p. 332.) According to Westminster use (see Lytlyngton's mass-book in the Chapter library) *Finito ymno* [*i. e. Inventor rutili*] *imponat cantor antiphonam:* Sicut exaltatus est serpens in heremo ita exaltari oportet in cruce filium hominis. *Expleta antiphona incipiat hanc prefacionem ad cereum benedicendum.* Exultet iam, etc. (See also my note on Leo and Draco, in *Notes and Queries*, Oct. 15, 1887, p. 316.)

Septima Pars.

Septima pars principalis de alijs rebus superinventis generaliter vestibulo deputatis.

De tapetis. Capitulum j.

Tapeta sunt sex murrei coloris contexta cum novis armis Regis anglie et armis . . .[a] Comitis hanonie ex dono Regis Edwardi tercii. ¶ Item quatuor sunt tapeta albi coloris contexta cum scutis habentibus tres flores deliciarum rubios in circulis. ¶ Item quatuor tapeta de armis comitis de Penbrok ex dono Marie comitisse eiusdem. ¶ Item quatuor tapeta rubij coloris contexta cum scutis albis habentibus tres flores deliciarum rubios ex dono Ricardi Twyford.[b] ¶ Item quinque tapeta rubia contexta cum leopardis glaucis. ¶ Item octo tapeta crocei coloris ex quibus quatuor sunt contexta cum novis armis anglie et armis domini Johannis de Eltham et alia quatuor sine armis. ¶ Item quinque tapeta nigra habentia in angulis scuta de armis Petri et Edwardi ex dono Ricardi Honyngtoñ. ¶ Item novem tapeta tawney coloris ex dono Nicholai lytlyngton abbatis. ¶ Item unum bancale vocatum pass' longitudinis ab hostio vestibuli[c] usque ad magnum altare.[d] ¶ Item duo tapeta parva de diversis coloribus cum diversis scutis context' ex dono N. L. Abbatis.

[. t in incremento de novo septemdecem tapeta palata[e] de albo et de blodio cum rosis albis et rubiis intextis atque rubia bordura cum rosario currente pro ornatu chori ex dono fratris Radulphi Tonworth.]

De Quissinis. Capitulum ij.

Quissina rubia sunt sexdecim quorum octo sunt de Camaka de quibus duo sunt longa et octo de satyn circumligata cum nigro serico [a red cross]. ¶ Item quatuor subrubia de Camaka. ¶ Item sex quissina de viridi camaca. ¶ Item

[a] "Et" has been erased here.

[b] These appear to be the arms of a branch of the family of Holt of Twyford.

[c] The *vestibulum* is in the south transept.

[d] In the Inventory of 1540 (p. 348) there is: "The Rollyd Palye otherwyse called the Passe servyng for the Abbott to go to the aulter apon."

[e] *Palata*, that is striped, here with white and blue.

quinque quissina crocei coloris de singulo samyt. ¶ Item tria quissina de bawedekyn cum avibus. Item duo quissina cum armis comitis de Penbrok. Item unum quissinum viridis coloris. ¶ Item unum quissinum glaucei coloris. Item unum quissinum rubij coloris cum duabus ymaginibus sancti Petri ex utraque parte. ¶ Item unum quissinum de veridi (*sic*) velvet cum aquila aurea in medio. ☒ [a red cross.] Item octo quissina de blodio bawdekyn ex dono N. L. abbatis. Item quatuor quissina de tawney bawdekyn ex dono eiusdem.

De Pectoralibus Caparum. Capitulum iij.

Pectoralia caparum sunt sex de quibus duo argentea et deaurata unde unum continet assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum alijs ornatis diversis lapidibus et perillis. Alterum vero continet ymaginem beate virginis cum suo infantulo et alias duas ymagines in medio ornatas triffuris et lapidibus diversis. ¶ Quatuor autem alia sunt de cupro deaurato unde primum continet ymaginem divine maiestatis cum Ewangeliis (*sic*) et diversis lapidibus ornat'. ¶ Secundum vero amelatum cum diversis ymaginibus continet autem in medio ymaginem beate virginis et diversis lapidibus ornat' ex quibus plures deficiunt. Duo vero alia embossata et magnis lapidibus ornata.

De Pannis aureis diversorum colorum et Lectis. Capitulum iv.

Panni aurei sunt septemdecem unde in primis duo panni aurei nigri coloris cum draconibus de secta. ¶ Item tres panni aurei nigri coloris cum avibus et parvis rosis et alio diverso opere de una secta. ¶ Item unus pannus aureus cum binis literis ꝑ interfrectis. Item duo panni aurei nigri coloris quorum unus integer et alius dimidius cum cuniculis in folijs. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubei coloris cum stragulis aureis et draconibus aureis intermixtis. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubij coloris cum draconibus et leonibus aureis parvi valoris. ¶ Item duo panni aurei blodij coloris cum pavonibus aureis et rubiis folijs admodum vinee invicem consut'. ¶ Item unus pannus aureus blodij coloris cum bestijs aureis et hidrijs rubijs de serico contextis. ¶ Item unus lectus[a] cum bordura cum armis Regis Scocie. ¶ Alius vero lectus rubij coloris cum magnis circulis et magnis leonibus binis infra circulos. ¶ Item duo panni aurei rubij coloris cum avibus aureis et ramis argenteis invicem consuti. Et in [incremento de novo

[a] Here *lectus* may mean the cloth with which the hearse was covered. In the Inventory of 1540, p. 314, cf. "a greate cover of bedde called a sepulcher clothe."

unus pannus aureus nigri coloris cum bestijs et avibus infra flores et volucribus exterius cum rotulis intermixtis. ¶ Item alius pannus aureus nigri coloris cum diversis nodis et floribus rosis rubeis intermixtis.]

De pannis Sericis diversorum colorum auro non textis. Capitulum v.

Pannus est unus de Serico diversorum colorum cum arboribus rubijs et picis in ramis sedentibus. ¶ Item alius pannus Sericus diversorum colorum cum diversis stragulis. ¶ Item duo panni Serici viridis coloris similiter consuti cum armis anglie hyspannie et regina (*sic*) Alianore.[a] ¶ Item [unus magnus pannus][b] sericus cum bestijs quibusdam infra circulos et quibusdam extra. Item alius pannus de diversis coloribus stragulat' vocat' kanope ad coperiendum (*sic*) Cawagium[c] Regis iuxta magnum altare.

De Zonis. Capitulum vj.

Zone Serice sunt septem diversi operis et diversorum colorum.

De duabis (sic) *novis Cistis et omnibus in eis contentis ex dono Fratris Radulphi Tonworthe. Capitulum vij.*

Nove ciste sunt due cum ornamentis ecclesie in eis contentis ex dono fratris Radulphi Tonneworthe Monachi videlicet unum frontellum cum uno frontilecto togello consutum[d] et duobus ridellis de panno albi coloris vocato tartaryn cum stragulis aureis de una secta. ¶ Item tres albe due stole et tres manipuli una casula unus casus corporalis cum corporali eiusdem secte. ¶ Item una alba de albo panno vocato tartaryn sine stragulis ceroferario assignata. Casula vero predicta cum omnibus antedictis est assignata per prefatum R. T. misse capitali

[a] See below, *Minus Registrum*, cap. vij.

[b] The words between brackets are written over an erasure.

[c] Our Director, Mr. H. S. Milman, suggests that *cawagium* may be the same as *cafagium*, a word to which I find the Benedictines on Du Cange give the same meaning as a cage or pound (*cf.* German, *Käfig*) and this would not be far from the signification of a royal pew. One of the meanings of cage given in Murray's *New English Dictionary* is an elevated stage or seat. In 1400, *Cov. Myst.* "Heyl, be thou kynge in kage full hye." Mr. Micklethwaite tells me that at the time of the making of this inventory there would have been a place for a royal pew where the tomb of Anne of Cleves now stands.

[d] See above, Pars iij. cap. ij. *de frontilectis.*

dominicis diebus in adventu domini et in quadragesima[a] quando de dominica agitur. ¶ Item novem albe duo stole cum tribus manipulis de panno albi coloris vocato bawdekyn de una secta quarum una alba continet in se cum stola et manipulo lx . stellas argenteas et deauratas in dicta alba[b] stolo (*sic*) et manipulo consutas. ¶ Item una capa tres casule de eadem secta per eundem R. T. magne misse assignate dictis diebus dominicis quando de dominica agitur.[c] ¶ Item unus casus corporalis cum corporali de panno albo aureo ad eandem missam assignatus. ¶ Item unus casus de panno rubio aureo cum duobus sudarijs[d] de panno albo vocato tartaryn pro oblacione facienda et pro patena tenenda per predictum R. T. ad utramque missam assignatus. ¶ Item tredecim zone de twyn cum omnibus supradictis in prima cista contente. ¶ In secunda vero cista quatuor sunt tapeta albi coloris cum rosis rubijs contextis dictis temporibus assignat' per prefatum Radulphum Tonworthe.

Contra Tabula.

A.

Acerra. Secunda parte cap° iiij^to^.

Almicia. Prima prima (*sic*) parte c° v°.

Albe Principales. Quarta parte per totum.

Albe Brudate. Quarta parte per totum et albe de serico brudate iiij^ta^ parte ca° j° eciam albe auree brudate iiij parte c° ij° et iij° eciam albe rubie brudate iiij parte c° iiij° et v^to^ eciam albe nigre brudate iiij parte c° vj° et vij° eciam albe murree brudate c° viij° et ix° eciam albe de albo brudate iiij parte c° x° eciam

[a] The custumary of abbot Ware gives white for Advent, but black for Lent, so that the appearance of white for the Sundays in Lent shows some departure from the customs of abbot Ware's time.

[b] Among the Lent stuffs at the dissolution was "Oon albe garnysshed with xxxij sterrys and ij halfe sterrys of sylver and gylte for the Highe Masse with stolle and phanam without sterrys." (Invent. 1540, p. 345.)

[c] White was to be used at the high mass as well as the *missa capitalis* on Sundays in Lent and Advent.

[d] Cf. amongst the Lent stuffs of the Dissolution: "iij chezabulls of whyte one sute and a cope. Oon corporas case with corporaces. ij white sydaryes." (Invent. 1540, p. 345.) The use of sudaries is given above in the text. I do not know what to say of the editor's definition of them as "old cloaths to cover saints in Lent," which he gives in a note.

albe blodie brudate iiij parte c° xj et xij° eciam albe Glauce brudate iiij parte c° xiij. eciam albe virides brudate iiij parte c° xiiij et xv° eciam albe brudate diversorum colorum iiij parte ca° xvj°.

¶ *Albe Dunstani.* Quarta parte cap° xvij°.

¶ *Albe simpliciores.* Albe de armis anglie et Francie v. parte ca° viij. eciam albe scutate v. parte c° ix° et x°. Etiam albe rubie v. parte c° p° et ij° xj° et xij°. Eciam albe blodie v. parte c° iij° et iiij°. Eciam albe de albo v. parte c° v° vj° xv° et vij° parte c° vij°. Eciam albe murree v° parte c° vij° et xvj°. Eciam albe virides v° parte c° xiij° et xiiij°. Eciam albe nigre v° parte c° xvij°.

¶ *Ampulla.* Tercia parte c° xij.

¶ *Anulus.* Prima parte cap° iiij°.

B.

Baculus Pastoralis. Prima parte capitulo ij°.

Brudate albe. Quarta parte per totum eciam brudate albe de serico iiij° parte c° primo. Eciam brudate albe de auro iiij° parte c° ij et iij°. Eciam brudate albe rubie iiij parte c° iiij° et quinto. Eciam brudate albe nigre iiij parte c° vj et vij°. Eciam brudate albe murree iiij parte c° viij°. Eciam brudate albe de albo iiij parte c° x°. Eciam brudate albe de blodio iiij parte c° xj° et xij°. Eciam brudate albe glaucee iiij parte c° xiiij. Eciam brudate albe virides iiij° parte c° xiiij et xv°. Eciam brudate albe diversorum colorum iiij° parte c° xvj°.

Brudate cape. Brudate cape auree vj° parte c° primo. Eciam brudate cape diversorum colorum de sectis vj° parte c° ij° et viij°. Eciam brudate cape rubie vj° parte c° iij°. Eciam brudate cape blodie vj° parte c° iiij°. Eciam brudate cape virides vj° parte c° v°. Eciam brudate cape murree vj° parte c° vj°. Eciam brudate cape Glauce vj° parte c° vij°. Eciam brudate cape nigre vj° parte c° ix°.

C.

Calix. Tercia parte capitulo vj°.

Calefactoria. Tercia parte c° xiiij°.

Candelabrum. Secunda parte c° vj°.

Cape brudate. Cape auree brudate vj° parte c° primo eciam Cape brudate diversorum colorum de sectis vj° parte c° ij° et viij°. Eciam cape rubie brudate vj parte c° iij°. Eciam cape blodie brudate vj° parte c° iiij°. Eciam cape virides

brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} v^{o}. Eciam cape murree brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} vj^{o}. Eciam cape glaucee brudate vj^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}. Eciam cape nigre brudate vj parte c^{o} ix^{o}.

Cape simpliciores. Cape simpliciores diversorum colorum de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} x^{o}. Eciam cape rubie de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xj^{o}. Eciam cape albe de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xij^{o}. Eciam cape albe de velvet vj^{a} parte c^{o} xiij^{o}. Eciam cape blodie de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xiiij. Eciam cape nigre de panno aureo vj^{a} parte c^{o} xv^{o}. Eciam cape de dyaspins diversorum colorum vj. parte c^{o} xvj^{o}. Eciam cape de Serico et de Samyt diversorum colorum vj^{o}. parte c^{o} xvij. Eciam una capa alba de albo vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Casula. Sexta parte c^{o} ij^{o} x^{o} xvj^{o} et xvij^{o}. Eciam vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Cathedra. Tercia parte c^{o} xxij^{o}.

Cerrical. Tercia parte c^{o} xx^{o}.

Cista. Septima parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Corporalia. Tercia parte c^{o} vij et vij^{a} parte c^{o} vij^{o}.

Custos. Tercia parte c^{o} iiij^{o}.

Crux. Secunda parte ca^{o} primo.

Ceroteca. Prima parte c^{o} iij^{o}.

D.

Dalmatica. Prima parte ca^{o} viij.

Diaspyns. Prima parte ca^{o} viij eciam tercia parte cap^{o} xxij. Eciam quinta parte ca^{o} xj^{o} xij^{o} xiiij^{o} xv^{o} xvj^{o} et xviij^{o}. Eciam sexta parte ca^{o} xvj^{o}.

Dunstanus. Quarta parte c^{o} xvij^{o}.

E.

E

F.

Frontellum. Tercia parte ca^{o} primo eciam vij^{a} parte capitulo vij^{o}.

Frontilectum. Tercia parte ca^{o} ij^{o} et vij^{a} parte capitulo septimo.

G.

G

H.

Hastile. Secunda parte capitulo primo.

I.

I

K.

[*K* erased]

L.

Liber. Tercia parte capitulo viij°.
Lectus. Septima parte ca° iiij.

M.

Manipulus. Quarta parte quasi per totum. Eciam quinta parte quasi per totum sed specialiter quinta parte c° xviij° et vij° parte c° vij°.
Manutergium. Tercia parte c° xviij.
Missalia. Tercia parte c° viij.
Mitra. Prima parte c° primo.
Muscaria. Tercia parte c° xv.°

O.

P.

Palla. Tercia parte ca° iij°.
Pannus. Tercia parte c° xxij et xxiij. Eciam vij parte ca° iiij et v^to^
Pelves. Tercia parte c° xj°.
Pecten. Tercia parte c° xvij°.
Pectoralia. Pectoralia caparum vij° parte capitulo tercio.
Pixis. Tercia parte ca° xiij°.

Q.

Quissinum. Septima parte ca° ij°.

R.

Ridellum. Tercia parte ca° v° Eciam vij° parte c° vij°. Eciam iij° parte c° primo.
Rochettum. Prima parte ca° vj°.

S.

Sandalia. Prima parte ca° ix°.

Sericum. Quasi per totum sed specialiter quarta parte capitulo primo et vij^{a} parte c° v^{to} et vj°.

Situla. Secunda parte ca° v°.

Sotular. Prima parte ca° ix°.

Sudarium. Tercia parte c° xix°. Eciam septima parte cap° vij°.

Superaltaria. Tercia parte c° xvj°.

Superpellicia. Prima parte c° vij°.

Stola. Quarta parte quasi per totum. Eciam v^{a} parte quasi per totum sed specialiter v^{a} parte c° xviij° et vij^{a} parte c° vij°.

T.

Tabula. Tercia parte c° x° et c° xxj.

Tapetum. Septima pars c° j° et c° vij.

Textus. Tercia parte c° ix°.

Tintinabulum. Secunda parte c° ij°.

Tunica. Sexta parte c° ij° x° xvj° et xvij°.

Turribulum. Secunda parte c° iij°.

V.

Velum. Tercia parte c° xxiij°.

Velvet. Tercia parte c° j° ij° iij° et xx°. Eciam iiij^{a} parte c° iiij° xj° et xiiij°. Eciam quinta parte c° iiij°. Eciam sexta parte c° ij° iij. viij° et xiij°.

Vexillum. Secunda parte c° ij°.

Ursiolus. Tercia parte c° xij°.

Y.

Z.

Zone. Zone de Serico vij^{a} parte ca° vj°. Eciam zone de twyn vij^{a} parte ca° vij°.

Explicit Magnum Registrum de rebus vestibuli compositum per fratres istius monasterij Suple per Fratrem Ricardum Cirencestre Willelmum Sudbery Johannem Breynte Radulphum Tonworthe A° domini M° CCC° lxxxviij° ultimo die mensis Junij.

Incipit minus registrum de rebus mediocribus et simplicioribus relictis in vestibulo que in magno registro dicti vestibuli nullatenus continentur et istud registrum pro maiore facilitate per decem capitula est divisum.

De mitris baculis pastoralibus serotecis anulis et sandalibus. Capitulum j.

Mitre sunt ~~quinque~~ [quarum prima pro festo sancti Nicholai ad parvum pontificem deputata cum platis argenteis et deauratis unde in circumferencia et labella plura deficiunt].[a] ¶ Secunda alba aurifragiata cum rosis et stellis desuper intextis. ¶ Tercia alba et aurifragiata tantum. ¶ ~~Quarta et quinta de fustian sine ornamentis~~. Baculi quoque pastorales sunt duo quorum unus de cupro deaurato continens in curvitate ex utraque parte ymaginem ecclesie sancte et sinagoge alter eburneus continens in curvitate agnum dei. Paria vero serotecarum sunt quinque quorum unum par deputatum pro parvulo episcopo sancti Nicholai relique vero serotece veterissime sunt et parvissime valoris. Anuli autem sunt duo quorum unus argenteus et deauratus habens septem lapides quorum unus rubeus duo blodij duo crocei et duo virides. alter vero cupreus deauratus habens unum rubium lapidem per se deputatus pro episcopo sancti Nicholai. Sandalium quidem est unum par vetus de panno viridi cum floribus parvi valoris.

De crucibus turribulis Acerris Candelabris Situlis et campanis. Capitulum ij.

Cruces sunt . . . ij quarum prima eburnea continens in se ymaginem eburneam et ymagines Marie et Iohannis eburneas. ¶ Secunda lignea argentea et deaurata laminata continens in se ymaginem crucifixi. ¶ ~~Tercia et quarta de cupro quarum prima consistit in manu ymaginis sancti Petri ad magnum altare altera vero remanet in vestibulo confracta. Turribula quidam sunt duo Sancti dunstani cupra deaurata operis antiqui~~. Acerra vero est una cupra parvi valoris. Candelabra autem sunt ~~xiij quorum~~ iiij de latyn et de una secta ~~et iij cupra deaurata operis antiqui quorum unum est confractum et vj alia minora parvi valoris~~. ¶ Situle quippe. sunt due pro aqua benedicta defferenda quarum una cupra amelata cum ymaginibus. Altera vero magna de latyn Campane autem sunt due vocate campane sancti Dunstani.[b]

[a] The words in brackets have been struck through with a red line.

[b] These were found at the Dissolution and sold. "[Sold] ij bellys callyd Saynt Dunstanys bells." (Invent. 1540, p. 344.)

De Frontellis Frontilectis Pallis et Capella portatili. Capitulum iij.

Frontella quidem sunt quatuor quorum primum est de rubio panno aureo cum gallis et arboribus. Secundum vero est de panno blodio cum stellis. ¶ Tercium autem vetus est de panno rubio argenteo deaurato cum avibus et frectis diversis in custodia vestiarij. ¶ Quartum frontellum cum frontilecto et Rerdos eiusdem secte de rubio panno aureo pro aliquo parvo altari ex dono Nicholai L. abbatis. ¶ Frontilecta sunt tria quorum duo frontellis superioribus eiusdem secte sunt consuta. ¶ Tercium palle consutum pro magno altari nimis brevis. ¶ Palle vero sunt due nimis breves pro magno altari sed forte altero commoda ex dono N. L. abbatis. Capella autem portatilis est una cum ornatu videlicet cum .j.cas. continente unum calicem deauratum duas phialas unum pixidem unam campanam unam tabulam pro pace danda argentea et deaurata unum superaltare de Alabastro unum Rerdos unum Frontellum cum frontilecto due Redelle una alba cum stola et manipulo una zona una casula et unum cas cum corporali de blodio panno de tartaryn stragulato de una secta cum duabus togellis sine pallis de dono N. L. abbatis et unum parvum missale cum duabus clapsis (*sic*) argenteis ex dono eiusdem.

De Sudarijs Cervicalibus Tabulis plicabilibus Missalibus et alijs libris. Capitulum iiij.

Sudaria pro patenis tenendis et oblacionibus ad missas faciendis sunt sex quarum unum magnum pro magno calice[a] Cervicalia. autem sunt sex quorum tria cum diversis armis. ¶ Quartum cum duabus ymaginibus Edwardi et iohannis. ¶ Quintum de panno Serico. ¶ Sextum de rubio Sendal. Tabula plicabilis est una in qua continentur octo ymagines eburnee. Missalia vero sunt sex quorum primum vetus est in capella abbatis. Et aliud Oxonie in custodia scolarium[b] . iiij° (*sic*) autem missalia sunt vetera abbreviata. ¶ Quinque vero sunt libri benedictionales quorum unus rubio Serico coopertus. ¶ Secundus et tercius cum asseribus. ¶ Quartus et quintus sine asseribus. Libri quidem de Placebo et dirige notati sunt tres. ¶ Item alius liber de evangelijs rubio corio coopertus. ¶ Item unus liber pro sereo Paschali benedicendo et alijs pluribus in eodem

[a] No doubt the great chalice given by Henry III. described in Part iij. chap. vj.

[b] Probably at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, the Benedictine Hostel.

contentis. ¶ Item duo libri pro sepultura mortuorum. ¶ Item tres libri de ultimis lectionibus. ¶ Item tres libri cum asseribus de diversis in eis contentis et quinque quaterni parvi valoris.

De Calefactorijs Pixidibus et baculis festivalibus pro Nativitate domini. Capitulum v.

Calefactoria sunt duo Cupria minime deaurata parvi valoris. Pixis est unus eburneus in quo continetur unus lapis de berillo rotundus pro novo igne in vigilia Pasche a sole capiendo.[a] Baculi festivales sunt decem pro Nativitate domini quorum unus eburneus alij quinque integri quatuor vero alij confracti.[b]

De Albis stolis et Manipulis diversorum colorum. Capitulum vj.

Albe de Serico novem diversi operis. Albe vero nigri coloris sunt sex valde debiliores et quasi nullius valoris. ¶ Albe pro invitatorijs sunt xxvij. diversi operis et coloris et pene nullius valoris. ¶ Stole diversorum colorum sunt octo cum totidem manipulis pene consumptis.

De capis Casulis et tunicis diversorum colorum et Dyaspins. Capitulum vij.

[Casula est una cum duabus tunicis albi coloris de panno aureo cum una capa alba assignata pro commemoratione beate Marie.][c] Item una capa casula cum duabus tunicis viridis coloris cum armis anglie et hyspannie pro regina Alienora assignate.[d] ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis nigri coloris cum avibus capitibus aureis de dyaspyns. ¶ Item una capa casula cum duabus tunicis de

[a] This was a burning glass, by means of which the new fire was kindled on Easter Even, instead of being struck from a flint. Such a practice was not uncommon. It was done at York. "In Sabbato Sancto Paschae ignis de berillo vel de silice exceptus." (*Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 1874, vol. i. p. 109.)

[b] I am unable to say what these were. The first suggestion was: were these the staves for the rulers of the choir? but why are they then limited to Christmas? Were these vergers' staves for keeping the people back at the mattins and first mass of Christmas Day? Cf. "Magister precedet cum virga conventum ad reprimendum superfluitatem laycorum, ne frontose contra eum procedant." (Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, Lond. 1788, p. 30.)

[c] The paragraph within brackets has been crossed out with red.

[d] See above, pars v. cap. xiij. and pars vij. cap. v.

nigro panno de Samyt pro commemoratione Sancti benedicti assignate.[a] ¶ Item una casula de nigro Samyt cum duabus tunicis de nigro Serico non eiusdem secte pro anniversarijs principalibus quondam assignata. ¶ Item quinque cape nigri coloris auro brudate veteres. ¶ Item tres cape de panno nigro de Samyt. ¶ Item una casula cum duabus tunicis de rubio panno. ¶ Item una casula de panno nigro de Samyt. ¶ Item una casula Glaucei coloris. ¶ Item cape pro invitatorijs[b] sunt quatuor decim diversi operis et coloris et pene nullius valoris.

De Tapetis et Quissinis. Capitulum viij.

Tapeta rubia cotidiana pro magno altari assignata sunt duo cum armis Petri et Pauli. ¶ Item alia sunt tapeta viridia blodia et rubia pene consumpta. ¶ Item quatuor sunt quissina de viridi sindone duo de Serico et tria vetera de bawdekyn.

De Tabernaculo Septro Olla vitrea et lanterna. Capitulum ix.

~~Tabernaculum vetus est unum [ad feretrum Sti. Edwardi][c] cum Costis de berillo cum ymaginibus in eisdem depictis ornatis argento pro corpore Christi antiquitus in eodem ponendo~~[d] ¶ Item unum septrum de cupro deaurato.[e] ¶ Item una olla vitrea

[a] Black for St. Benedict, a confessor, may be noted; especially as green was the colour in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 331): "darke chaungeable grene bawdkyn with blewe orpheus servyng for saynt Benets consuets;" though there was "blewe bawdekyn . . . . whiche serve ffor som confessors in three copys."

[b] Copes for the *juvenes* and *mediocres* that sang the Invitatory to *Venite* at mattins. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 18. b.)

[c] This has been written over line and very nearly erased.

[d] This tabernacle with transparent sides may very possibly have served for carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the Corpus Christi procession. For Palm Sunday, abbot Lytlington's book does not tell us the ceremonies of the procession, though it gives the blessing of the palms, and thus we do not certainly know that the Blessed Sacrament was carried on Palm Sunday at Westminster; but the custom was so widely spread in England, and apparently had its source in a Benedictine house, that it is a very likely opinion that it was practised at Westminster. There was a crystalline pyx at St. Paul's. "Item Ciborium crystallinum ultra altare ad reponendum eukaristam." (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, Lond. 1818, ed. Ellis, Appendix, p. 330.) See above, pars ij. cap. j.

[e] There does not appear to have been a copper gilt sceptre in 1540 (see p. 324).

vocata Merlyngispot.[a] Item una lanterna in vigilijs principalibus pro visitacione facienda in custodia subsacriste.[b]

De Bawdekyns diversorum colorum et diversi operis. Capitulum x.

Panni maiores de bawdekyn diversi operis et coloris sunt decem. ¶ Item viginti panni de bawdekyn minores diversi operis et coloris. Item quatuor panni de Syndone quorum duo pro ymaginibus Iohannis et Edwardi ad feretrum tempore quadragesimali tegendis. Alij pro alijs ymaginibus tegendis. Item duo panni de panno lineo albi et blodij coloris etiam pro ymaginibus tegendis.

Explicit minus registrum de rebus simplicioribus vestibulo inventis.

[a] *i. e.* Merlyng's pot. It is in the Inventory of 1540 (p. 345) as "A glasse called Marlyons glasse." The word *olla* may mean a measure.

[b] In the early days of the Benedictines, some of the officers went with a lantern during Mattins through the choir to see if any monks were asleep, and through the house to see if any monks were absent from choir. (See Martene, *de antiquis Monachorum ritibus*, Lib. I. cap. ii. § lxii. Basani, 1788, t. iv. p. 12. Constitutiones Lanfranci, in Wilkins' *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, t. i. p. 348. Ducange, *sub v.* Absconsa.) This was also done at Westminster. (*Consuetudinary*, fo. 101. b.) There was also a visitation after compline on the vigils of principal feasts (fol. 20. b.), the officers carrying a lantern in winter. (fo. 8. b.)

APPENDIX II.

Letters Patent of Richard II. giving a complete set of red Vestments to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. (*Muniment Room, Parcel 63.*)

Ricardus, etc.

Sciatis quod nos ad corpus gloriosi Confessoris beati Edwardi Regis antecessoris nostri quod in ecclesia beati Petri Westm̃. honorifice tumulatur ubi nuperrime benedictionis et unccionis ac regalitatis nostre insignia gracia divina suscepimus animo devocionis commoti et de divina gratia ac meritis predicti Confessoris confisi quandam casulam rubeam de panno aureo de Cipres contextam cum quercubus aureis cum aurifragiis ex una parte scilicet cum magestate sancte Trinitatis et ymaginibus beate Marie sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris sancti Edmundi Regis et Martyris cum armis sancti Edwardi et nostris ac Anne Regine Anglie Consortis nostre carissime et ex alia parte aurifragii cum ymaginibus beate Marie sancti Johannis Baptiste cuiusdam Abbatisse cum armis sancti Edwardi ac nostris et prefate Consortis nostre ac duas tunicas de eodem panno aurifragiatas cum vineis aureis et coronis aureis intertextis et tres albas cum paruris eiusdem panni cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis et tribus zonis albis ac tres capas eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis cum aurifragiis consimilibus et duos frontellos eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis ac tres togellos quorum unus habet quoddam frontelettum eiusdem operis annexum et quendam pannum pro lectrina eiusdem panni et eiusdem operis aurifragiatum cum vineis aureis et coronis aureis intertextis nec non duas curtinas rubias de consimili opere Abbati et conventui loci predicti devote et reverenter dedimus et contulimus isto die habendum sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum ut ipsi cum casula tunicis albis capis stolis manipulis zonis frontellis togellis panno et curtinis predictis divina in ecclesia predicta singulis diebus solempnibus et festivis in honorem dei et prefati gloriosi Confessoris perpetuis futuris temporibus celebrare valeant et ministrare. Et hoc universis et singulis presentibus et futuris ad perpetuam rei memoriam tenore presencium innotescimus publice et expresse hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus W. Cantuar' Archiepiscopo tocius Anglie primate W. Wynton cancellario Th.

Exon. Thesaurario nostris I. Herefordeñ Episcopis Thoma de Hollandᵭ. Kanc. Willᵐ de Monte Acuto Sarum Henrico de percy Northumbrie comitibus Iohanne devereux Senescallo hospicij nostri Petro de Courtenay camerario nostro magistro Edmund de Stafford custode privati sigilli nostri et aliis.

Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Maij anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Per ipsum regem

BURTON.

APPENDIX III.

Letters Patent of Richard II. giving a gold ruby ring to the Shrine of St. Edward, under certain conditions. (*Muniment Room, Parcel 63.*)

Ricardus, etc.

Sciatis quod nos ad corpus gloriosi Confessoris beati Edwardi Regis antecessoris nostri quod in ecclesia beati Petri Westñi. honorifice tumulatur ubi nuperrime benediccionis et unccionis regalitatis nostre insignia gracia divina suscepimus animo devocionis commoti et de divina gratia ac meritis predicti Confessoris confisi quoddam solenne iocale anulum videlicet aureum cum quodam lapide precioso vocato ruby non modici valoris in eodem anulo inserto feretro eiusdem gloriosi Confessoris devote et reverenter dedimus et contulimus isto die sub protestatione et conditione subsequenti videlicet ut nos dum steterimus in humanis usum et exercicium anuli predicti optineamus pro nostre libito voluntatis et quotiens in persona nostra ad aliquas partes extra regnum nostrum Anglie transire nos contingat anulum predictum super feretrum illud fixum quidem de eodem regno absentes fuerimus remanere et servari ac in quociens reditu sive regressu nostris ad idem regnum nobismet ipsis re[troce]di volumus et liberari ad nostrum proprium usum custodiendum. Ita quod cum altissimo placuerit ab hac luce nos migrare anulus predictus ad prefatum feretrum reportetur et super illud fixus ibidem custodiatur et servetur pro coronacionibus successorum nostrorum Regum Anglie perpetuis futuris [temp]oribus serviturus et quoscunque successores nostros predictos cum eodem anulo successivis temporibus in coronacionibus suis volumus insi[gnari] huius modi solempnitate peracta anulus predictus super feretro illo de tempore in tempus illico reponatur absque amocione inde aliter sine alio modo quam pro coronacione successorum nostrorum qualitercumque facienda premissa autem omnibus et singulis successoribus nostris Regibus Anglie futuris intimamus eos attente rogantes ut placeat eis in coronacionibus suis cum predicto anulo iuxta effectum presentis intencionis et voluntatis nostrarum imperpetuum in forma predicta insignari sive anulari. Et hoc universis et singulis presentibus et futuris ad perpetuum rei memoriam tenore presencium innotescimus publice et expresse hiis textibus (*sic*) W. Cantuar' Archiepiscopo tocius Anglie primate Th. Eboraceñs Archiepiscopo Anglie primate Cancellario nostro W. Winton W.

Dunolm I. Herefordeñ. Thesaurario nostro R. Bathon et Wellon. I. Sarum Custode privati sigilli nostri episcopis. Richardo comite Arundell Thoma de Bello Campo Comite Warrenne. Johanne Devereux Seneschallo hospitii Petro de Courtenay Camerario nostro Johanne lovel Richardo lescrop̃ et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium quarto decima die Novembris anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Per ipsum regem

BURTON̄

duplex per rotulum

In both these letters patent the great seal is the same: it is in green wax, appended by red and purple strings, and from the Bretigny matrix.

APPENDIX IV.

An indenture of December 1st, 1387, between the Abbot and Convent of Westminster on the one part, and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and Eleanor, his wife, on the other, by which certain vestments and other ornaments are bestowed upon the Convent.[a] *(Muniment Room, Parcel 63.)*

It may be noticed that, though the indenture is dated December 1st, 1387, most of the gifts are described in the added paragraphs of the Inventory, which begin *et in incremento de novo*, notwithstanding that the Inventory is said to have been made on June 30th, 1388.

Universis sanctae matris ecclesiae filiis ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint Willelmus permissione divina Abbas monasterii Westmonasterii et ejusdem loci conventus ordinis sancti Benedicti ad Romanam Curiam nullo medio pertinentes salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Cum illustris Princeps dominus Thomas Dux Gloucestriae et nobilis domina domina Alianora consors ejusdem ad celestia desideria erecti affectantesque divini cultus officium pro viribus ampliare nobis et ecclesiae nostrae caritatis intuitu et ob animae suae salutem quaedam jocalia preciosa contulerunt pia mente, videlicet: unum vestimentum panni deaurati optimi de Damasco campo rubei coloris continens unam casulam duas tunicas et tres capas cum aurifragiis nigri velvetti brudatis cum literis 𝔗 et 𝔄 et signis de margaritarum perillis tres albas tres amictus cum paruris duas stolas et tres manipulos ejusdem panni deaurati cum Satyno candido

[a] I have again to thank Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for the transcription of this interesting and important document, which he copied, together with a great part of Flete's *Chronicon*, during our visits to the Library and Muniment Room of Westminster. In the notes on the inventory I have thus been able to refer directly to Flete, who sometimes uses the very words of the inventory in describing gifts to the convent.

linat'. Item unam grandem cupam de Berilla pro Eukaristiam in eadem deferendam ornatam argento bene deauratam et nobiliter operatam quae ponderat in toto secundum pondus Troiae xx marcas v uncias v d. Item duos angelos argenteos ad tenendos cereos cum scutis armorum dictorum Ducis et Consortis suae et armis integris de Herford et de Essexia nobiliter operatis qui ponderant in toto secundum pondus Troiae xxv marcas iij uncias. Item duas pelves argenteas et deauratas et in utraque pelve signum solis cum rosis in fundo unde in una continetur ymago sanctae Trinitatis in altera vero ymago sanctae Mariae virginis et sui infantis et super borduris dictarum duarum pelvium arma praefati Ducis et arma de Essex bene et nobiliter operata quae ponderant in toto secundum pondus Troiae ix marcas iij uncias. Item unum turribulum magnum argenteum et deauratum bene et nobiliter operatum cum pinnaculis et intra pinnacula diversorum sanctorum ymagines argentae et non deauratae quod ponderat in toto secundum pondus Troiae xv marcas ij uncias. Nos igitur dicti Abbas et Conventus. volentes et cupientes pro terrenis celestia et transitoriis eterna felici commercio merito recompensare. ut sic saltem benefactoribus nostris coram et in judicis tribulani de suis hujus beneficiis tuciorem reddamus racionem ex unanimi consensu Capituli nostri concedimus et obligamus nos et successores nostros quod singulis annis imperpetuum diem anniversarium dictorum domini Thomae et dominae Alianorae in ecclesia nostra conventuali Westmonasterii fideliter et devote celebrabimus et faciemus celebrari id ad praedicta quidem debite faciend' et inviolabiliter observand' obligamus nos et successores nostros et praemittimus bona fide.

In cujus rei testimonium tam sigillum commune capituli nostri quam sigillum dicti domini Ducis istis indenturis alternatim sunt appensa.

Datum in domo nostra Capitulari primo die Decembris Anno Domini Millesimo ccc^mo^ octagesimo septimo.

Endorsed :

Ind' Vestñi concess' eccl̃ie Westm̃ p ducẽ Glouc^{r}.

The seal appended to this half of the indenture is a broken impression in red wax of the beautiful secretum of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. It is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears within a cusped and traceried

quatrefoil a trunk of a tree (wood-stock) standing within a paling and surrounded by water, on which float two chained swans, the de Bohun badge; from the tree hangs a large shield of the duke's arms, *France ancient and England quarterly within a bordure argent*, with his helm and crest, and from the side branches hang two delicately diapered shields of Hereford, *Azure two bendlets, one or, the other argent.* Legend:

[Le : feal : de : thome : fitz] : du : Roy : [duc : de : glouc' : conte :
deffexi]e : de : buk : [angleterre]

XII.—*On the exploration of a Barrow at Youngsbury, near Ware, Herts.*

By John Evans, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., *President.*

Read November 28, 1889.

In treating of the parish of Standon, Salmon, in his *History of Hertfordshire*,[a] relates that "At the Extremity of this Parish are two large Barrows on the Brink of the Hill which overlooks *Thundritch* Church, between which and the Barrows is the Course of the *Rib*. This Place is called *Haven End*; probably for having been the Harbour where the *Danes* laid up their Vessels, which they brought from the *Thames* to *Ware* and *Hertford* to carry off their Plunder. Here they were well seated to have the *Roman* Road for Carriage of what they could pick up, and to drive the Cattle they stole. And these *Tumuli* being at that Haven, which could never be used as such by any but the *Danes*, helps forward the Conjecture that these in *England* are chiefly *Danish* Work, set up for Victory and Terror."

I have quoted this passage at length as a good example of the conclusions to which a vivid imagination not unfrequently led the ardent antiquary of the last century. Salmon had evidently not read or else had forgotten what Sir Thomas Browne[b] had written on such subjects: "But of these and the like Hills there can be no clear and assured decision without an ocular exploration, and subterraneous enquiry by cutting through one of them either directly or crosswise. For so with lesser charge discovery may be made what is under them, and consequently the intention of their erection." Under any circumstances, however,

[a] London 1727, p. 235.

[b] Certain Miscellany Tracts (1684), p. 154

the two tumuli mentioned by Salmon still exist, and are on the property of Mr. Charles Giles-Puller of Youngsbury, near Ware, and at a little distance from the house. Youngsbury lies about half a-mile to the east of the Roman road leading from Ware to Braughing, where the station *Ad fines* was situated, and where numerous coins, both Roman and Ancient British, as well as other relics, have from time to time been found.

The readers of *Fuller's Worthies* will remember the Hertfordshire proverb that "Ware and Wades-Mill are worth all London," which he assures you "is a master-piece of the vulgar wits in this county wherewith they endeavour to amuse travellers." "The fallacy lieth in the homonymy of Ware, here not taken for that Town, so named, but appellatively for all vendible commodities." On arriving at Wadesmill, which is two miles to the north of Ware, a road is seen in an easterly direction, which formerly after passing the house of Youngsbury continued to the north-east and went close alongside of the two barrows mentioned by Salmon. By some this road, as well as the direct road to Braughing, has been regarded as of Roman origin, and the position of the two barrows by the side of the road affords some countenance for such an opinion. Clutterbuck, indeed, about 1829, speaks of the barrows as standing "near the track of the old Roman Road called the Ermin Street"[a] and mentions the fact that near the spot a tessellated pavement was discovered in the year 1736, tesseræ from which were still to be picked up in the shrubbery at Youngsbury.

The more eastern of the two barrows is recorded to have been opened a hundred years ago by Mr. David Barclay, the then owner of Youngsbury, and there is a tradition of spearheads, coins, and other objects having been found in it, none of which however are now forthcoming. According to Clutterbuck's account, it was nevertheless Roman pottery and coins that were found in the barrow, which he says proved it to be of Roman origin. Judging from the appearance of the barrow a shaft has been sunk in it from the top, but I am by no means sure that the original central interment has ever been reached. This barrow is of much the same dimensions as the other, the opening of which I am about to describe, and in all probability it belongs to the same period.

Both barrows stand at the edge of a field known as the Hilly Field, and are partially overgrown with whitethorns and maples. On my arrival at Youngsbury, by the kind invitation of Mr. Giles-Puller, on the 11th of June last, I found that a preliminary opening had been made in the upper part of the mound on the

[a] Vol. iii. 277 (1827).

south side. At its outer end this cutting extended over about a sixth part of the circumference of the barrow, but its vertical sides converged so as to leave a face about 6 feet wide at what was apparently the centre of the mound, and at this point the cutting was about 9 feet in depth. The diameter of the barrow as nearly as could be judged is 60 feet, and the height about 12 feet above the surface of the adjoining field.

It proved to have been constructed of successive somewhat irregular layers of the gravelly subsoil of the immediate neighbourhood and of the surface soil, intermixed in places with layers of a more argillaceous character.

In accordance with my suggestion a new trench was cut in the middle of the former excavation, but only about 6 feet wide. It was at first carried to a depth of 3 feet 6 inches only, gradually increasing to 4 feet 6 inches, with the view of tracing if possible the original land-surface, and it was carried forward in a northerly direction towards the vertical face left by the preliminary digging at the presumed centre of the barrow. There was some difficulty in tracing the old ground-level with accuracy, but in the blacker layer of soil which probably represented the old surface, and in the blacker seams in the body of the mound, a considerable number of rude flint flakes were found, as well as a couple of "scrapers," one of them very well formed. These worked flints, which must have lain in or on the old surface-soil, seem to afford evidence of the spot having been occupied by some early inhabitants of the country, probably in pre-Roman times. The use of flints, however, for various purposes, such as for procuring fire or fashioning the teeth of their *tribula* or threshing instruments was well known to the Romans. During the first day's work the trench was carried forward about 20 feet, and besides the worked flints a small shapeless piece of bronze was found and a portion of the neck of a large urn of red ware, evidently of Roman make.

On Thursday June the 13th the work was continued, the depth of the new trench being increased to 5 feet until it arrived at the face left by the first excavation, which thus attained the dimensions of about 14 feet in height and 6 feet or so in width. It then seemed as if we had reached the central axis of the barrow without finding any interment, and that all our labour had been in vain.

I was however somewhat doubtful whether after all the centre had been reached, and I directed that a tunnel should be made in the lower part of the face of soil in the hope that we might prove to have been mistaken in our measurements. Three or four strokes of the pickaxe only had been given, when an oven-like cavity, about 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet was revealed. The roof of this cavity

was formed by a layer of hard and stiff clayey soil, which had proved sufficiently strong to support the upper part of the barrow, and to prevent it from falling down into the vacant space which, as will subsequently be seen, had originated with the decay of a wooden cist. The roof of the cavity was about 8 feet below the apex of the mound, and its floor consisted of loose gravelly material. This I proceeded carefully to clear away by means of a hoe and a pocket-knife, and I ventured to predict that we should find first the iron clamps or hinges of a wooden cist, secondly a sepulchral urn and probably an earthenware bottle, and thirdly, if fortune favoured us, a glass bottle or urn.

My anticipations were soon confirmed by coming across an iron clamp or rather a rough pair of hinges bent at right angles, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, and extending 9 to 10 inches in either direction. Of these hinges there were found four in all, and though the wooden chest has entirely disappeared, yet from the texture of the fibres preserved by infiltration with iron it appears that the material of which it was formed was in all probability oak. This chest was originally just over 3 feet long and 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. Its exact height could not be determined.

Clearing out the loose gravel and soil still further, a magnificent sepulchral urn became visible, lying slightly on one side. It had split into three principal sections and a few smaller fragments, but is in wonderfully good condition, and has been well repaired by Mr. Talbot Ready.

It is an *olla* formed of well-burnt grey ware, with a bold rim nearly an inch in depth round the opening, and its surface ornamented with parallel markings somewhat like corduroy. These at the neck are wavy, but on the body run in graceful curves. This ornamentation is by no means common, but is not unlike that which occurs on some Late-Celtic urns.

Its height is 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, its greatest diameter 1 foot $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, the base is $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches across, and the opening of the mouth $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the clear. When found it contained a large quantity of apparently well-burnt bones in small fragments, of which I shall subsequently speak.

It is one of the largest Roman sepulchral *ollæ* ever found in this country, and larger than any of those in the British Museum. The largest of these, a plain *olla* found at Old Windsor in 1865, and presented to the Museum by Her Majesty, is 13 inches high.

In general form it resembles some of the sepulchral urns found in the Roman *ustrinum* at Litlington, Cambridgeshire, and described in the *Archæologia*,[a] but

[a] Vol. xxxvi. p. 368, pl. xliv.



VESSELS OF GLASS AND EARTHENWARE, ETC., FOUND IN A BARROW AT YOUNGSBURY, NEAR WARE.

its dimensions are larger. One of those found at Chesterford and described by Douglas[a] in the *Nenia Britannica* was 13 inches high and 12 in diameter. The exact character of this urn and of the other objects found in the Youngsbury barrow will be seen from the accompanying plate.

To the right of the large urn lay a small globular bottle of light-coloured ware with a lip and handle. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is of a very common type, of which numerous examples have been found accompanying Roman interments, both in Britain and on the Continent. Not to cite more examples, I may mention one that was found with glass vessels at Boxmoor,[b] Herts, in 1837. This is, however, less spherical in its proportions.

The third object found was standing in an upright position to the left or west of the principal urn. It is a very large square glass bottle with a thick lip and a nearly rectangular flat handle which is fluted or ribbed longitudinally. This vessel is perfect with the exception of a slight damage to the lip. Its dimensions are as follows:

Total height	15	inches.
Height of body to shoulder . . .	$11\frac{1}{4}$	,,
Diameter of lip	5	,,
Diameter of mouth	3	,,
Width of handle	3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$	,,
Width of side at top	7	,,
,, ,, bottom . . .	$6\frac{5}{8}$	,,

The bottom is ornamented with a pattern in relief formed of an inner circle about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and an outer circle of about 5 inches. Between them are eight segments of circles forming a kind of star pattern. Outside the larger circle there is in each angle of the base of the bottle a segment of a circle with two radial lines like a fragment of a wheel.

It is not a little remarkable that in 1829 there was discovered in a stone sarcophagus at Harpenden,[c] which like Youngsbury is in the county of Hertford, a glass vase of the same size and character and with the same pattern upon its base—in fact a bottle not improbably made in the same mould as the one now

[a] P. 137, pl. xxviii. 1.

[b] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 434. See also *Archaeologia*, vol. ii. p. 177, pl. x. fig. 6, for one found in a tomb at York.

[c] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 349.

before us. The Harpenden bottle was accompanied by four small cups of red pseudo-Aretine ware, and is now in the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. Charles William Packe. It is 14½ inches high, with sides 6½ to 6¾ inches broad. The lip is 5 inches across, with an opening of 2½ inches. The handle is about 3½ inches wide.

Another bottle-shaped vase of greenish-coloured glass and of about the same dimensions and form as that from Youngsbury was among the objects found by the late Lord Braybrooke when he opened the great Bartlow barrow[a] in 1835. It is described as "being seven inches and a quarter square, eleven inches and a half to the shoulder, and altogether full fifteen and a half inches high. The lip is five and a half inches in diameter, admitting the hand freely." It was full of burnt bones, as was also that now under consideration. Though so similar in form and size there is no record of the base being ornamented. This vase has, I believe, now perished by fire.

Another large vase of the same character was found at Boxmoor,[b] Herts, in 1837, in company with a spherical glass urn and other objects. It also is now in the British Museum. It stands 12 inches high and 9 inches to the shoulder. The body is 6 inches square. The lip is 4½ inches over, with an opening of 2½ inches, and the handle is from 2½ to 3 inches broad. There are two raised concentric circles on the base with a straight figure in the centre expanding at the ends like a dice-box.

Another bottle from Messing, Essex, presented to the Museum by the Earl of Verulam, is of the same height, and of about the same dimensions at the mouth, but the body is only about 5½ inches square. The largest vessel of the kind in the national collection is one obtained by Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A. from Bayford,[c] near Sittingbourne. It is 15½ inches high, the sides 7¾ to 8 inches across. The bottom is not ornamented.

A bottle of the same form, but only 10 inches high and 5 inches square, was found at Lincoln[d] towards the end of the last century and described by Governor Pownall.

In the large urn, besides comminuted burnt bones, with which it was nearly filled, were upwards of a hundred pieces of charcoal, remains of the funeral pyre. These have been kindly examined for me by Professor H. Marshall Ward, F.R.S.

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 300, pl. xxxii. fig. 1.

[b] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 434.

[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. vol. viii. p. 202.

[d] *Archaeologia*, vol. x. p. 345, pl. xxxiii. fig. 3.

who pronounces that the wood from which the charcoal was burnt was probably that of the ash. So far as I can judge, the small branches of the trees or saplings were used for the pyre, and not pieces of wood split from a large trunk.

There were also present nearly two hundred nails and pieces of nails of iron, now much rusted, some of which are coated with ashes that have adhered to them. Many of them are bent. These nails may either have been used in fastening the logs of the funeral pyre together or in the construction of some kind of wooden shell or the *feretrum* on which the body was carried, and eventually placed upon the funeral pile.

The chest in which the urns were deposited was put together with a certain number of large iron nails, besides having, apparently, a lid of two flaps, each of which opened on two of the hinges already mentioned. One of the Bartlow barrows contained a chest of the same character, in which the sepulchral urns were deposited; and the glass vessels discovered at Boxmoor had also been placed in a similar wooden chest, with heavy spikes to bind it together, and with iron clamps, or possibly hinges, of the same kind. It was these facts that led me to anticipate the discovery of the remains of a similar cist in the barrow at Youngsbury.

Among those who were present during the course of the excavations were Mr. Hellier Gosselin, Mr. Martin Leake, Mr. E. S. Hanbury, and Mr. G. B. Buckton, F.R.S., who was at the time staying with Mr. Giles-Puller. Mr. Buckton was good enough to take some photographs, showing the cavity in the middle of the barrow, and its contents, as well as the conductors of the exploration.

But to return to the ashes of the dead. As I have already stated, the large earthenware urn was nearly full of white, coarsely-powdered calcined bones, with only a few larger fragments intermixed, but the glass bottle was also nearly full of similar ashes, though with a greater proportion of large pieces among them. Most of the bones have been much distorted by heat, and from my finding a fragment of what appeared to be a very small skull in the mouth of the bottle, I came at once to the conclusion that it contained the remains of a child, while in the large urn were deposited the remains of its mother. This conclusion, too hastily adopted, has proved to be absolutely erroneous.

Professor John Marshall, F.R.S., and Dr. J. G. Garson, the well-known anthropologist, have both done me the favour of examining such of the bones as present any characteristic features, and both pronounce the remains to be those of an adult. The question arose whether, from the large quantity of ashes, they

might not be the remains of more than one individual, but of this there is no evidence; indeed, the presumption is strongly the other way. Among the remains, principally those deposited in the glass bottle, Dr. Garson has been able to recognise portions of the skull; vertebræ from the cervical, dorsal, and lumbar regions; a portion of the sternum, portions of ribs, two scapulæ, two femurs, two tibiæ, a humerus, radius, pelvis, and digits, all apparently belonging to one and the same individual. The epiphyses were united to the shafts of the bones, but the action of the fire has in some cases made the junction apparent. Among the ashes are some loose, white concretions, which at first were thought to be adipocere, possibly derived from the substances left by the imperfect combustion of the softer parts of the body. On testing a piece of this concretionary stuff, by applying it to a flame, I found, however, that it did not fuse, but that after a time it began to be burnt, and the products of combustion emitted an undoubted fragrance of incense. I was, in fact, burning some of the identical perfume which pious friends had mingled with the ashes of the deceased centuries ago when Britain was a Roman province. Some portions of the substance have been chemically examined by my son, Dr. P. Norman Evans, who finds that in the main it consists of carbonate of lime, which possibly, as burnt chalk, may have been gathered up together with the burnt bones, but that with this is a small amount of fatty matter, and some resinous gum, the melting temperature of which is high. I presume that this resin is what is known as frankincense; but who was the relative "Assyrios cineri qui dedit odores" we can only leave to speculation.

In the *Illustrated News* for July 21st, 1855, is an account of some Roman sepulchral remains found in the previous month of May at Weston Turville, near Wendover, Bucks. There were in this deposit five bottles of glass of various sizes, the largest cylindrical, and about 11½ inches high and 5½ inches in diameter. Adhering to the fragments of this were pieces of bone, while a smaller bottle is described as having contained ashes. In another were some little silver beads, and in a patera of red ware were also ashes having among them leaves possibly of garlands, beads, and fibulæ; but there was also a "white substance, perhaps balsam, which emitted when pressed an aromatic scent." In the *Records of Buckinghamshire* (vol. i. p. 150), it is stated that some of this substance was shown by the Rev. A. Isham to an eminent analytical chemist in London, who thus reported upon it. "The aromatic substance you left with me I find to be the gum resin 'olibanum,' the ancient 'thus,' or frankincense. It was extensively used by the ancients, and a very long account of it is given in Pliny, lib. xii. cap. 14. It

is used as incense in Catholic churches (mixed with other resins) to this day. If you heat a small quantity of it on a piece of iron, you will readily recognise the odour." It is interesting to find a record of a parallel instance in the neighbouring county of Buckingham to that afforded in Hertfordshire of the durable nature of this perfume.

To return to the Youngsbury barrow. The sex of the deceased cannot be positively ascertained; Dr. Garson, however, inclines to the opinion that the bones, which are for the most part fairly calcined, are those of a male. I owe to the same authority a further interesting discovery. Among the human bones are several fragments—not, I think, quite so well burnt as the others—which he at once recognised as belonging to one of the lower animals. On closer examination he has been able to recognise parts of the skull, the lower end of a humerus, the first, second, and seventh cervical vertebræ, bodies of other vertebræ, and part of the pelvis of what was undoubtedly a roe-deer.

The question arises how the intermixture of the bones of two such different beings can have originated. The roe is not an animal commonly offered as a sacrifice, and, even if it had been, it would have been offered at the side of the pyre and not upon it. It would seem rather to have formed one of those dishes of food which were occasionally thrown into the flames as being agreeable to the deceased, a practice recorded by Virgil in his account of the funeral pile of Misenus, in a passage already quoted in the pages of the *Archaeologia*, by one of our former directors, Mr. John Gage, in his account of the exploration of the Bartlow Hills.

Congesta cremantur
Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.[a]

This practice of offering to the deceased "savoury meats such as their soul loved," may well be a survival from an earlier stage of culture, when food so often accompanied an interment. Of this, numerous instances are recorded in Canon Greenwell's *British Barrows*, where also some speculations as to the origin of the custom will be found.[b] Among the Gauls, in Cæsar's time, funerals were sumptuous and magnificent; and anything that was dear to the living was cast into the flames of their funeral pyre, even, he says, animals.[c]

It now remains for me to consider whether there are any indications by which we may form an approximate estimate of the date to be assigned to this inter-

[a] Æneid. vi. 225. [b] P. 102. [c] De Bell. Gall. vi. c. 19.

ment. The practice of enclosing the sepulchral urns in cists of wood seems to have prevailed during a considerable part of the period of the Roman occupation of this country in districts where stone for such receptacles was not readily available. In some cases, however, brick was used as a substitute for stone. I have already remarked that in some of the Bartlow Hills such wooden cists were discovered inclosing the funereal vessels. Now, in one of these Bartlow barrows a coin of the emperor Hadrian[a] was found adhering to a portion of burnt bone. As the coin was probably not struck until about A.D. 117 it is evident that the interment cannot be of earlier date. But the coin was so much defaced, either by corrosion or wear, that the burial may not unfairly be assumed to belong to a period some twenty or thirty years later. In this case, however, the vessels were of a somewhat different character from those found at Youngsbury, and they had been deposited in a receptacle built of brick, and not in a wooden cist. Moreover, the contents of Roman barrows of course much depend upon the social position of those in whose honour they were raised; so that contemporary burials may vary much in their surroundings, and comparison of the funereal deposits be of little value in determining relative dates.

The large glass vases found at Youngsbury, Harpenden, and Bartlow, point, however, to a time when Roman civilisation in Britain had attained a high development; and though at first I was inclined to assign the construction of the Youngsbury barrows to the beginning of the third century after Christ, I am, on further consideration, doubtful whether we may not with more probability regard them as belonging to the latter half of the second century. Whether the ashes be those of a man or of a woman, there can be little doubt that they are those of an occupant of the neighbouring villa, who during life held a high social position. Not improbably the sister barrow contains the partner of his or her joys and sorrows. Of their names, ages, or occupations not the slightest record is left. "Who were the proprietaries of these Bones, or what Bodies these Ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by Spirits.—Had they made as good provision for their Names as they have done for their Reliques, they had not so grossly erred in the art of Perpetuation."[b]

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 7.

[b] Browne's *Hydriotaphia*, ch. v.

XIII.—*The Oratory of the Holy Trinity at Barton, in the Isle of Wight.*
By Thomas F. Kirby, *M.A., Local Secretary for Hampshire.*

Read December 19, 1889.

The Oratory of the Holy Trinity at Barton, in the Isle of Wight, came to an end long before the general dissolution of religious houses, and thus escaped the notice of Dugdale. Sir Richard Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight* (page 177) contains a short account of it. The oratory was founded in 1275, by two parish priests, master Thomas de Winton, rector of Godshill, and Sir John de Insula (de l'Isle), rector of Shalfleet. They were men of property and good family, and I suppose that their object in adding another to the numerous religious houses in the island was that there should be one such house under the direct jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, owing no allegiance to the pope, or to any of the existing monastic bodies under his influence.

The charter of foundation does not exist. There is an *inspeximus* of it in the Register of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester 1280-1304, and I exhibit one by Henry Woodlock, his successor, dated May 10, 1310, from which, with the help of two copies, the one contemporaneous and the other made at the time when the possessions of the oratory were transferred to Winchester college, I have transcribed the charter of foundation, which has not hitherto been printed:

"Pateat universis quod nos, Thomas de Wynton, Rector ecclesie de Godeshull, et Johannes de Insula, Rector ecclesie de Shaldeflete, fundatores oratorii Sancte Trinitatis de Burtona[a] in Insulâ Vectâ infra limites parochie de Wyppyngham speciali Dei graciâ invocatâ disponimus statuimus et ordinamus in dicto Oratorio

[a] Called indifferently Barton, Berton, or Burton in the old documents.

sex Capellanos cum clerico imperpetuum pro vivis ac defunctis divina celebrantes juxta regulam beati Augustini de vitâ et honestate clericorum viventes, de quibus unus presentetur domino Episcopo Wynton. in Archipresbyterum per eundem preficiendus, cui tanquam presidenti ceteri intendant et obediant et sacramentum obedientie praestent: Quo cedente vel decedente residui residentes Capellani infra viginti dies a tempore vacationis significatione ydoneum eligant et predicto Episcopo Wynton. vel vices predicti Episcopi in dicto Episcopatu gerenti presentent per eum vel vices eius gerentem in Archipresbyterio dicto oratorio preficiendum. Quod si minime infra dictum tempus electionis et presentacionis negotium effectualiter fuerint executi Capellani predicti, cum eis canonicum non obstiterit impedimentum, per supradictum Episcopum Wynton. quicunque fuerit, illâ vice de ydoneo Archipresbytero de dicto Collegio presbyterorum sine more dispendio provideatur Oratorio memorato. Ita quod per hoc dictis Capellanis cum alias archipresbytero vacaverit dicto Oratorio non generetur prejudicium quominus eligendi archipresbyteri unius ex se vel aliunde liberam habeant facultatem. Et hec forma in omnibus vacacionibus Archipresbyterii temporibus futuris obsequetur imperpetuum. Volumus eciam archipresbyteros predictos cum suis Capellanis infra septa domûs moram trahentes immediate subjaceant cohercioni et correccioni supradicti Episcopi, et in eis solus habeat jurisdictionem immediate. Earumque servitores infra septa domus et extra commorantes Archidiaconi subjaceant jurisdictioni: Ita quod sint eiusdem condicionis cuius sint servitores aliorum Collegiatorum in diocesi qui nunc sint exempti. Cum quis autem in dicto Oratorio Capellanus receptus fuerit habeat annum probacionis sue a tempore sui ingressûs et si ydoneus invenietur extunc faciat professionem ibidem: Ita quod nullus Capellanus in dicto Oratorio commorantium per se ullum proprium habeat, sed sint eis omnia communia, tanquam Dei ministris. Jurabunt etiam quod observantias et statuta domûs pro suis juribus observabunt. Volumus eciam quod supradictus Episcopus Wynton. sit patronus eorum. Itemque quod nemini sit fas provisionem disposicionem seu ordinacionem a nobis in dicto Oratorio factam retinere, diminuere, seu in peius convertere, sed rata et stabilis secundum presentem institucionem nostram maneat et preservetur imperpetuum illibata. Cedente vero vel decedente, archipresbytero administratis ab eisdem presbyteris per eosdem elegatur qui tempore vacacionis tam interius quam exterius negotia domûs fideliter administret et exsequatur, qui archipresbytero posteâ instituto et eiusdem loci Capellanis ratiocinia reddat de negociis sic per eum administratis. Item ordinamus, quod secundum facultatem dicte domûs honeste deserviantur tam in esculentis quam poculentis; ita quod uno ferculo cum pietantiâ ad minus sint contenti et in

maioribus festis tercio ferculo si facultates domûs hoc permittere deserviant. Statuimus eciam et ordinamus in dictâ domo de Burton tresdecim paûperes singulis diebus alendos et reficiendos. Ita videlicet quod quilibet pauper habeat sustentacionem unius diei in victualibus, scilicet uno pane, potu,[a] potagio, et pietantiâ carnis seu piscis, prout qualitates temporis exigent. Ad istam elemosinam faciendam emptum fuit manerium de Croddemore.[b] Item quod unus ex Capellanis predictis eligatur per presidentem ad istam elemosinam fidelitur destribuendam. Sint autem predicti presbyteri archipresbytero in omnibus licitis obedientes, in moribus et in verbis pudorem indefinentem exhibeant, in habitu et incessu debent esse ordinati, in gravitate itineris mentis maturitatem ostendant, moribus sobrii, et in mundiciâ vite existentes, ita quod vita eorum et conversacio sit secreta et a laicorum artibus remota.

Sint eciam assidui in lectione et oracione, ut, sicut loco, ita precellant religione. Nullus exeat scepta domûs nisi de licencia Archipresbyteri, si presens fuerit, vel si absens ipsius cui commiserit vices suas. Nullus solus sed cum socio gradiatur. Caveant eciam ne faciant latenter convencionulas, contractiones, contenciones, sermones probrosos, libellos famosos, verba incomposita, inter se aut aliquos familiares aut extrinsecos. Si si qua viderint corrigenda, in presentia omnium fratrum in capitulo proponantur, ut Archipresbyter super illis manus imponat adjutrices et reformet que viderit reformanda, et corrigat que viderit corrigenda in articulis suprascriptis. Et quod habeant tractatum administracionis super agendis semel in mense. Et hoc volumus inter predictos presbyteros inviolabiliter observari. Et si ipsi vel eorum aliquis predictos articulos vel eorum aliquem seu quemlibet contempserit non observando inter fratres in capitulo fraternam dilectionem pro secundo et tertio corripiantur vel corripiatur. Et si animo indurato quarto inveniantur vel inveniatur deliquisse secundum regulam S. Augustini puniantur seu puniatur. Utantur autem tam Archipresbyter in Oratorio superpeliciis cum capis nigris, extra vero vestibus humilibus et unius coloris, utpote de nigro vel de nigro Burnet. Item ordinamus quod Archipresbyter et confratres sui habeant unam robam annuatim in feste Omnium Sanctorum cum furruris agninis. Item quod unius secte et omnia alia necessaria tam in lectis, calceamentis, pannis, lineis, quam in aliis cum opus fuerit de communibus bonis ipsorum, et hoc per manus presidentis, cum super his vel eorum aliquo requisitus fuerit. Item ordinamus quod cum susceperint vestes novas fiat erogatio pauperibus ad portam venientibus de veteribus per manus presidentis. Ita

[a] Beer. [b] Crudmoor, a farm of 112 acres situate in Carisbrooke parish.

quod fratres habeant semper duplicem robam ad minus. Volumus insuper et ordinamus quod si aliquis de parentibus sociorum vestimento vel aliis relictis indigeat, ceteris pauperibus preferatur, et quatenus indiguerit pre aliis sibi datur. Item quilibet eorum utatur pallio hibernensi de nigro Burneto cum pileo, et sit habitus eorum in mensâ ut ipsi ab aliis cognoscantur. Habeant eciam Archipresbyter unam capam eiusdem coloris et duas alias communes ad opus capellanorum exeuntium cum fuerit oportunum. Omnes vero in eodem comedant et bibant refectorio. Item quod Archipresbyter sit in capite mense, et juxta eum secundum gradum officii sui in ecclesiâ proponantur; scilicet qui celebraverit magnam missam juxta archipresbyterum, et postea presbyter beate Marie, et postea presbyter de Trinitate, et postea presbyter celebrans pro defunctis et alii presbyteri postea succedant. Istum ordinem volumus ibidem semper observari. Si extranei ibidem existentes vel occasio convocacionum predictum ordinem impediat vel ordo predictus fiat impeditus, tunc secundum ordinacionem et industriam archipresbyteri predicti capellani in sedendo precedant. Et singulis diebus legatur aliqua lectio edificatoria per clericum ad minus in principio et in fine prandii. Et sileant fratres dum legitur in mensâ, nisi causâ legitimâ existente, et tunc submissâ voce. Nullo modo sint verbosi, clamosi, nec aliquâ de causâ simul disputantes, nec aliquis familiaribus vel extraneis de ferculis vel commessationibus coram eisdem appositis mittat, cum sit in diminucione reliquiarum caritatis intuitu pauperibus erogandarum. Nec convocaciones aliquorum aut alicuius nisi ex precepto Archipresbyteri vel eius vices gerentis faciant. Simulque dormiant in communi dormitorio, nisi cum infirmitate vel alias legitime fuerint excusati, excepto presidente. Proviso tamen quod sint excusati, in locis honestis jaceant, non suspectis. Silentium in eodem dormitorio prout possibile sint observantes. In Oratorio predicto sint Deo devoti et ejus servicio diligenter intendentes, usum Sarum, ordinale, consuetudinariumque sequentes in his que presentibus non fuerint immutata. Ordinamus insuper quod presbyteri dicte domûs in yeme[a] paulisper ante diem surgant ut missa beate Virginis celebretur die apparente. In estate autem surgant sole oriente, pulsacione quadam factâ et continuatâ per spacium unius leuce[b], ita quod presbyteri surgere valeant et cum maturitate debitâ se parare. Ipsis in oratorio ingressis, matutinas beate Marie Virginis submissâ voce apte et distincte simul dicant, et postea matutinam de die cum notâ: ita quod neutra pars chori versum prius incipiat nisi prius versus alterius chori totaliter terminetur, et pausacionem quandam in residio cuiuslibet versus paulisper

[a] hyeme. [b] Usually a "league," but here a division of time.

faciant, et omnes utriusque chori simul versum incipiant, simul pausacionem, et simul versum suum terminare non omittant. Post primam matutinarum diei celebrent missam beate Virginis cum notâ et solempnitate decenti secundum usum ecclesie Sarum, et consuetudinem. Quâ celebratâ, incipiant Horas de die et terminent omnes exceptis duplicibus festis et diebus Dominicalibus, in quibus ultimam Horam expectent usque post missam predictam. Quibus dictis, incipiant Horas beate Virginis et terminent omnes. Postea statim celebretur missa de Trinitate et sacerdos de Trinitate parabit se iterum dum Hora beate Marie dicitur. Et elevacione factâ eiusdem misse paret se sacerdos qui celebrabit pro defunctis, et sic deinceps, si plures sint celebrandi sacerdotes. Quibus completis ut premittitur, circiter Horam nonam incipiant magnam missam cum notâ que solempnitas diei exigerit. Volumus eciam quod presbyteri singuli in fine misse specialiter dicant collectam de Trinitate, dicantque eciam aliam specialem collectam pro Episcopo Wynton. que sic incipit 'Rege, domine, famulum,' dicantque eciam Collectam 'Deus, qui caritatis,' dicantque eciam specialem Collectam pro animabus fundatorum domûs, scilicet Thome et Johannis, et eorum parentum et benefactorum, et collectam specialem que sic incipit 'Deus, cujus.' Dicant eciam specialem collectam pro episcopis Wynton. defunctis, que sic incipit 'Deus, qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes.' Dicant eciam collectam pro defunctis, qui ad sustentacionem Oratorii de bonis suis, possessionibus, terris ac tenementis nomine legati vel alio quocunque nomine contulerunt, que sic incipit 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, unica salus mortalium.' Dicant eciam aliam collectam generalem quamcunque voluerint. Hunc ordinem in omnibus missis celebrandis observari volumus, preterquam in magnâ missâ, cum festivitas non patitur recitari. Et ante horam vesperarum pulsacione factâ conveniant fratres in oratorio, submissâ voce apte et distincte dicant 'Placebo' et 'Dirige.' Cum autem corpus presens fuerit vel dies anniversarii contigerit, vel servicium triginta dierum, tunc 'Placebo' et 'Dirige' cum notâ et novem lectionibus celebretur. Quibus factis, incipiant vesperas beate Virginis submissâ voce apte et distincte, deinde vesperas de die cum notâ, dicantque autem completorium de die cum notâ. Quo facto, dicant completorium beate Marie submissâ voce. Volumus eciam quod archipresbyter ordinet precentorem ad cuius solicitudinem et mandatum in oratorio dicto sint pagenda in missis celebrandis, quisquam missam in suâ septimanâ celebrare debeat, in lectionibus legendis, et ceteris aliis: qui precentor habeat tabulam in oratorio super appensam, in qua scribat die Sabbati post prandium et ordinet quales missas quis eorum celebrare debeat, quis qualem lectionem in crastinum legere debeat. Sic de ceteris officiis in oratorio fiendis; et sic cotidie post

predictum officium idem precentor de dicto servicio subsequetur. Et omnes in predicto oratorio devenientes predictam tabulam adeant et officium sibi assignatum inspiciant ut premittitur, et repetant, ut in servicio postea pagendo Deo inveniantur fideles, humiles et devoti. Volumus eciam quod archipresbyter negocia domûs totaliter ordinet et personaliter unâ cum consilio ceterorum dicte domûs tam de exterioribus quam de interioribus; et quod habeat unum de confratribus suis in auxilium, qui possit negotia domûs gerere et in fine anni de statu domûs tam de receptis quam de expensis socios suos certificare. Et si archipresbyter negligens in premissis seu dilapidator bonorum inventus fuerit, episcopo aut eius vices gerenti in suâ visitatione, vel ante, si necesse fuerit, demonstretur. Ita quod nullus voluntate propriâ ad predictum episcopum vel eius vices gerentem accedat occasione premissâ, nisi consensus omnium fratrum vel majoris partis intercedat. Et ut presentes disposiciones, statuta et ordinationes perpetue firmitatis robur optineant presentibus sigilla nostra sunt appensa. His testibus: Domino Henrico Trenchard, Thoma de la Haule, Roberto de Clamorgen, Ricardo de Haston, Thoma de Cruce, Jordano de Kyngeston, militibus: Willelmo de Godyton,[a] Johanne Flemyng, Ricardo Noreys, Thoma Clavys, Odone de Compton, et multis aliis. Dat. apud Burton crastino Omnium Sanctorum Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto."

I follow Sir Richard Worsley's summary of the statutes:

Six chaplains and a clerk are to pray for the living and the dead under the rule of St. Augustine.

The bishop of Winchester is the patron of the oratory. One of the chaplains is to be presented to him for institution as archpriest, and the rest are to vow obedience to him.

The chaplains are to choose the archpriest and present him to the bishop within twenty days after a vacancy. In case of lapse the bishop is to nominate.

The archpriest and chaplain are to be under the immediate control of the bishop, and the servants of the house under the archdeacon of the island.

A year of probation after entrance. Goods in common and the effects of any chaplain dying to go to the oratory.

One dish only with a pittance at each meal, and a third dish on greater festivals.

[a] Godyton was a manor in the parish of Chale. Walter de Godyton in 1323 built a chapel on Chale Down and endowed a chantry priest to sing mass and burn lights for the guidance of mariners. St. Catherine's Tower, the well-known sea-mark, stands on the site of this chapel.

The chaplains are to be diligent in reading and praying; not to go beyond the bounds of the oratory without leave from the archpriest or his vicegerent; to wear surplices with black copes indoors, and habits of one colour, either black or "burnet" (rusty black), with a frieze coat and hat[a] out of doors.

The archpriest is to sit at the head of the table; next him the chaplain who had celebrated high mass that morning, then the chaplains, who had respectively celebrated the masses of the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, and Requiem that morning, in order.

The chaplains are to sleep in one dormitory and use a special form of prayer for benefactors, following in all ceremonies the use of Sarum.

The archpriest is to manage the temporal affairs of the oratory.

One of the chaplains is to be precentor and to arrange the details of the various offices.

Thirteen poor brethren are to have their food daily, the income from Crudmoor Farm in the parish of Carisbrooke being devoted to that purpose.

The endowment consisted of lands and tenements in the parish of Whippingham, in which Barton is situate; in the town of Newport, and elsewhere in the island; and there was a little house property in Southampton. Nearly all the evidences of title exist in our muniment room at Winchester, and much of the property can be identified at the present day.

Thomas de Wynton gave:

* Land at Arreton, bought of William Tholomer, who inherited it from his brother Walter, who died rector of Arreton.

* A "selda" or stall near the "sea" or tidal river at Newport, a name preserved in "Sea Street" there.

* Lands in Whippingham, bought of Dame Maud Escures, John de Bosco, John Michel, and Richard Saneter.

* Land in Spanne (now Span Farm) bought cum 'hominibus et sequelis eorum' (with the serfs inhabiting it) of Robert Rypers.

Land in West Appledurford (Appleford) bought of Sir William Tracy.

* Land in Curne (Kerne Farm in Brading parish) bought of Sir Thomas de la Haull, who was one of the attesting witnesses to the charter of foundation.

[a] Quilibet eorum utatur pallio Hibernensi de nigro burneto cum pileo.

* These properties can be identified.

* Land bought of William Dolcoppe.

Land in La Snape bought of Simon Everard and Geoffery Pycot.

* Land in Rokele (Rookley) bought of Richard de Rokele.

* Land and feeding rights at Walpan in Chale parish and on St. Catherine's Down, bought of Adam de Barneuile and Henry Meret.

* A water corn mill and croft at Honihull (Hunny Hill) outside the town of Newport (now Home Mill), bought of Hugo de Waltham.

* Another water corn mill there (now Westminster Mill), bought of William Delamare.

Land in Botremere bought of Henry Goge.

Land called "Hemere" abutting on Wynslade, a culture extending westwards to the ditch of Hemere, a wood called "Okestubbe," and a pasture called "Quelles," bought of John de l'Isle, all in Whippingham parish.

A long building (longa domus) on the shore at Southampton.

John de l'Isle's deed of grant is in the following words:

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes de Insulâ, clericus, filius Walteri de Insulâ senioris, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, pro anime mee, parentum, parochianorum et benefactorum nostrorum animarum salute, dedi, concessi, assignavi et hac meâ chartâ confirmavi Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et Oratorio sancte et individue Trinitatis in messuagio meo de Burton sito in parochia de Wyppyngham et domino Jordano de Marisco dicti Oratorii archipresbytero et quinque capellanis suis et eorum successoribus, in dicto Oratorio divina pro vivis et defunctis celebrantibus et Deo ibidem servituris in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam totum meum domum messuagium de Burton cum gardinis et totam terram illam de Burton spectantem ad predictum messuagium, que emi de domino Willelmo Clamorgan: et totam terram quam emi de Willelmo Tanton de feodo predicti Willelmi Clamorgan: et totam terram quam emi de Roberto Albo de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Roberto Tollard de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Johanne Michel de eodem feodo: et totam terram quam emi de Philippo filio Henrici de Insulâ de feodo Ricardi le Noreys: et quandam particulam terre in Hemere quam emi de Johanne filio Henrici de Bosco et novem denarios annui redditus emptos ex eodem Johanne in Shofflut: et unum messuagium cum tribus acris terre emptis de Galfrido de la Brome in Bellestret: et unam dimidiam acram terre quam emi de Willelmo Hede in villâ Shofflut: et unam dimidiam acram terre quam emi de Thomâ Comminges in

* These properties can be identified.

Shofflut: et unam estichiam,[a] cum una domo desuper constructâ empta de Johanne Sweyn in Shofflut et tres denarios annui redditûs quos emi de Roberto de Letye: et sex denarios annui redditûs quos emi de Waltero Gode: et similiter totam terram cum bosco surgente, redditu, et omnibus pertinenciis in La Fayrleye que emi de Thoma de Gatcumbe: et unum messuagium et totam terram illam cum pasturâ et morâ et aliis pertinenciis suis in villa de Byllyngham que quidem habui de dono Americi de Veynes: et septem acras terre cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Petri Gessich: et unam acram terre et dimid. cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Hugonis de Chekehelle: et unam perticam terre cum pertinenciis suis in Wyppyngham que habui ex donacione et concessione Henrici de Belebrygg: et unum denarium annui redditûs in Wyppyngham de tenemento Johannis Ancy: et unum messuagium, cum unâ croftâ et duabus acris terre in Wyppyngham, que fuerent Philippi le Waleys: et duas acras terre in Wyppyngham que fuerunt Johannis Wyngod: Habendum etc. His testibus: Henrico Trenchard: Jordano de Kyngeston, militibus: Johanne de Insulâ: Johanne de Wulverton:[b] Waltero Gessich: Johanne le Flemyng, et multis aliis."

The seal is circular, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, and probably from his signet ring. It is of red wax, imbedded in brown or olive-green wax, and bears for device the Holy Lamb, in allusion to de l'Isle's name of John.

Neither deed has any date, but I assign them to the year 1275, when the statutes of the oratory were made.

The charter of Isabella de Fortibus, countess of Albemarle and Devon, confirming as lady paramount of the island John de l'Isle's endowment, is in

[a] A stitch or strip of land, called locally a "Butt" at the present day.

[b] The manor of Woolverton in Shorwell parish was formerly held by a family of the same name, who also held lands at Wolverton, near Kingsclere, in Hampshire, now belonging to the Duke of Wellington.

The first archpriest was Jordan de Marisco. He had been Vicar of Godshill under Thomas de Wynton. His successors, as far as I have been able to discover, are:

Simon	temp. Edward II.
Nicholas	occurs in 13 Edward III.
Richard	occurs in 21 Edward III.
Roger	occurs in 23 Edward III.
Robert Somborne	occurs between 40 Edward III. and 7 Richard II.
William Love	occurs between 15 Richard II. and 11 Henry IV.
John Godewyne	occurs in 5 Henry V.
John Bradshawe	occurs in 2 Henry VI.
Walter Trengof	the last archpriest, probably succeeded Bradshawe.

excellent preservation, and so is the seal, though the impression is not a first-rate one. The seal is circular, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and of dark brown wax. Device: a shield of de Fortibus, *gules, a cross patonce vair*, dimidiating de Redvers, *or, a lion rampant azure*, held by the strap by an eagle displayed, whose head and wings appear just above the shield. On either side is a wyvern, a badge of de Redvers. Legend:

+ ꝑon : ꝺarꞇ : ꞇffꞇꝺtv : qvoꝺ volvꞇrꞇ : ꝺvo.

Two examples of the privy seal of the oratory have been preserved, appended to leases of Walpan in 23 Edward III. and of Heathfield in 6 Henry V. It is unusual to find leases in the possession of the lessors. These leases were doubtless given up when new ones were granted. The seal is oval, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, and bears a figure of the archpriest kneeling before Our Lady and Child, with a scroll lettered backwards: avꞇ ℳaria. The Legend is:

+ ℳ[atꞇr] ꝺirgo ꝺꞇi tv misꞇrꞇr ℳꞇi

An impression of the common seal of the oratory is also preserved. It is the only one known to me, and is in admirable preservation. It is a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, bearing for device a seated figure of the Deity, the left hand holding the orb and cross, which rests on the left knee, the right hand raised in blessing. Under the feet is a large star. Legend:

* S' D[OM]VS SCꞇ TRINITATIS ꝺꞇ BARTONꞇ.

This seal is appended to a deed of exchange relating to lands in the parish of Whippingham, *temp.* archpriest Simon.

The oratory had its attractions for the people, and received many benefactions. I mention one, Paddemore (Padmoor, in the parish of Whippingham) for the sake of exhibiting a better impression of the privy seal of the oratory. It is appended to a licence granted by Bartholomew de l'Isle, lord of the manor of Woditon (Wootton) to William de la Forde, in 13 Edward III. to alienate Padmoor to the oratory.

I may mention here a point of interest for its bearing on the question of the origin of manors. The Oratorians made a manor of their property, calling it the manor of Barton. The house and its precincts became the demesne, the larger holdings were let on lease for terms of years, and the smaller were demised for lives by copy of court roll. This process of consolidation went on after the passing of the statute of *Quia Emptores* (18 Edward I. c. i.), in 1290, which pro-

hibited the practice of subinfeudation. It is an axiom of our law books that every manor must necessarily be of a date prior to the statute of *Quia Emptores*, except perhaps some which may have been created by those who held of the king in *capite* with license from the Crown, so long as the statute did not extend to them.[a] The explanation may be found in the fact that these copyholds for lives were without right of renewal, and consequently were no better than leases for lives, except in one respect; that being created by copy of court roll the copyholder enjoyed the best possible register of title in the court rolls of the manor.

I may quote from the history of Winchester college an instance of the creation of a lifehold manor at a much later period. The warden and fellows having in and after the year 1399 acquired a quantity of lands in the parishes of Ropley, Medstead, Bishop's Sutton, Bighton, Wield, Itchenstoke, and Winnall, in Hampshire, partly by benefaction, partly by purchase, and partly by lease from the bishop of Winchester for a term of one hundred years, consolidated them all, freehold and leasehold, into one manor, calling it the Manor of Ropley, and granting it out in parcels for three lives by copy of court roll, with a heriot payable on alienation as well as on death. This inclusion of leaseholds with freeholds in a manor under the same customs is remarkable, and only to be explained on the theory that these copyholds for lives are really nothing more than leases for lives.

In 1392 the buildings were out of repair; and William Love, the archpriest, under pressure of the diocesan, engaged a tiler and mason, by name Richard Lathbury, to effect the necessary repairs. A formal contract was drawn up for the performance of the work, of which the following is the text:

"[b]In dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnacione domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo tricentesimo nonagesimo secundo Indiccione prima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Bonifacij divina providencia pape noni anno primo mensis Marcij die sexta In Oratorio sancte Trinitatis de Berton in Insula Vecta situato. In mei notarij publici et testium subscriptorum presencia constitutus personaliter discretus vir Ricardus Latthebury tegulator et latomus in Insula Vecta predicta sua mera et spontanea voluntate obligavit se venerabili viro domino Willelmo Love archipresbitero dicti Oratorij sancte Trinitatis de Berton predicti de fideliter serviendo

[a] Wright's *Tenures*, 162; Watkins on Copyholds, 15.

[b] Written within the initial I is: "℔ In ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum."

eidem archipresbitero et successoribus suis in eodem oratorio videlicet quod Ricardus repparabit omnes domos ad dictum Oratorium pervientes Et quicquid serverit, idem Ricardus de aliqua arte manuali ad commodum dicti archipresbiteri exercebit sumptibus et expensis eiusdem archipresbiteri et cum necesse fuerit et dicto archipresbitero videatur necessarium. Idem archipresbiter ordinabit eidem Ricardo unum servientem qui tegulas et alia sibi necessaria ad cooperturas domorum ministrabit. Et dictus Ricardus Latthebury percipiet annuatim ab eodem archipresbitero victum et necessaria cum uno epitogio et decem solidis sterlingorum ac pasturam pro uno equo habebit. Et si contingat dictum Ricardum vacuum vel occupatum esse adeo quod idem archipresbiter non habeat per quod possit ipsum occupare nec eidem archipresbitero proficere tunc liceat dicto Ricardo artem suam manualem predictam alibi exercere quousque dictus archipresbiter ipsum voluerit ad suum servicium revocare. Que omnia et singula fideliter observanda et perficienda prefatus Ricardus Lattebury iuramento corporali per ipsum ad sancta dei evangegelia (*sic*) prestito vallabat. Tunc ibidem Acta sunt hec prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno die Indiccionis Pontificatus mense die et loco prefatis. Presentibus discretis viris Henrico Mody et Johanne Scot clericis Wyntoniensis diocesis testibus ad premissa.

Et ego Edmundus Alderford clericus Norwicensis diocesis publicus auctoritate apostolica Notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut permittitur agebantur et fiebant una cum prenominatis testibus personaliter interfui ea que sic fieri vidi et audivi aliundo que multipliciter occupatus per alium sibi feci publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi hic me subscribendo et Signum meum[a] solitum et consuetum hic apponendo rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum.

Et in maiorem evidenciam veritatis ac fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum Nos Officialis Exempte Jurisdiccionis de Cliva sede apostolice nullo medio pertinentes ad specialem requisicionem supradicti domini Willelmi Lowe archipresbiteri Oratorij sancte Trinitatis de Burton predicti sigillum Officij nostri presentibus apposuimus. Dat' quo ad sigilli nostri[b] apposicionem decimo Kalend' ffebruarij anno domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie anglicane Millesimo cccc Tercio."

That is to say, that Lathbury was to keep the buildings in order, the arch-

[a] This mark consists of a double triangle, the lower point resting on steps inscribed with the notary's name, the upper point ending in a double barred cross. In the centre is a crescent enclosing three ermine spots.

[b] The seal is lost and only the strings of suspension remain.

priest providing materials and a labourer, and allowing Lathbury his victuals and 10*s.* a-year and keep for a horse. And Lathbury was to be at liberty to take a job elsewhere when the archpriest had no work for him to do.

I never saw a more solemn contract than this. Lathbury was sworn on the Holy Gospels, in the presence of a notary, to observe it, and the bond was drawn tighter still by the attestation of the official of the exempt jurisdiction of King's Cliff (Clive) in Northamptonshire, or Cliffe at Hoo, Kent, whom the archpriest called on to attest it.

The history of the oratory is now drawing to a close. At the suggestion, according to tradition, of Wayneflete, who had been master of Winchester school and was provost of Eton at the time, Warden Thurbern presented a petition to cardinal Beaufort, praying that the oratory might be appropriated to the college, on the ground that the income of the college was insufficient, and had been impaired of late by a fire among their house property at Andover. The petition is in the English of the period:

"To my Right gracious lord my lord the Cardinal of England.

"Besecheth mekely yowre poevere and humble Chapellain the Wardein of youre newe College of Winchestre in name of hym self and of the Remenant of youre poevere Chapellains and scoliers of the same. That Where as youre moost worshipful faderhood considering here afore the exilitie of þaire dotacon the falling and dekay of lyflode by empeyring of the World which euery Day is in Wers caas thenne othre appred[a] unto hem of youre greet goodnesse the Chirche of Andeuers, Which hath bee to hem greet Refresshing, god þanke yow in heuen. Now is hit soo that the same chirche that hath be to hem soo prouffitable afore þis tyme, is att þis Day of noo value for fortune of fyr that late hath happed þere. Soo þat þay cannat Wite how to bringe the World aboute[b] for to maintiegne thastat of youre said college Withoute youre gracyoux help and socour | Whom god hath ordenned to Relieue many a man | for yif the nede that youre saide college hadde for to be encressed of lyfloode for the sustentacon of soo many parsones as bee nourrisshed and brought up thereyn to the worship and service of god wiþ his grace and mercy was greet atte tyme of the saide appriacon the necessite is now miche more as youre high prudence by þat is a bouesaid may wel considere Hit like yow þerfore of youre habundant grace in sustentacon of youre sayd college to grante hem the appˡacon of the archpreestshipp of Barton in the Ile of Wyght which youre Clerk maist^{r} Wault^{e} Trengof occupieth. To which appˡacon sco hit bee plesyng untoo youre good grace, the same maist^{r} Wault^{e} wol

[a] *i.e.* appropriated.

[b] *i.e.* to make both ends meet.

assente. And youre lordship shal hereyn doo a deede of charite and deserve greet thank of god. Hit mighte like also youre noble grace the rath^r encline and condescende to the doyng herof seyng þat þe said Barton þough hit bee a spũel þyng hit is nought actuelly charged with cure of souls."

The cardinal consented, and the return to the writ *ad quod damnum* (17 Henry VI.) was favourable. The costs of the inquisition are struck through with a pen in the computus roll of the year, showing that a friend of the college, perhaps Wayneflete, or the cardinal himself, bore them. Trengof, who had just been made archdeacon of Cornwall, wanted to get back to his native county, and was a willing party. I suspect that in the opinion of everybody the oratory had lasted long enough, or it would not have fallen so easily. No charge of vice or corruption is breathed against the Oratorians, like the charges which were so freely put forward against many religious houses at the time of the dissolution. They may have been extravagant, if the fact may be inferred from the circumstance of their pawning one of their psalters,[a] which the college redeemed in 1439. The poverty of the college as a seat of learning is the only justification for the suppression of the oratory. And that the college was very poor at this period is certain. They maintained the full number of fellows and scholars, but were unable to pay their fellows' stipends in full, and when warden Thurbern died in 1450, there was over 200*l.* owing to him for more than ten years' stipend; and it was never paid.

The royal licence to Trengof to alienate, and to the warden and scholars of "Seynt Marie College of Wynchester near Wynton" (their corporate title) to acquire and hold in mortmain the possession of the oratory, is dated March 27, 17 Henry VI. (1439). The seal is perfect.

We have also amongst our deeds a licence by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, earl of Pembroke, and lord of the Isle of Wight, to the like effect. It is dated at Caversham, near Reading, February 3, 18 Henry VI. A nearly perfect and fine impression of the duke's seal in red wax is appended. It is circular, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears the duke's shield of arms, *France modern and England quarterly, within a bordure argent*, with helm and crest, *a lion statant crowned or, collared argent*, and supporters, two antelopes gorged with coronets. Legend:

* S'. humfridi filij fris ⁊ avunculi regũ ducis glouceſtrie ⁊ comitis pembrochie magniq; camerarii anglie ⁊c.[b]

[a] Computus Roll, 1439, "Solut. Margerie Orynghame xx^s pro redemptione psalterii glosati cum glosâ eius pertinentis quondam ad manerium de Barton et eidem Margerie impignorati."

[b] He was son of Henry IV., brother of Henry V., uncle of Henry VI., created duke of Gloucester and earl of Pembroke in 1414, and appointed great chamberlain in 1413.

There is also a grant by Trengof to the college of the manor of Barton, alias Bertoñ, and five messuages and three gardens in the town of Southampton. It is dated February 3, 18 Henry VI.

Also Trengof's proxy to deliver seisin, of even date, and a duplicate dated February 14, 18 Henry VI. of a grant by the warden and fellows to Trengof of a pension of 20*l.* per annum for twenty-four years, if he should so long live, charged upon the college manor of Durrington, in Wiltshire. The last three instruments have appended to them excellent examples, all in red wax, of Trengof's official seal as archdeacon of Cornwall. It is a pointed oval, 2 inches long, bearing under three rich canopies St. Michael with the scales, between an angel blowing a trumpet and another angel with a palm branch. Under the figure is a band inscribed: **gradi ſt ad qd ſum.** Below, set in masonry, is a shield of Trengof's arms, *three castles.* Legend:

Sigillu walteri trengof archidiaconi cornubie.

There is also a charter by cardinal Beaufort, confirming the transaction between Trengof and the college upon condition that the warden and fellows should maintain a stipendiary chaplain in the chapel at Barton, and pay 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the convent of St. Swithun "pro indempnitate ecclesie sue propter appropriationem archipresbyterii," as an indemnity to the convent for assenting to the alienation of the oratory. They were also to deliver 1 lb. of wax annually to the warden of St. Mary's altar in the cathedral church, and celebrate Trengof's obit in consideration of his surrendering the oratory "in augmentationem studii scolastici in dicto nostro collegio."

The cardinal's seal is perfect. It is a pointed oval, 3¼ inches long, of red wax imbedded in dark wax with an outer case of wood, and suspended by crimson silk cords. Device: St. Peter between St. Paul and St. Swithun under canopies, with a supercanopy with St. Etheldreda (?) and St. Katherine. In base under an arch is a three-quarter length figure of the bishop between two shields of the arms of Beaufort, the dexter one being differenced with a mitre in the middle of the bordure. Legend:

: s' : henrici : dei : gra | . Wyntonienſis : epi.

The chaplain's stipend of 6*l.* per annum, a handsome one, continued to be paid until the first year of Edward VI., when the well-known Act was passed

abolishing chantries, and from that period the college held the manor of Barton and the Southampton property free of this incumbrance. I exhibit an exemplification of the discharge of the college from the chaplain's stipend under statute 1 Edward VI., c. 14, for the sake of queen Elizabeth's likeness in the title of the deed, and a splendid impression of the seal of the Court of Exchequer; the date is October 16, 2 Elizabeth. The seal is circular, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and two-sided.

The obverse has the queen sitting on a chair of state, set upon a carpet lozengy with roses and fleurs-de-lis. Behind is a larger diaper of the same pattern, and in base the initials E R. Legend, with roses for stops:

+ ELIZABETH • D' • GRA' • ANGLIE • FRANCIE • ET • HIB'NIE • R •
FIDEI • DEFENSOR.

The reverse has, on a rabbit warren, two stags, one gorged with a collar, the other with a crown, and chained, supporting a large crowned shield of the royal arms. The field is diapered with a lattice enclosing roses and fleurs-de-lis. Legend, with roses for stops:

[+ SIGILLVM • SCACARII • DOMINE • REGINE • ANNO • D[I] • M. D. LIX.

There are numbers of receipts by successive wardens of the altar of St. Mary, in the cathedral church of Winchester, between the years 1441–58, for the pound of wax which they were entitled to receive under cardinal Beaufort's arrangement. Some of these seals are interesting.

We have also an inspeximus or confirmation of the cardinal's license by the prior and convent of St. Swithun at Winchester, with an almost perfect impression of the conventual seal.

This completes the series of documents which illustrate this paper.

The gratitude of the college to cardinal Beaufort for this handsome augmentation showed itself in a variety of ways. In the computus of 19 and 20 Henry VI. occurs a present of capons and partridges to him on his birthday:

"In x caponibus presentatis Domino Cardinali erga suam natalem cum iiij.' Solutis pro xviij. perdicibus, et expensis Ricardi Baret (the warden's valet) et aliorum laborantium in acquisitione eorundem xj^{s}. x^{d}."

It appears from the computus of 1443–4 that warden Thurbern went to Eton

in that year to see provost Wayneflete about Trengof's pension, which the warden and fellows wanted to get off paying; but Trengof, I am glad to say, drew his pension regularly until his death, which happened February 27th, 1445–6. This fact, and that his nephew John Welyngton was his executor, appears from a certificate under the seal of the officiary of the diocese.

I have transcribed a rental of the manor for a half year (date not given) shortly after the transfer to the college:

Barton pro dimidio anno.

Pro firmario de Barton pro firmâ ibidem	iiij^{l} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Johanne Facy pro terr. et tenement. in Whippingham .	vj^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Radulfo Forester pro terr. in Whippingham . . .	xvij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Facy pro terr. et tenement. in Whippingham . .	iiij^{s} iiij^{d} iij^{q}
Pro Johanne Flemyng et Radulfo Lovyng pro terr. in Whippingham .	xxj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Ludovico Hervy	xij^{d}
Pro Thomâ Gladehouse pro terr. in Walpan	xl^{s}
Pro eodem Thomâ pro terr. vocat. "Seynt Kateryns" . .	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Thomâ Snoddon pro terr. in Crudmore	xx^{s}
Pro Georgio tenente de Spanne pro terr. in Spanne . .	xxx^{s}
Pro Roberto Spanner pro terr. in Rocley	ij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Sheperd pro terr. in Kern.	iiij^{d}
Pro Galfrido Carter pro terr. in Northsendham . . .	xx^{s}
Pro Thomâ Gylbert pro terr. in Witcombe	xx^{d}
Pro Willelmo Samburgh pro terr. in Arreton . . .	iiij^{s}
Pro Roberto Gylys pro molendino fullonico et terr . . .	xiiij^{s} ij^{d}
Pro Nicholao Shepherd pro molendino aquatico . . .	xx^{s}
Pro Flete pro ij tenementis in Newport nuper iij^{s} tenementa Edwardi Grant	ij^{s}
Pro Johanne Flemyng pro terr. et tenement. in Newport . .	ij^{s} vj^{d}
Pro pro tenement. et gardin. in Newport . . .	iij^{s} viij^{d}
Pro Ricardo Kyng pro tenement. in Newport . . .	ij^{s}
Pro Thomâ Orchard pro terr.	xx^{d}
Summa . .	xv^{l} vij^{s} x^{d} iij^{q}

In 12 Henry VIII. (1521) the manor farm was valued at 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

In a survey made for the college in the year 1776, the manor farm is said to contain 521 acres, and to be worth 302*l.* per annum.

The manor is stated in the same survey to extend over 1408 acres, and to be of the annual value of 1089*l.*

His Royal Highness the late Prince Consort purchased, in the year 1853, the demesne of Barton, with its beautiful woods facing Spithead, under the provisions of a private Act of Parliament, and was admitted tenant of some of the copyholds, which he enfranchised; and these lands now form part of Her Majesty's Osborne estate.

Rec.d Oct 1890

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Read December 5, 1889, and March 20, 1890.

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PART I.—THE CEMETERY AND ITS CONTENTS.

I. (*a*) The Grave-Pits and Family-Circles.

In November, 1886, being at Aylesford in company with my father Dr. John Evans and with Dr. Sebastian Evans, we paid a visit to the sand and gravel pit belonging to Messrs. Silas Wagon and Son, our immediate object being to search for palæolithic implements which had been discovered at this spot. Our attention was then called to another and highly interesting discovery that had just been made whilst removing the surface earth, which here to a depth of about three feet covers the old river deposits. This consisted of a bronze pail or *situla* (fig. 11), and a small fragment of another, an *œnochoê* (fig. 14), a long-handled pan or *patella* (fig. 16), and two *fibulæ* (figs. 17, 18), also of bronze, together with calcined bones and fragments of earthenware vases. On examination the *situla* proved to be a characteristic example of that peculiar style of art which had taken root in Britain during the century or so that preceded the Roman Conquest, and to which Mr. Franks has given the name of "Late-Celtic." The *œnochoê*, or bronze vase, the pan and *fibulæ* were also of great interest as representing imported specimens of late Greek or Italian fabrics. The earthenware vases themselves exhibited an elegance of form and a style of manufacture such as had not yet been associated with British remains in this country, and which, as I hope to show, point not less distinctly to Gaulish and in a somewhat remoter degree to North Italian connexions.

These objects were discovered in what had been a round burial pit (fig. 1) about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, the sides and bottom of which had been coated with a kind of chalky compound. The bronze *situla* contained burnt bones and the *fibulæ*, the bronze vase and pan lying outside it, while around were the remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries.

It further appeared that the British Museum, for which the pail and associated objects referred to above were at once acquired by my father's agency, was already in possession of the contents of another grave from the same site that had been recently purchased from a Mr. Hales. The principal of these was a bronze-plated wooden vessel (fig. 9) of a remarkable class, fitted with two perpendicular handles of bronze, once ornamented with studs of some other material. This object, which may best be described as a tankard, was found, according to the account given, within a circle of five or six earthenware vases,

about 200 yards north-west of Aylesford church, at a depth of eighteen inches beneath the surface. Among the associated vases were remains of a fine



Fig. 1. Grave-pit, showing position of *situla*, &c.[a] (Diagrammatic sketch, from account given.)

pedestalled urn (fig. 7), originally, no doubt, containing ashes, which must be reckoned as the finest ceramic relic discovered on this site.

Nor were these discoveries by any means isolated. On inquiry, I learnt that for a considerable series of years, *pari passu* with the gradual excavation of the pit and the consequent removal of the surface soil, continued discoveries of ancient graves had been made containing for the most part earthenware vessels filled with calcined bones. Although, unfortunately, no detailed account of these discoveries had been kept, I learnt that Mr. H. Lewis of Camberwell, who had

[a] For more exact representations of the bronzes, see separate plates and figures.

frequent occasion to visit Messrs. Wagon's pit in search for geological specimens and flint implements, had at different times procured a considerable series of pots from the ancient British cemetery above. Many of these had been broken into countless fragments, but their restoration became for their possessor a labour of love, and, thanks to Mr. Lewis's patient industry, very valuable materials relating to the Aylesford urn-field have been preserved to us in an intelligible form. Mr. Lewis's collection consisting, besides fragments, of some twenty-two more or less perfect vases of which he supplied me with the drawings, has also passed into the possession of the Nation.

Amongst the objects discovered in the graves, and sometimes in the cineraries themselves, were a great number of flint flakes and scrapers, which can in this case therefore be assigned to the Late-Celtic epoch. There was also discovered a compact mass of eight bracelets of Kimmeridge shale in the form of rings $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in exterior diameter, and presenting a round section $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. These are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Amongst the most important relics acquired by Mr. Lewis were the iron rings and parts of the iron hoop of a large wooden bucket which must have rivalled in size the great Marlborough bucket now in the Museum at Devizes, although in this case the iron hoop and rings do not seem to have been associated with bronze plating.

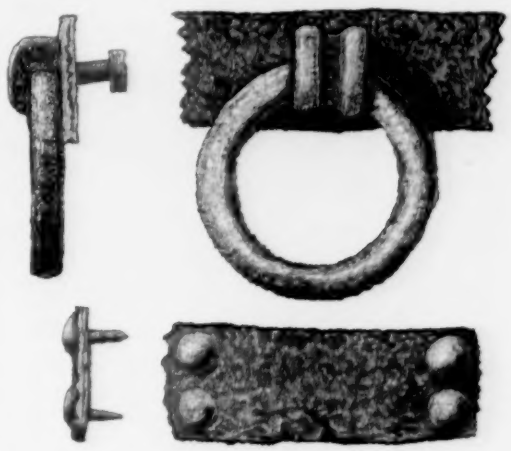


Fig. 2. (¼ linear.)
Ring and part of iron band of a bucket found at Aylesford, Kent.

From the depth, five feet, at which according to Mr. Lewis's account the iron attachments of this bucket were found, the burial-pit in which it occurred must have been of abnormal proportions. The remaining fragments of the iron band or hoop show that the bucket itself was about forty inches in diameter, and, from the fact that several urns with burnt bones were found within the circuit originally formed by it, it is evident that it originally served as a receptacle of cinerary vessels. Amongst the urns that it had enclosed was a large pot with its top broken off, a small vase (Pl. IX. fig. 7) filled with calcined bones, and by the side of these another urn much crushed by flint stones, which seem to have been thrown into

the bucket. This grave of the iron-ringed bucket formed one of a group of smaller pits containing cinerary urns, and all lying within about ten feet of it. Some of the most elegant urns discovered on the Aylesford site, including Pl. VII. figs. 6 and 7, belonged to this group of interments.

Besides the relics collected by Mr. Lewis, isolated objects from this cemetery had passed into the hands of other private owners. A fine urn containing burnt bones (Pl. VIII. fig. 1) from this site was in the possession of Dr. I. B. Muirshead of Aylesford, by whose liberality it has been presented to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This had been found in the same grave with the remains of a larger urn also containing calcined bones. Another beautiful vase of a pale brick colour, with delicate striations across its zones (Pl. IX. fig. 1), has been presented, together with a fine "cordoned" urn, to the same museum by Mr. Silas Wagon.

About the middle of the quarry had been discovered a large circular pit some 8 feet in diameter and from 12 to 15 feet deep, entirely filled with animals' bones mostly much decayed. These bones were thrown over a neighbouring field, and so thickly strewn were they that, according to my informant, nothing would grow for years on the area covered by them. Several small pits, about 2 feet in diameter at top, and 1½ at their base, were also met with, the bottom of which contained charcoal and broken pottery such as that used for the urns, but no trace of calcined bones, from which circumstance Mr. Lewis, who has observed several, concluded that they had been used for baking the pottery in question. We have here therefore valuable evidence of local manufacture.

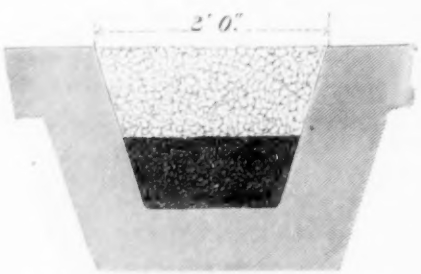


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section of baking hole. Aylesford, Kent.

With regard to the general arrangement of the interments that had been already excavated at the time of my first visit, I was able, partly from the workmen and owners of the pit, partly from some notes supplied by Mr. Lewis, to elicit the following facts.

The graves were described as consisting of round pits from 2 to 3 feet deep and large enough to contain two or three urns, each of varying dimensions, some no bigger than a man's fist, but for the most part containing burnt bones. There were generally together two larger urns with a kind of foot and one smaller. The pits lay in groups forming more or less irregular circles such as that which lay about the grave containing the iron-ringed bucket, and so invariable was this arrangement that the workmen when they came across one grave were sure to

hit on several more in its vicinity. There was no mound or external indication of the interments, which thus belonged to the class to which continental archaeologists have given the name of "flat-graves" (*flachgräber*) as opposed to those under barrows.

The high archaeological interest attaching alike to the relics found and to the character of the interments, as well as the desire to test by personal observation the accuracy of the accounts I had received as to the arrangement of the sepulchral deposits, led me to undertake the excavation of a strip of hitherto undisturbed land lying along the north-west margin of the pit, and in immediate juxtaposition to the area where the graves containing the bronze vessels have been discovered.

The results of this excavation went fully to corroborate the accounts I had already received as to the disposition and grouping of the interments. Six workmen were employed in digging out the soil to the level of the gravelly pan below, and during the first days of the work with no results in the way of sepultures. At last, however, an urn (A) revealed itself, its base about 2 feet beneath the surface. Within were calcined bones, including the fragment of a skull, and a small ferruginous mass, while beside the pot was a flint scraper. The workmen were now confident that more would follow, and their assurance was borne out by the event. At the distance of about ten feet from the first interment another grave (B) was discovered containing a cinerary urn (No. 25, Pl. VII. fig. 4) and a small bowl (No. 37, Pl. IX. fig. 2), which also contained some burnt bones, probably of a child, and beside them an empty patera, or flat earthenware dish (No. 41). All three vessels were in close juxtaposition at the bottom of what had been when they were deposited a round hole somewhat over 2 feet deep.

At an interval again of about a yard was another grave-pit (C) of about the same depth, containing a single cinerary (No. 13) of a pale brick-red colour, showing delicate striations between its zones. About two yards beyond this was a pit of the same kind (D) containing a larger cinerary, with a fine pedestalled base $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, but otherwise in a fragmentary state, a smaller urn (No. 27) with a "cordon" round its shoulders, containing burnt bones, and a small empty bowl (No. 39).

Returning from this point there was brought to light, at about the same interval, another grave-pit (E) about 20 inches deep, containing a large bowl-shaped cinerary with chevron decorations (No. 17, Pl. IX. fig. 8), and another, smaller, of elegant form (No. 14, Pl. VII. fig. 1). At a yard and a half distance from this pit in the direction of the first excavated (A) was another similar grave

(F) containing two cineraries. The larger of these (No. 10) was of an elegant form with a pedestal and raised cordons round its body; its original height was

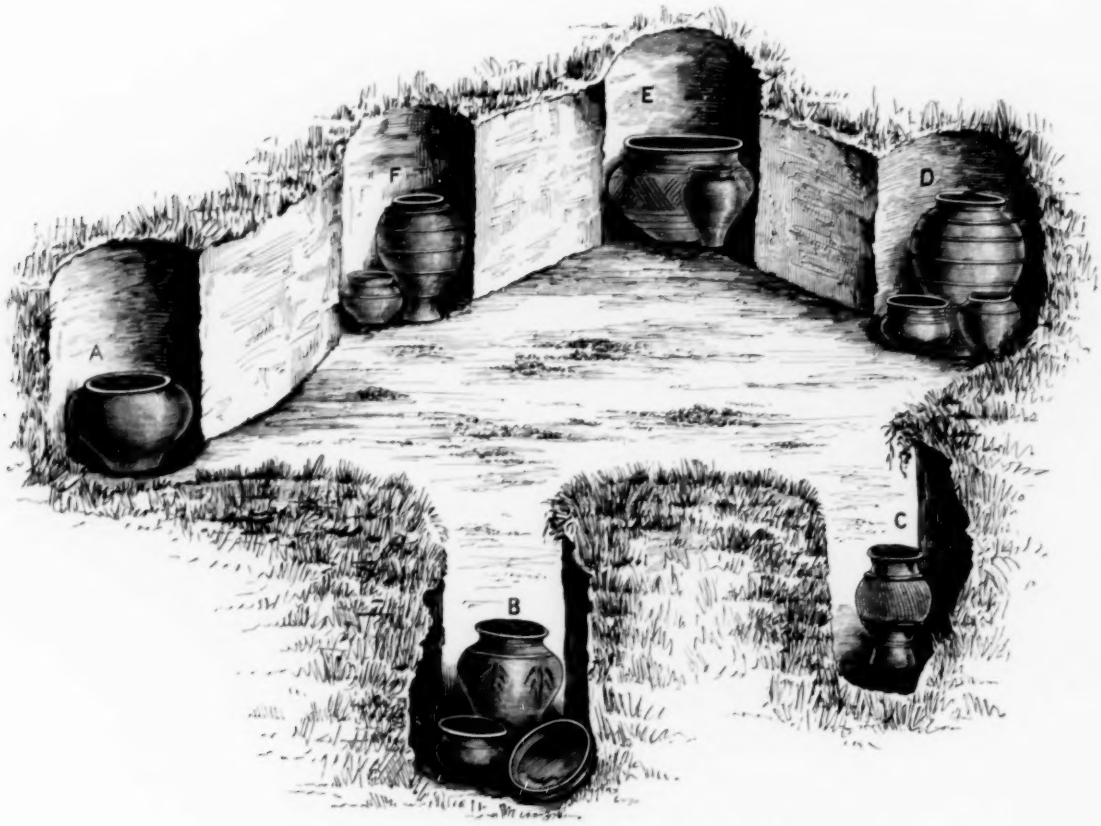


Fig. 4. Sketch-plan of grave-pits forming "family-circle." The urns as restored.

about 11 inches, but, as it lay only 17 inches below the surface, its top had been ploughed away. The other urn (No. 26, Pl. VIII. fig. 3) was small and no doubt contained the ashes of a child. Beside these was a flint flake.

The grave-pits, as can be seen from the annexed sketch plan, formed an irregular ellipse representing no doubt a group of interments belonging to the same family.

The excavation of a further zone beyond this point did not result in the discovery of any other interments, and this "family-circle" must therefore be regarded as lying on the extremity of the cemetery on this side.

I. (*b*) The Aylesford Cemetery in its Relation to the Urn-Field System of the Continent.

Without at this stage going more nearly into the transmarine relationships of the most typical objects discovered in this cemetery, enough will have been said to show that the Late-Celtic cemetery of Aylesford fits on to a widespread group of "urn-fields" containing cremation interments, the first appearance and dissemination of which in central and northern Europe goes *pari passu* with the diffusion of the Early Iron Age culture, and the final triumph of iron over bronze. The ramifications of this class of interments has been worked out in many directions by Undset, though its Eastern extension still requires elucidation. Its characteristic feature, the deposition of cinerary urns, in company with smaller associated vessels in shallow pits in the flat surface of the ground, is reproduced in the Aylesford cemetery, though in this case there is a greater tendency to place several cinerary urns in the same grave, and the "accessory" vessels (*Nebengefässe*) are not quite so plentiful. Some, even of the smaller vases in the Aylesford graves seem to have contained incinerated remains, though typical examples of "accessory vessels" are not wanting, witness the small dish or patera found by me in the grave B, in company with two larger urns containing burnt bones, and the small bowls and vases in other graves.

The typical features of the vases here discovered differ, however, in many respects from the characteristic "urn-field" types of central and northern Europe, and though, as will be shown, pointing like the others to a strong Southern or South-Eastern influence, represent rather a later stream of culture, the intermediate course of which is to be found in the Gaulish tract between the Channel and the Alps.[a] The "urn-field" types such as are known in North Germany only invaded Britain at a later date, in the days, namely, of the English Conquest. In the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with "flat-graves" containing cinerary urns, the characteristic protuberances of which remind us of the far earlier "boss urns" of Lusatia, we see the lineal representatives of that great group of urn-fields which at the beginning of the Iron Age in East-Central Europe, diffused itself from the plateaux of Moravia and Bohemia to the lower courses of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. In the Late British cemetery of Aylesford on

[a] It is hardly necessary to say that this later stream of culture also greatly influenced and modified the pre-existing urn-field system of the North of Europe, to which it arrived by more than one channel.

the other hand we have for the first time a native example of an "urn-field" belonging to the period that preceded the Roman invasion of Britain, the immediate antecedents of which are to be sought in the Belgic parts of Gaul, but which may be ultimately traced to an extensive Illyro-Italic province, and to a Southern branch of the urn-field group referred to above as characterising the Early Iron Age of East-Central Europe. It is in fact the later offspring of the same parent-stock as that which at an earlier date had permeated the North on one side and a large Italian tract on the other.

The dominant Gaulish races, longer it would seem than the Germanic tribes, had held out against this new sepulchral ritual, and in the burial deposits extending from the plains of Champagne and the Saar and Mosel valleys to Moravia in the East, which present us with the first authentic monuments of Late-Celtic art, the usage of inhumation of the body, generally under a mound, is universal. It is the same in North Italy. So too in Britain, the earliest class of Late-Celtic graves, (whether in all cases earlier in time or not), such as those of Arras in Yorkshire, consists of barrows containing skeletons. The usage of cremation had indeed been general among the British bronze-using people, but this usage seems here, as in the Continental region dominated by the first producers of Late-Celtic art, to have undergone a period of interruption. In the Aylesford cemetery we find it revived in a new form derived from a different quarter. This new form of cremation burial does not seem to have been hitherto distinguished by our antiquaries, but the Aylesford type of urn-field in reality marks a distinct epoch in the history of British sepulture. As a matter of fact examples of the present class of cremation graves containing Late-Celtic relics have, as will be shown when we come to deal with the Aylesford types of pottery, been found in several parts of south-eastern Britain, and it is probable that careful researches will eventually bring to light a whole series of urn-fields of the same character as our Kentish cemetery.

I. (*c*) The Aylesford Cemetery in its relation to Earlier British Sepulchral Usage.

The foregoing description will have given a sufficient idea of the general character of the Aylesford cemetery. The greater part of its original area seems to have been occupied with "family-circles" of small, shallow, cylindrical grave-pits, containing groups of cinerary urns and accessory vessels of a certain well-marked type, wheel-made, and essentially different from the rude traditional pottery that characterizes the Bronze and Neolithic Age in Britain. But on the outskirts of

the area occupied by graves of this class there occurred some relics and interments of an earlier character, and tending to show that, side by side with the later Celtic invaders from beyond the Channel, this site was still partially inhabited by representatives of the race that inhabited Britain before the arrival of the Gaulish intruders who introduced the new sepulchral forms. On the eastern side of the quarry were found fragmentary remains of rude British pottery of the usual kind, ornamented with finger-marks and nail-scratches, and of coarse, hand-made, or imperfectly-baked materials. Sufficient portions of one pot exist to show its form, which is that of an ordinary British drinking-vessel, such as are from time to time discovered in our round barrows. It was decorated in the "pie-crust" style round the collar. The remains of another larger pot, now in the Maidstone Museum, reveal the usual form of the British cinerary urns of the Bronze Period. Little was left to show the character of the interments with which these ruder vessels were associated. There was no trace of any surface barrow, and it is possible that they may represent the utensils of surviving members of the indigenous stock who had adopted the "flat-grave" system of the dominant race, but who still clung to their traditional style of pottery. The excavations of General Pitt-Rivers in the Romano-British villages on Cranborne Chase show that some very old traditions of the indigenous potters' handiwork went on even into Roman times.[a] From the occasional juxtaposition of pottery belonging to both classes, as well as from the occurrence of some transitional forms, it seems likely that in the present case native handiwork went on, for a while at least, side by side with the more elegant fabrics of the Gaulish new-comers. It is quite possible that the new settlers appropriated and extended a pre-existing British cemetery.

I. (*d*) The Cist-Graves.

The view that the cemetery was in part used by representatives of the earlier indigenous race is corroborated by another and, in some respects, a still more interesting phenomenon, which was observed on the opposite or western fringe of the cemetery, and which seems to indicate a parallel survival of an archaic form of interment. On this border, in close juxtaposition to some of the late Celtic urn-circles, were discovered three cists, each containing a skeleton in a contracted attitude. These cists formed a kind of alignment running from south east to north-west, the second cist being about ten yards from the first, and the third about the same distance from the second.

[a] Notably the suspension handles. Cf. Gen. Pitt Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore* (vol. i. pl. xxxii. figs. 8-10, pl. xxxix. figs. 1, 2, 3; vol. ii. pl. cvii. 6, pl. cx. 8, pl. cxi. 1-2).

These cists were of very similar character, and were in each case formed of slabs of a crumbly kind of travertine, in two instances a slab of sandstone being also introduced. The roof slab of No. 1 was interesting from the fact that it contained a hole large enough for the insertion of a man's hand. This was probably itself of natural origin, but, from its present even surface, it is possible that it was used for the same purposes as the holed slabs of a well-known class of dolmens, food being introduced through the aperture, as it still is through similar holes in the mortuary wooden cists of some Red Indian tribes.[a] It may also have been intended to serve, as other sepulchral holes, for the free passage of the ghost. The slabs of this cist are now in the Maidstone museum.

Of the bones contained in these cists, which were in a very fragmentary condition, I was only able to obtain those from No. 2. Mr. Arthur Thomson, of the Anatomical Department of the Museum at Oxford, who kindly inspected them, informs me that in his opinion they are those of a woman from seventeen to twenty years of age, and 5 feet 1 inch in stature. The skull is markedly dolichocephalic, the index being 65, or perhaps less, denoting great length as compared with width. The skull seems to attain its greatest width a little above and behind the ear. The forehead is relatively high and narrow, the orbits somewhat square in form. From an examination of the bones of the leg,[b] Mr. Thomson drew the conclusion that the individual had led an active life, and either made use of the feet in climbing or habitually rested in a squatting position. He observed a slight flattening of the *tibia*, indicative of excessive development of some of the muscles of the calf.

The third cist was discovered in the spring of 1889. It was 3 feet beneath the surface, and lay slightly to the north-west of the others. Its mean height was about 2 feet, its breadth 1½ foot, and its length 2 feet 4 inches. It consisted of five larger slabs and one smaller piece, all of the same rough travertine that was employed in the other cists, with the exception of one of the two end slabs, which

[a] As for instance the Natchez Indians and those of the North-West Coast. See Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, 1873, p. 105; and H. C. Yarrow, *A further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians.* (First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1881.)

[b] Facets are visible on the inferior margin of the *tibiæ* and corresponding portions of the *astragali*. (See "The influence of posture on the form of articular surfaces of the tibia and astragalus of the different races of man and the higher apes." By Arthur Thomson, M.A., M.B., Lecturer on Human Anatomy in the University of Oxford. *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. xxiii., p. 616 *seqq.*, and vol. xxiv. p. 210 *seqq.*)

was of sandstone. The roof was formed of two pieces, and within was a skeleton much decayed, but which seems to have been in the same contracted posture, its head facing south-east. This cist has been carefully set up, under Mr. Wagon's superintendence, near his office at the entrance of the pit.

I. (*e*) Ancient British Coins found in the Cemetery.

On the west side of the cemetery near the first cist discovered a workman found two gold coins. The coins were surreptitiously sold in Gravesend. I succeeded, however, in tracing them, and found them to be early British coins of the uninscribed class. The first (fig. 5) is a gold stater of a kind of which isolated examples have been found throughout the whole of south-eastern England, but which occurs more plentifully in Kent than elsewhere.[a] The second (fig. 6) is a gold quarter stater[b] of a type the recorded discoveries of which in Britain have hitherto been confined to Sussex and Surrey. What, however, is specially interesting in the present connexion is the fact that both of these coins seem to occur indiscriminately on either side of the Channel,[c] and must therefore be in all probability referred to some Belgic prince, who, as Commios the Atrebatian seems to have done, at a somewhat later date, held sway over a part of south-eastern Britain as well as in Belgic Gaul.[d] The discovery of these two Belgic pieces in the Aylesford cemetery is the more significant that during the whole of the excavations no Roman or other later coins have come to light.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

[a] It is a variety of Evans (*Coins of the Ancient Britons*), pl. B. 8, see p. 63, *seqq*. The obverse is blank, the original laureate head of the Philippic prototype having been modified away through successive copying of coins worn on their convex side.

[b] Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* pl. E. 2, pp. 89, 90.

[c] Lelewel, pl. iii. 36, classes No. 1 as Atrebatian or Nervian, and states "on retrouve ces monnaies unifaces sur le territoire belge; on les a retirées des marais de Flins." A variety of No. 2 is given both by Lambert, pl. xi. fig. 12, and Lelewel, pl. iv. ii.

[d] Cæsar simply says of Commios "cuius auctoritas in iis regionibus (sc. Britannia) magni habebatur." But the mention of sons of Commios on coins of the South-Eastern district suggests a high probability that it was the Commios of Cæsar who founded a dynasty in Britain. Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* p. 153. It further appears from a recently-discovered type that his son Verica also struck coins on both sides of the Channel. (Evans, *op. cit. Supplement* (1890), p. 508.)

PART II.—THE LATE-CELTIC POTTERY OF THE AYLESFORD URN-FIELD; ITS GAULISH EXTENSION AND OLD VENETIAN (ILLYRO-ITALIC), ETC. SOURCES.

II. (*a*) Characteristics of Aylesford Ceramic Types.

The pottery of the Aylesford deposits is of the greatest interest, and establishes for the first time the existence of a wholly new style of Ancient British ceramic art. The handiwork of the British potters of pre-Roman times has been hitherto almost exclusively associated with the coarse-grained hand-made vessels that represent the direct tradition of the cups and urns of our Neolithic barrows. It is now generally recognised that the origin of this ruder class of vessels is to be sought in early basket-work, the forms and ornaments of which are reproduced with certain modifications and additions. It is to this older class that, as already observed, some of the pottery in the outlying graves of the Aylesford cemetery is to be referred; but, as can be seen by merely glancing at Plates VII. VIII. and IX., the great bulk of the vases discovered on this site belong to quite another category. In their form, fabric, and colour alike, they betray an altogether different pedigree, and the influence of more classical prototypes.

The clay of which these vessels are composed is of finer quality than that of the typical Ancient British pottery. They are mostly free from the grit and cretaceous particles that form so conspicuous a feature in the older class of earthenware from the same site; minute grains of quartz and apparently mica are, however, occasionally visible in the walls of the pots. They are better baked and occasionally present an uniform pale brick colour, resembling that of some Roman vases. This appearance is however rare, and the internal substance of the pottery is usually of a light brown colour. The difference in the surface is even more marked. This appears in almost all cases to have been originally coated with a black lustrous pigment, formed probably, like that on some contemporary Gaulish vases, of finely pounded charcoal, and when this has worn away the exterior surface is still of a dark brown colour.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of these vessels are wheel-turned. In some instances concentric circles appear on the bottom of the pot, and in one case the centre of the base shows a hemispherical concavity like the kick of a bottle.

The light and shapely construction of these Aylesford vases presents a singular contrast to the cumbrous hand-made ware that they have superseded. Their contours are often of real elegance, and the finer among them are provided with well-turned pedestals. Amongst their most characteristic features, to the significance of which we shall have occasion to return, may be specified the raised cordons or ribs, generally defined by two lateral grooves, by which they are accompanied, and which divide the body into zones. Sometimes these zones are themselves decorated with finely incised sloping lines, and at times other linear ornaments, such as zigzags and sprays, have been drawn with a blunt point. At times again the whole side of the vessel is covered with comb-markings that give it the appearance of basket-work or of the grain of wood, a form of ornament due perhaps to the influence of the earlier class of earthenware already referred to.

The following list comprises most of the best preserved specimens of the Late-Celtic class of pottery found in the Aylesford cemetery:

II. (*b*) Summary Description of the Aylesford Pots.

1. *Pedestalled Vases.*

1. Cinerary Vase. 14 inches high; diameter of upper rim $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of base $5\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of fine clay covered with brown coloured "varnish." It has three cordons round its body, and one round its pedestal. The upper and lower parts are surrounded with finely incised horizontal lines. The two central zones are ornamented with sloping strokes made by a broader pointed instrument. The surface of these lines is somewhat polished. (Pl. VII. fig. 7. Lewis Coll. No. 2. B. M.)

2. Cinerary Vase. $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches. It is of the same colour and paste as the preceding. It has four cordons round its shoulder, two pairs of two each round its body, and two round its pedestal. These cordons correspond to very slight depressions in its inner walls. Found with three others. (Pl. VII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)

3. Cinerary Vase. $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of base 5 inches. As preceding, but of somewhat blacker colour in places. It is surrounded by two cordons round its neck, and two round the centre of its body; in both cases in juxtaposition. (Pl. VIII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)

4. Cinerary Vase. $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It shows a good deal of its original black lustrous pigment. It has one cordon round the neck, three round the body, and one round the pedestal. (Lewis Coll. No. 13. B. M.)

5. The lower part of a very fine situla which must originally have stood about 15½ inches high. Its base is 5 inches in diameter. It is coloured with a lustrous black "varnish," and is surrounded at intervals, varying from ⅜ of an inch in the centre to ½ inch about the foot, by very sharply formed cordons with a nearly angular ridge. It has at present eight, and may originally have had as many as eleven, cordons. The clay shows traces of micaceous particles. This cinerary was found in the same grave-pit as the two-handled tankard. (Fig. 7, restored. Hales. B. M.)

6. Cinerary Vase. Height 15 inches; diameter of upper rim 9$\frac{1}{10}$ inches, of base 5½ inches. It is very elegantly shaped, of an uniform dark brown, and has a single cordon round its pedestal. (Pl. VII. fig. 6. Lewis Coll. No. 1. B. M.)

7. Cinerary Vase. Height 6⅞ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅘ inches, of base 4⅕ inches. As preceding in paste and colour. It has a single cordon round the neck. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)

8. Cinerary Vase. Height 11$\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 2½ inches, of base 4$\frac{3}{10}$ inches. This vase is of a remarkably elegant form, and a proportionately narrower mouth than any of the others. It presents a pale brick-red surface, and has a single cordon round the neck. (Pl. IX. fig. 4. Lewis Coll. No. 4. B. M.)

9. Cinerary Vase. Height 8$\frac{2}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 5⅗ inches, of pedestal 4⅘ inches. Of a colour varying from light to blackish brown. It has one cordon round its neck, and four round its body, each between double impressed lines. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)

10. Cinerary Vase. Lower half only preserved. The base is 4½ inches in diameter, and the original height of the pot may have been about 11 inches. It is of a brown colour with traces of darker varnish. One cordon surrounds the centre of the body, and two its lower part; there were probably five originally. (Ashmolean Museum. Found in the "family-circle," grave F. with No. 26.)

11. Cinerary Vase. Height 9 inches; diameter of upper rim 5¼ inches, of base 3¾ inches. Of a brown colour, with a black patch on one side. It has no cordon. (Pl. VIII. fig. 1. Presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Dr. I. B. Muirshead.)

2. *Vases, perhaps derivatives of the "Situla" type, with elegantly formed bases.*

12. Cinerary Vase. Height 6¼ inches; diameter of upper rim 3¾ inches, of base 2$\frac{5}{10}$ inches. It is of a pale brick-red colour, and of exceptionally fine paste. It has a low cordon round its shoulders, a narrow impressed band round the centre of its body, and another 1¼ inch lower down. The whole of the middle zones of the pot are occupied by fine incised diagonal lines very evenly drawn. (Pl. IX. fig. 1. Ashmolean Museum. Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon).

13. Cinerary Vase. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4¾ inches, of base 3 inches. Of the same type as the last, and of a brick-red colour. It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its shoulders, another round the central part of its body, and a third below. Its zones have been ornamented by fine diagonal combings. (Ashmolean Museum, from grave C. of "family-circle.")

14. Cinerary Vase. Height 5½ inches; diameter of upper rim 3½ inches, of base 2⅛ inches. Of a greyish brown colour. It has no cordons. (Ashmolean Museum. From the "family-circle," grave E., found with No. 17.) Pl. VII. fig. 1.
15. Cinerary Vase. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 3 inches. Finely made of a dark paste with a blackish "varnish." It has three cordons. (Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon to the Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 4.

3. *Vases without pedestal and with somewhat globular bodies.*

16. Cinerary Pot. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 3½ inches. It is of a dark brown colour. It has two cordons round its shoulders, below which is a zigzag impressed ornament made with a blunt-pointed instrument. (Lewis Coll. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 7. This urn was found within the iron band of a bucket.
17. Cinerary Pot. Height 7 inches; diameter of upper rim 8½ inches, of base 4½ inches. It is of a light brown paste coated with a darker "varnish." It has a slight moulding round its neck, and its sides are decorated with horizontal rings enclosing a zone with lines forming a succession of zigzags. These rings and lines are formed by drawing a blunt point over the soft clay. (From the "family-circle," grave E. Found together with No. 14. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. X. fig. 8.
18. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of a light brown, partly covered with black "varnish," and the paste is of somewhat coarse quality. Round the shoulder is a cordon, and round the body an impressed band. The sides are ornamented with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work. (Lewis Coll. No. 15. B. M.)
19. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim 4½ inches, of base 3½ inches. As last, but of somewhat darker brown. It has a cordon round its shoulder, a flat band round the middle of its body, and is decorated with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work, as the last but more finely drawn. (Lewis Coll. No. 16. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 6.
20. Cinerary Pot. Height $8\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base 5⅜ inches. Of a dark brown paste covered with black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its neck and shoulders, an impressed line round the middle of its body, and is decorated with the same interlacing comb-markings as the two last. (Lewis Coll. No. 10. B. M.)
21. Cinerary Pot. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches. Form, colour, and ornament as last (Lewis Coll. No. 19. B. M.)
22. Cinerary Pot. Fragmentary, but same type as last. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)
23. Cinerary Pot. Height 7¾ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of dark brown colour with two low cordons and impressed line round neck and shoulders. The body is ornamented with comb-markings, which give the surface somewhat the appearance of wood graining. (Lewis Coll. No. 17. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 6.

24. Cinerary Pot. Height 10 inches; diameter of upper rim 7 inches, of base 5½ inches. Of a pale red colour with a zigzag between two incised lines round rim. (Lewis Coll. No. 8. B.M.) Pl. IX. fig. 5.

25. Cinerary Pot. Height 6 inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 2¾ inches. Of a brown paste with black "varnish" unevenly applied. Round its neck and shoulders are two faint cordons, and the sides are ornamented with a rude spray ornament drawn on the soft clay with a blunt-pointed instrument. (It was found in pit B. of the "family-circle," with Nos. 36 and 40. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 4.

26. Small Cinerary Pot. Height 4¾ inches; diameter of upper rim 3⅛ inches, of base 2⅛ inches. Of a brown paste coated with a lustrous black "varnish." It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its neck, and another round its shoulders. (Found in the "family-circle," grave F., with No. 10. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 3.

27. Small Cinerary Pot. Height 4¼ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅛ inches, of base 2⅜ inches. It is of a brown colour covered in parts with darker "varnish." Round its shoulders is a well-defined cordon. (From grave D. of "family-circle," with No. 37. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 3.

28. Cinerary Pot. Height 7¼ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 3$\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of a brown surface with traces of blacker "varnish." It has two low cordons round its neck and shoulders. (Hales. B. M.)

29. Cinerary Pot. Height 7¾ inches; diameter of upper rim 5$\frac{1}{10}$ inches, of base 4¼ inches. Of a brown surface, blacker in parts. Of the same general form as the last, but with three cordons round its shoulders. (B. M.) Pl. VII. fig. 2.

30. Small Cinerary Pot. 3$\frac{9}{10}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 2 inches. It is of a somewhat rich brown colour, with a very sharp cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No. 12. B. M.)

31. Small Pot. Height 4$\frac{1}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅘ inches, of base 2⅗ inches. Of dark brown paste with black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No 21. B. M.) It contained no bones.

32. Cinerary Pot. Height 5½ inches; diameter of upper rim 7⅕ inches, of base 4½ inches. Of dark brown colour. The body of this vase forms a succession of eight ribs, which in the inner walls are represented by so many depressions. (Lewis Coll. No. 11. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 7.

33. Cinerary Pot. Height 9$\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 8½ inches, of base 3$\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Dark brown colour. The neck and shoulders are surrounded by seven ribs or cordons, which, however, are not traceable in the interior walls. (Lewis Coll. No. 9. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 2.

34. Small pot (smallest discovered). Height 3⅛ inches; diameter of upper rim 3⅜ inches, of base 1⅜ inch. Of a brown paste, with a cordon between two broader ribs round its neck. (Lewis Coll. No. 23. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 3.



1 (LIST NO. 14)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE 5.



2 (LIST NO. 29)



3 (LIST NO. 27)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE D.



4 (LIST NO. 25)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE B.



5 (LIST NO. 2)



6 (LIST NO. 6)



7 (LIST NO. 1)

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
(*1 linear*).



1 (LIST NO. 12)



2 (LIST NO. 33)
(*½ linear*).



3 (LIST NO. 32)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE F.



4 (LIST NO. 13)



5 (LIST NO. 3)



6 (LIST NO. 23)



7 (LIST NO. 32)

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
(*½ linear*).



1 (LIST NO. 18)



2 (LIST NO. 41)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE 8.



3 (LIST NO. 34)



5 (LIST NO. 24)



7 (LIST NO. 16.) IN IRON-BANDED BUCKET.



4 (LIST NO. 9)



6 (LIST NO. 19)



8 (LIST NO. 17)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE 5.

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS AND PATERA, AYLESFORD.
(¼ *linear*).

Bowls.

35. Cinerary Bowl. The diameter of the upper rim was 6½ inches, and from the remains of the other part it seems to have stood about 6½ inches high. It is of a brown paste, with a darker coating. (From the "family-circle," grave A. Ashmolean Museum.)

36. Small Cinerary Bowl. Height 3⅛ inches; diameter of upper rim 4½ inches, of base 2¼ inches. Of a brown paste with traces of black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (From the "family-circle," grave B. Ashmolean Museum.)

37. Small Bowl. Height 3½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅛ inches, of base 1⅞ inches. It is of a light brown paste approaching pale brick colour in the interior. Its surface, however, is of a deeper brown, and is coated in places with a black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its high collar and one round its shoulders. (Found in "family-circle," grave D., with No. 27. Ashmolean Museum). It contained no bones.

38 Bowl. Diameter 7 inches.

Paterœ.

39. Patera. Diameter 6 inches; height $1\frac{2}{11}$ inches. Of a dark brown colour. It has a single cordon round its outer edge. (Lewis Coll. B.M.)

40. Patera. Diameter 6½ inches; height 1⅜ inches. Of light brown paste with darker surface showing black "varnish" in places. It has a cordon or moulding round the rim. (From "family-circle," grave B. Found with Nos. 25 and 36. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. IX. fig. 2.

II. (*c*) The Cordoned *Situla*-like Vases and their Bronze and Earthenware Originals of the Adriatic Province.

Of all the types exhibited to us by the present series the most striking and characteristic is that of the cinerary vases somewhat abruptly rounded, at times slightly angular, at their shoulders, and tapering off in an inverted conical outline to a pedestal below. Fig. 7, representing the urn No. 5 of my list with its upper part completed, will give an idea of the characteristic form referred to in its most perfect development. In most cases these vases, which for elegance of form may almost vie with the ceramic products of Italy or Greece, are divided into zones by the small raised ridges or cordons described above, the zones themselves being in turn decorated at times with finely incised linear striations. This type of vase, beautiful as it is in itself, is still more interesting from the comparisons to which it inevitably leads us. No one familiar with the ceramic forms of an important

group of North-Italian cemeteries belonging for the most part to the fourth or fifth centuries before our era, and of which the series of objects so admirably excavated and arranged by Professor Prosdocimi at Este[a] forms the most splendid illustration, can fail to be struck with the manifold points of resemblance presented by the urns before us with the most characteristic of the vase-types there represented (cf. Pl. X.). The contour of the type referred to, with its shoulders sometimes angular, sometimes abruptly rounded off, its inverted conical body divided into vertical zones by raised cordons, and tapering off to a pedestal below, can only be described as identical with that of some of the finest of the Aylesford specimens. The only perceptible difference is that whereas the British urns are almost uniformly covered with a black or brown coating, the colouring matter of which may have been supplied by pounded charcoal, zones of the Euganean cineraries are coloured alternately with bands of graphite and red ochre. Some of the earlier of the Este vases are, however, of a plain dark brown *bucchero*, and others again of later date are an uniform red or grey.



Fig. 7. Cinerary Vase No. 5, from cemetery at Aylesford, Kent. (The upper part completed). ½ linear.

These North-Italian parallels have a still further value, inasmuch as they throw the clearest possible light on the actual genesis of this ceramic type. The

[a] *Notizie degli Scavi*, &c. 1882, p. 5-37.

cordoned vases of Este are, in fact, nothing more than copies in clay of certain forms of bronze *situlæ*, the originals of which are from time to time discovered on the same site. The commonest form of these, which is distributed through the whole of the geographical area where the vases are discovered, is zoned in the same way as the pots, the zones answering to an universal method of early metal industry, in accordance with which vessels were built up of bands of thin metal riveted together at the edges, each zone being often in turn defined by cordons or beads of metal. These cordons themselves in their more prominent form represent the wooden rings that surrounded and kept together the framework of wooden staves to which in early times the metal plates themselves were riveted.

To this class of bronze *situlæ* belong several famous examples, such as that discovered at Este itself in the Villa Benvenuti,[a] and the kindred specimens from the Certosa of Bologna,[b] and the Carniolan cemetery at Waatsch[c] (Pl. X. fig. 1), the zones of which were adorned with *repoussé* friezes representing, amongst other subjects, scenes of banqueting and sacrifice, pugilistic encounters, processions of warriors, and of women with pitchers on their heads, animals, fantastic and otherwise, executed by native artificers after Greek and Phœnician models.

These bronzes, both in general contour and in the zones that surround them, present a marked resemblance to the pots in question. They differ, indeed, from the vases, in not being provided with pedestals, but this element is supplied by another allied class of bronze *situlæ*[d] (Pl. X. fig. 2) characteristic of the same area, which indeed unites all the elements of the earthenware copies. The ornamental zones in this case are of a more decorative character and consist, for the most part, of rows of birds and animals in a highly conventional style, sometimes also with mæanders and other geometrical designs. The zones in this case seem to be confined to the upper part of the *situla*, and a plainer variety (Pl. X. fig. 3) exists, in which they are altogether absent on the body of the vase. A single bead or cordon, however, surrounds the lower part, just above the pedestal. The type, it will be observed, finds some very close parallels among the Aylesford vases (Pl. VII. fig. 6).

On the whole it may be said that the zoned vases of the Este group combine

[a] Prosdocimi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, p. 26, Tav. vi. 1; Zannoni, *Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, p. 157; Chierici, *Bullettino di Paletnologia*, Anno vi. p. 103.

[b] Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 101, *seqq.*; Tav. xxv. 7.

[c] Deschmann und Hochstetter, *Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begräbnisstätten in Krain* (Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien. 1879).

[d] Cf. Prosdocimi, *op. cit* Tav. vi. p. 13, 15; Tav. vii. p. 7, 16.

some features of both of the above classes of associated bronze *situlæ*, the regular succession of the zones and cordons answering best to the first class described, the pedestals to the second. Nor do these translations of bronze forms into clay by the Euganean and old Venetian potters by any means stand alone. In the Nazzaro collection at Este may be seen an earthenware version of the familiar cordoned bucket (*cista a cordoni*) placed on a kind of stand. A curious high pedestalled drinking-cup, with a beaded stem, which is characteristic of the same sepulchral group as the zoned *situlæ*, is also explained by the presence of bronze originals, made of two pieces, and with a bead at the joint in the middle of the pedestal, which, like the cordons of the *situlæ*, is faithfully reproduced in the clay copies. Another striking phenomenon of the same kind is to be seen in the ceramic reproduction of a Greek bronze *œnochoê* of a well-known type, with high-beaked spout.

In the case of the zoned and cordoned vases, we find again, both at Este and on other ancient sites round the head of the Adriatic, some curious transitional forms, in which the record of the bronze originals is still preserved by the decoration of the zones of the vase with small bronze studs. The well-known class of studded[a] pottery, the *vasi borchiati* of Italian archæologists, to which the above variety of *situla*-shaped vases belongs, is of great importance as illustrating the influence of metal-work originals on earthenware forms. Although of occasional occurrence elsewhere, in the earliest Iron Age deposits of Italy and its borderlands, this method must from the fifth century B.C. onwards be regarded as a speciality of the Illyro-Italic province.[b] Occasionally the studs are decorated with concentric circles (Pl. X. fig. 5), reproducing a form of embossed ornament, frequent on some of the *situlæ*. In other instances they are arranged in geometric patterns, horizontal zones, mæanders and recurring spirals (Pl. IX. fig. 5), copied

[a] Sometimes the studs are of lead or tin. I have seen this Oriental method of decorating pottery by the attachment of small pieces of tin still practised in the Bulgarian town of Rustchuk on the lower Danube. The pots in this case have a lustrous black surface.

[b] "*Vasi borchiati*" have been found not only in the cemeteries of Este and at Bologna (Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 395, Tav. cxxxv.), where they appear to be due to Venetian and Euganean influence; but in cemeteries of the Este type near Belluno (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1883, p. 40); in the Valley of Cadore (*op. cit.* p. 71), and Treviso (*op. cit.* p. 119); at Santa Lucia, near Gorizia (Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* Mitth. d. k. k. Centr. Comm. &c. 1884); at Vermo, near Pisino, in Istria (*Bull. di Paletnologia*, 1883, 204, 1885, *seqq.*); at Waatsch, in Carniola, &c. This form of ornament is already found, though more sparsely, in the earliest Iron Age interments of Italy; *e. g.* in the well-tombs of Corneto-Tarquinia and Vetulonia, and an elegant black bowl from Hallstatt (Von Sacken, Taf. xxvi. 3) was studded in the same way. At Falerii, *Cività Castellana*, it is well represented.

from precisely similar designs on bronze prototypes.[a] This fact will also be found to have an important bearing on the source of some Late-Celtic pottery.

The zoned and cordoned vases of the Este type are peculiar to the same geographical area as the bronze *situlæ* after which they were modelled. This includes, besides the old Venetian and Euganean regions of Northern Italy, a considerable Alpine tract to the north-east, and has a hitherto undefined range east of the Adriatic. In the Certosa tombs of Felsina they occur but rarely; they stand apart from the usual inventory of this North Etruscan cemetery, and must evidently there be regarded as intrusive products of a rival culture. North of the Po, however, the type seems everywhere at home. It is found in the cemeteries contemporary with those of Este in the districts of Verona, Treviso,[b] and Belluno.[c] On the opposite Istrian coast it reappears in the necropolis of the Pizzughi,[d] and at Vermo, near Pisino,[e] in the heart of the same peninsula. From the cemetery of Sta. Lucia, near Gorizia,[f] it extends inland through the Alpine passes to that of Pillichsdorf in Lower Austria.[g] It will be seen that the distribution of this remarkable class of zoned vases corresponds to a well-marked archæological province characterised by the parallel appearance of other special forms, by the prevalence of the same sepulchral customs, and in particular the recurrence of an alphabet,[h] to which, from its geographical extension, the name "Adriatic" has been not inaptly given. Ethnographically, this group may be defined as North Illyrian, or Illyro-Italic,[i] and may ultimately prove to have a

[a] See especially Dr. S. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, and cf. Prosdocimi, *op. cit.* 1882, *Tav.* iv. fig. 1, *Tav.* v. fig. 13.

[b] In the cemetery of Asolo, near Treviso, see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, 120.

[c] At Caverzano, *op. cit.* p. 40.

[d] Paolo Orsi, *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 47, *seqq.*

[e] *Op. cit.* 1883, p. 204, 1885, p. 1, *seqq.*

[f] Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* (Mitth. d. Central Comm. 1884, cxl.)

[g] F. Heger, *Der Tumulus bei Pillichsdorf in Niederösterreich.* (Mitth. d. anthropologischen Ges. Wien, 1879, Taf. II. f. 1 and 4.)

[h] C. Pauli, *Die Inschriften Nord Etruskischen Alphabets*, 1885, and Dr. A. Meyer, *Gurina*, p. 37, *seqq.*

[i] See especially Paolo Orsi, *Bull. di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 114, *seqq.* Fligier, *Mitth. d. Anthropologischen Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1877, 211. It seems to me that distinct Thraco-Illyrian features may be traced in some of the figures and subjects of the bronze *situlæ* belonging to this group. To take a single example, the *kausia* worn by some of the men curiously recalls the head of the Illyrian king Genthios as he appears on coins. Cf., too, the much earlier Thracian coinages &c. A connexion with Northern Greece and its borderlands seems best to explain the strong Hellenic elements in this Illyro-Italic art, which have been well characterized by Dr. Julius Naue in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1886, p. 1, *seqq.* Heft. lxxxii.)

wider extension than has been hitherto imagined in the north-west corner of the Balkan peninsula. The Veneti, as is well known, were themselves described by ancient writers as an Illyrian race.[a]

The existence of this extensive Illyro-Italic province, embracing, in addition to the eastern tract of the North Italian plain, a large Alpine zone, and commanding the main avenues of commerce between the Adriatic ports and the Central European regions, must be regarded as a fact of primary importance when we consider the extraneous sources of the Later Celtic art. The Gallic invasions in Italy, from the end of the fifth century B.C. onwards, brought the new occupants of the old Ligurian and North Etruscan districts into close relations with their Venetian neighbours, sometimes as rivals, sometimes as allies.[b] Bononia and Verona could not be indifferent to Patavium and Ateste. In some districts, no doubt, the older Illyro-Italic elements were submerged by these Celtic inundations, and evidences of a mixed culture, resulting from the fusion of the former occupants with the new settlers, are not wanting in the Po valley. In the great cemetery of Caverzano, for example, near Belluno, Gallic forms of weapons and fibulæ were found associated with zoned and cordoned vases, bronze *situlæ*, and other objects answering to those of the Third Period of Este. At Lozzo, again, in the valley of Cadore, at Asolo near Treviso, and elsewhere, we find the same juxtaposition of Late-Celtic and Venetian and Euganean forms. At Este itself, during the Fourth Period of Professor Prosdocimi, the interments take a very Gaulish character, the Celtic influence giving a predominant stamp to the local culture of this part of Italy in the two centuries that preceded the Roman conquest. An interesting commentary is thus supplied to the direct statement of Polybios,[c] that the Veneti, though speaking another language, differed but little from the Celts in customs and ornaments. Side by side, however, with Gallic forms of weapons and ornaments, and with a class of ash-coloured pottery, which

[a] Herodotus (I. 196,) calls the Veneti Illyrians. Strabo, (*Geogr.* xiii. 1. 54) records the legend according to which they came from Thrace under Antênor's guidance. The Iapodes are reckoned by Appian (*De Rebus Illyricis*, c. 10, &c.) as an Illyrian tribe, and their Southern borders extended to the neighbourhood of Trieste (Tergestê). By Strabo's time (*Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, and iv. c. 10) they had become blended with Gallic elements (*op. cit.* c. 8), and to the same stock belonged the Breones and Genauni of the *Brenner* and the *Valle di Non*. (Strabo, iv. 6, 8). The Istrians are reckoned an Illyrian race by Appian.

[b] Strabo (*Geogr.* v. 1, 9) says that already before the Hannibalic war, the Veneti and their neighbours the Gallic Cenomani were allied together on the Roman side against other Cisalpine Gaulish tribes.

[c] Hist. Lib. ii. c. 17, 5. "Οὐένετοι τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττῃ δ' ἀλλοίᾳ χρώμενοι."



1. BRONZE SITULA.
WAATSCH, CARNIOLA.



2. BRONZE SITULA.
ESTE.



3. CLAY SITULA WITH RED AND BLACK ZONES AND BRONZE STUDS. ESTE.



4. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS.
ESTE.



5. CLAY IMITATION OF BRONZE SITULA.
ESTE.



6. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS.
CERTOSA, BOLOGNA (VENETIAN TYPE).

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC SITULAS AND TRANSITIONAL IMITATIONS IN CLAY WITH BRONZE STUDS.



DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC CORDONED VESSELS FROM ESTE.

the Gaulish invaders seem to have brought with them, we find the otherwise Gallicized population still adhering to the old tradition of zoned and cordoned vases. Thus, in one of the most important of the tombs belonging to this period,[a] and in other respects the most thoroughly Gallic, there was found, together with a sword and *fibulæ* of the La Tène type, a cinerary vase, the paste and fabric of which was of the characteristic cis-Alpine Gaulish kind, but which in its zones, its red ochreous colouring, and its cordons, reproduced the familiar features of the situla-shaped urns of the earlier Atestine tombs.[b]

In the Eastern Alps, and what are now the Austrian Crownlands of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, the pre-existing populations of the same Illyric stock were for the most part subjugated by other Celtic tribes. In some cases these invasions gave birth on this side to mixed races, such as the Scordisci of the Save and Drave valleys,[c] and the Iapodes of the Adriatic coastlands, who represented a blend of Illyrian and Celtic stocks. In their case we are told that they used arms of Gallic form, but continued to tattoo themselves after the old Thracian and Illyrian manner.[d] It is obvious that under such conditions the borrowing could not have been always on one side. Much of the earlier culture of this European tract was taken over by the new comers, and the mixture of Italo-Illyric relics with others of characteristically Late-Celtic stamp on ancient sites like that of Gurina in the Gailthal, shows that here, too, as on the Italian side, this old Adriatic civilization left its impress on the Celtic tribes.

II. (*d*) Analogies to Aylesford types in Belgic Gaul.

In view of the striking parallels presented by the late British ceramic forms of Aylesford to those of which, beyond the Alps, the cemeteries of Este

[a] The third tomb of the Villa Benvenuti. Cf. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 396, *seqq.* Prosdocimi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, Tav. viii. fig. 3, &c.

[b] Gherardini, *loc. cit.* remarks of this urn, "Mentre il suo tipo è estraneo alle ceramiche arcaiche, come anche la qualità dell' argilla, si è voluto imitare la ornamentazione degli ossuari del III. periodo col circondarlo di due cordoni e di una linea incisa, onde è diviso in zone. Tra i due cordoni è visibilissima, oltre a ciò, l'ocre rossa." Its outline represents a modification of the earlier *situla* type.

[c] Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, after classing the Scordisci as Gauls, adds: "*καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς Θρᾳκίοις ἀναμὶξ ᾤκησαν.*"

[d] Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 4.

afford us the most typical example, the question naturally arises, may not this intimate Celtic contact or intermixture with the representatives of the great Adriatic province have had a still more far-reaching influence on the arts of the Celtic peoples? And this question suggests the further inquiry: Is it possible to trace the same cordoned vases with which we have to deal across Belgic Gaul to the Alpine regions, which were in direct relations with the countries occupied by the Adriatic Veneti and their kinsmen?

Although, so far as I am aware, no group of vases presenting such elegant contours as those from our Kentish cemetery have as yet been forthcoming from the opposite coasts of Gaul, yet an examination of the sepulchral statistics collected by French antiquaries is conclusive as showing that vases with the same typical features have occurred in a whole group of Belgic cemeteries of the same general class as that of Aylesford. In the cemetery of Moulineaux,[a] near Rouen, containing cinerary urns, sometimes deposited in company with smaller accessory vessels in shallow pits, there occurred, amongst ruder urns, a very characteristic specimen of a cordoned vase (Pl. XII. fig. 6) coloured, like the British specimens, of a blackish brown and greatly resembling the Aylesford urn (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). In another cinerary (Pl. VI. fig. 5) from the same site, with four cordons set close together round the upper part of the body, the *situla*-shaped contour was further accentuated by its elegantly-formed base, showing an approach to a pedestal. This vase was also of finer clay and presented a polished black surface, due apparently to a kind of *vernis* of pounded charcoal. In the cemetery of Port-le-Grand,[b] near St. Valéry-sur-Somme, were found some vases of somewhat similar form, with indented ornamentation on their sides. At Belozanne[c] again, on the Lower Seine, in an interment, apparently of the same class as the above, was found, in company with an accessory bowl, a cinerary vase with two cordons, a striated band round the upper part of its body and a well-developed pedestal below (Pl. XII. fig. 7). The pear-shaped outline of this vase, with its small mouth, shows an approach to the Aylesford specimen (Pl. IX. fig. 4), while the slanting striations, though here in pairs with intervals between, recur on the lower zones of several of the Kentish urns.

The cemeteries to which these Belgic vases belong date from the last period

[a] Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises, &c.* p. 10. For a black vase with nine cordons see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 98, fig. 68.

[b] *Op. cit.* p. 42, and cf. Hecquet d'Orval in *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville*, 1838-40, p. 285-95.

[c] Cochet, *Revue Archéologique*, xxviii. (1874), p. 55.



1. FROM NEAR CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE.



2. ST. ÉTIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.



3. ST. ÉTIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.



4. KLEIN WINTERNHEIM, NEAR MAINZ.



5. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.



6. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.



7. BELOZANNE, LOWER SEINE.

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING LATE CELTIC TYPES OF URNS FROM FRANCE AND RHINELANDS.

of Gaulish independence that preceded the Roman conquest. The character of the interment is, in its essential features, the same as that of our Kentish cemetery. We have here, as at Aylesford, cremation deposits, consisting each of a cinerary vase, often associated with one or more accessory vessels, placed in small pits in the flat surface of the ground, and lying at a depth of about 60 centimetres below the surface. In one case, of which we have an authentic record, the deposits are described as lying about 2 metres apart,[a] and it is possible, though the fact has not been noticed by French archaeologists, that the arrangement of the pits in "family-circles" may also prove to have been rife on the Gaulish side of the Channel. The enclosure of the cinerary urns in buckets, as in the case of the Aylesford grave represented in fig 1, and of which the great Marlborough bucket in all probability supplied another British example, also finds its parallel in a Gaulish cemetery, presenting ceramic forms of the same general class. Thus, in the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale, a tureen-shaped cinerary vase, with four cordons round its upper circumference, was found, surrounded by the bronze bands of a large bucket in which it was originally enclosed. Near it, in this case, was an object described by the workmen as a "compass," no doubt the familiar iron shears of Late-Celtic interments, and an iron sword, in its iron sheath, with the obtuse point and the cross-bars to its sheath, characteristic of the latest La Tène period. In accordance with a then prevalent sepulchral custom the sword was bent and crumpled up.

II. (*e*) Analogies to Aylesford Types of Pedestalled Vases in Eastern Gaul, and in the Rhenish and Alpine Districts.

If we now turn to the more easterly parts of Gaul which present us with the earlier evidences of direct intercourse between the Gallic tribes and the Mediterranean world in the shape of the imported beaked oenochoês and other characteristic bronzes of Greek and Etruscan fabric we find ourselves confronted with certain ceramic forms which supply a most important link between the Aylesford type of vases and their North-Italian analogues. On the Middle and Upper Rhine not only do we find types of cordoned and *situla*-shaped vases which run parallel to the Belgic and British group with which we have been hitherto dealing,

[a] In the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale. See Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises, &c.* p. 397, *seqq.*

but there occur at times in the ornament certain suggestive details which reproduce a characteristic feature of the Illyro-Italic class. Fig. 4 of Pl. XII. represents a vase in the Museum of Mainz in which the *situla*-like form of the Aylesford type, including the pedestal, is well defined. It is of the same smooth black coloured ware as the Kentish cineraries, and displays two double cordons round its body enclosing a broad zone ornamented with alternating crosslines and small circles arranged in zigzags. This geometrical form of ornamentation as well as the recurring disklets recalls at once the decorative stud-work of the peculiar class of vases, the *vasi borchiati*, already described as characteristic of the Illyro-Italic group. There the clay *situla* still retains a lively reminiscence of its bronze original in the shape of little round studs of bronze arranged upon its sides in geometrical designs, such as the mæander, reproduced from those that decorate the zones of the bronze prototypes belonging to the same Adriatic province.

A valuable commentary on the above form and decoration is supplied by a parallel group of Late-Celtic vases from the cemeteries of Champagne. In a cemetery near Châlons-sur-Marne [a] was found a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of the same dark brown material (Pl. XII. fig. 1) divided by incised lines, which here represent the raised cordon of the more familiar class, into two zones, the uppermost of which is adorned in the same linear fashion with what may best be described as fragments of mæanders, while below are chevron ornaments in the same style, which also in all probability represent detached pieces of the same motive. In another vase from the cemetery of St. Étienne du Temple [b] in the same Marne district (Pl. XII. fig. 2), the metallic character of the form is even more strongly accentuated, and in this case the two upper zones are ornamented with small disklets alternating with concentric circles which reproduce a most characteristic ornament not only of the bronze *situlæ* of the Illyro-Italic province already referred to, but of their clay imitations as found at Este and elsewhere in which this decorative motive is preserved by the attachment to their upper zones of bronze studs embossed with the same concentric circles.[c]

[a] *Revue Archéologique*, 1868 (T. xvii.) p. 92, *seqq. Note de la Redaction, &c.* and pl. iii. For other vessels of the same form from the Aisne see Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. xl. xli. while in pl. F. an arrangement of these vessels may be seen beside the skeleton of a Gaulish warrior and the remains of his chariot in a grave excavated at Sablonière in the same district.

[b] *Loc. cit.* pl. iii. f. 3. For other remarkable pedestalled vases of the same class from Champagne see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 94, fig 63, p. 95, fig. 64.

[c] The angular shoulders of this group of vessels from the Marne,—the "carinated vases" of French antiquaries,—seems to show that they were derived immediately from bronze originals.

Another highly suggestive parallel remains to be recorded. Together with some perfect examples of Gaulish vases like the above there were discovered in the Aisne district[a] some fragments of larger vessels which were further divided in the Este fashion into zones of greyish brown and bright ochreous red.

It will thus be seen that the correspondences between the *situla*-like vases of the more Eastern parts of ancient Gaul, and those of the Alpine and Italic region about the head of the Adriatic extend not only to the general contour but to the very minutiæ of the ornament, and at times even of the colouring. The parallels are of such a kind as to fully warrant us in supposing that these Celtic ceramic forms are in fact the outgrowth of a group of bronze vessels, some of the most typical of which have been shown to be the characteristic product, during the immediately preceding period, of this extensive Illyro-Italic province. It is an interesting commentary on this connexion that among the earliest types of the Late-Celtic sword which occur as imported articles in the Hallstatt graves is one the sheath of which is decorated with figures in the Illyro-Italic style of Waatsch and Este.

II. (*f*) General conclusions as to the origin of the Pedestalled Urns of the Aylesford Cemetery, with some remarks on the importation and imitation of Painted Vases in the Celtic regions.

That the cordoned pedestalled vases as a class are ultimately to be referred to the endeavour to imitate in clay certain types of bronze *situlæ* in vogue beyond the Alps may perhaps be regarded as sufficiently established by the comparisons already instituted. But the question remains, did the imitative ceramic forms thus called into being amongst the Gaulish tribes take their origin directly from imported bronze vessels of the type referred to? Or are they rather to be regarded as copies of the class of clay vessels for which these bronze forms had already served as prototypes among the Veneti and their kin, on the Adriatic coastlands?

That a certain number of Late-Celtic urns and notably the "carinated" vases of the Marne cemeteries (such as Plate XII. figs. 1 and 2), were directly fashioned after imported bronzes is highly probable. But so far as is at present known the range of the cordoned bronze vessels with which our most typical Aylesford forms have most in common does not seem to extend westwards. Yet the resemblance between

[a] F. Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. figs. 6 and 7.

these fine Kentish vases, such as that shown in fig. 7, is even closer to the Italian prototypes than most of those hitherto brought to light in the intervening Gaulish districts, and seems to warrant the suspicion that the Belgic potters, if they had not imported bronzes of the type, must at least have had before them imported pots from the Cisalpine region. In this connexion the isolated discovery in the Aisne district referred to above of fragments of coloured pottery of a kind otherwise unknown in Late-Celtic deposits, but reproducing the familiar alternating zones of the Este group, is of the greatest significance. Even if they are to be regarded as imitations executed on Gaulish soil, they betray such an intimate acquaintance with the Illyro-Italic fabrics as could only have been obtained from the presence of imported vases of the Este type. That as a matter of fact painted vases were imported from beyond the Alps by the Gaulish tribes appears from a variety of finds. Greek painted *kylikes* and other vessels have been discovered in Celtic graves from the Upper Rhine to the Marne and Meuse in association with imported metalwork.[a] That some of these found their way across the Alps from the Adriatic side is shown not only by the discovery of Apulian or Tarentine pottery from the Roseninsel on the Wurmsee in Bavaria,[b] and in the neighbourhood of Zurich,[c] but by a remarkable *kantharos* surrounded with a peculiar chequer-work frieze found in the barrow of Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate[d] in association with specimens of goldwork belonging to the earliest Rhenish class of Late-Celtic jewellery.

With regard to the origin of this latter vase great difficulties have arisen. That it was of Italo-Greek fabric was evident, on the other hand it does not answer to any known Apulian, still less to Campanian types. Whilst examining however the alien forms of pottery found in the Este cemeteries I was astonished

[a] To these must be added the curious painted *kylikes* of half-barbaric fabric, such as those found in Posen and Silesia, at Frelsdorf in Hanover, &c.

[b] Sigmund von Schab, *Pfahlbauten im Wurmsee* (Beiträge zur Anthr. u. Urgeschichte Bayerns, I. seqq. & T. II.) Amongst the fragments discovered were part of a characteristic Tarentine or Apulian vase with an androgynous winged figure, &c., parts of a *kylix*, and another vessel of the same Magna-Græcian fabric. There was a part of a *kylix* (?) of Corinthian make, which also points to an Adriatic source. Intermediate traces of this line of commerce are to be seen in the series of finds of Magna-Græcian pottery at Risano, Lissa, Lesina, and again at Pizzughi in Istria.

[c] A small "Apulian" Lekythos, in the Museum of Zurich. A *kelebé* with red figures in a relaxed style was also found on the Uetliberg near this place (Keller, *Anzeiger für Schweitzerische Alterthumskunde*, Juli, 1871, No. 3). Another "Apulian" Lekythos, from near Constance, is to be seen in the same museum.

[d] Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. III. H. 4, &c.

to find the remains of a whole series of *kanthari* answering in every respect to the Rodenbach example. A great probability therefore arises that this type of pottery belongs to some Greek or semi-Greek colony of the Adriatic coast, and the Rodenbach vase must have arrived north of the Alps from the same north-eastern region of Italy, from which were ex-hypothesi derived the prototypes of the Late-Celtic pedestalled vases.

Side by side with these imported forms there have been also discovered in some Late-Celtic graves of the Marne and Rhine districts some remarkable painted vases, which seem actually to have been made on Gaulish soil. Some of these vessels show a white ground ornamented with a kind of ochreous chequer and frame-work. A good example of a vase of this type from a Gaulish grave exists in the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne, and another which might be its fellow in that of Mainz. At other times, as in the case of a fine vase of this class recently discovered in the Late-Celtic cemetery of Wies Oppenheim, near Worms,[a] the upper part of the body of the vessel is coated with a broad band of ochreous brown, while below and above the colour of the vase is of a light maroon.[b] Fragments of similar painted vases have been discovered on the site of the Boian station of Hradisht, near Prag.[c] Both the tones of the colouring and the general outline of the forms in these instances are strongly suggestive of the fact that the Celtic potters must have had before their eyes certain late forms of Apulian *lekythi* from which to copy, and we have here another intimation that imported painted wares were during this period reaching the Gaulish tribes from the Adriatic side.

In view of these facts it must be regarded as quite within the bounds of possibility that some of the fine painted vessels of the Este type found their way into Belgic Gaul by an old commercial line across the Alps. Further discoveries, either in the intermediate Gaulish tract or in Britain itself, may eventually throw more light on the channel by which these Illyro-Italic models reached the Belgic tribe whose ceramic skill has been revealed to us in the Aylesford cemetery. Nor, on the other hand, considering the mobility and continual distant shifting of the Gaulish tribes, must actual migration from Cisalpine Gaul be excluded from the

[a] In the Worms Museum.

[b] A striking example of the imitation of the form of a Greek painted vase north of the Alps is to be seen in a fine jar of a dark terracotta colour from the important late Hallstatt find at Hundersingen, on the Upper Danube. It is unquestionably copied from a Greek fourth-century amphora, the handles only being omitted. It is in the Stuttgart Museum.

[c] These are now in the Natural History Museum at Vienna. The pottery has been erroneously described as "Roman."

possible causes of the spread of such Italic forms to our western isle. Dangerous as it is to venture into such ethnographical speculations, the temptation is great to connect the western diffusion of these Adriatic types with the attachment of the Venetian name to the most advanced commercial and seafaring community of the Armoric coast. And if it be thought too hazardous to suggest a connection between the Celtic or at least Celticized Veneti of the Lower Loire and their Illyrian homonyms of the Po valley, we may yet recall the fact that the Gaulish neighbours of the Cisalpine Veneti, the Cenomani, had their more abiding seat in the West Gaulish land that has preserved the historic name of Maine, and that the Senones were at home at Sens as well as Sinigaglia. The wheels of tribal and national migration move as a rule along the ruts of pre-existing lines of commercial intercourse.

II. (*g*) Comparisons of Aylesford *Situla* Vases with North European Ceramic Forms.

It is interesting to observe that in the cremation graves of Northern Germany and Scandinavia, in which the influence of the Late Celtic culture first makes itself apparent, there have been brought to light certain forms of pottery which point, like those of the West, to the influence of prototypes in bronze-work. The cordoned vases, indeed, such as we have traced them from the Alps to the Channel, do not seem to occur in this more northerly zone; but there do, nevertheless, occur certain elegantly shaped vessels, of the same paste and smooth black or dark brown surface, which are evidently modelled on metal-work originals. Such, for instance, are some of the pots associated with fibulæ of Tène type in the early "Brandpletter," "Brandgrubengräber," or cremation pits in the Isle of Bornholm,[a] while in Seeland[b] there was discovered in the same association an earthenware vessel in which the attachments of the handle of the bronze original had been imitated in clay. Amongst these occurs also a simpler form of *situla* vase without rudimentary remains of handles, which can be traced southwards both to the Celtic stations of Bohemia[c] and the Rhine. This

[a] Vedel, *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager* (Kjœbenhavn, 1886). p. 105, figs. 224, 226, &c.

[b] Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, p. 429, fig. 134. For another apparently metallic form see Von Schested, *Fortidsminder og Oldsager fra Egnen om Broholm*, pl. xxxvi. f. 56, b. For other somewhat later illustrations see Engelhardt, *Influence Classique*, *&c.* (Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. du Nord, 1872-7, p. 252.)

[c] W. Osborne, *Hradisht bei Stradonic* (*Mitth. d. anthr. Gesellsch. von Wien*, 1881, T. II. 1).

type is certainly derived from a somewhat pear-shaped form of bronze pail common in Italian deposits of the third and second centuries before our era, and of which a good specimen will be seen in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. I have recently obtained from an interesting barrow interment at Urmitz on the Rhine a specimen of this simple class found associated with two other cineraries, one decorated with indented ornaments of an earlier Celtic type. With these urns were deposited three *fibulæ* of a form which may be considered as a variety of the "Nauheim" type, a large annular bead of blue glass, bronze horse ornaments, a stag's-horn charm, such as also occur in Rhenish deposits associated with Roman remains, and a flat iron lancehead exhibiting on both sides an inscription in punctuated letters.[a] It is probable that this interment belonged to the transitional period when Roman influence was beginning among the Rhenish populations. The well-known "mæander urns," the range of which extends from Poland and Silesia to Hanover in the West, in all probability represent a later offshoot of the same ceramic family as these pear-shaped vases.

II. (*h*) Comparisons of other forms of the Aylesford Pottery with Gaulish and Italic Ceramic Types.

The cordoned *situla*-shaped cineraries which must be regarded as the most characteristic of the ceramic types supplied by our Aylesford cemetery have been shown to belong to a large kindred group, representatives of which occur in the cemeteries of the Continental Belgæ, and the sources of which, as is shown by parallel types from the more eastern parts of the old Gallic area, are to be found in the bronze *situlæ*, and their cordoned clay imitations of a large Alpine and Adriatic province.

It is not, however, by any means intended to confine the influence of foreign bronze work to one particular class of vessel. As already shown in the preceding section, other forms of bronze *situla*, not possessed of either cordons or pedestals, were certainly imitated as well, and the prototypes of some of these vessels, more-

[a] These objects are now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. I propose to give a fuller account of this find elsewhere.

over, are of a much wider diffusion than the special forms described as peculiar to the Illyro-Italic province. It must also be borne in mind that bronze *situlæ* of a simple early type, without cordons, have themselves been found as far afield as Brittany, England, and Ireland in the West.[a] Greek and Etruscan models played their part as well as "Old Venetian." It is probable, moreover, that the curious pear-shaped type of pedestalled vase, figured on Pl. IX. fig. 4, which also finds its analogies in Gaul, owes its typical contour to an attempt to imitate the body of a curious form of bronze vase provided with a spout and lid, specimens of which (apparently representing Gaulish imitations of an Etruscan prototype) have been found in Late-Celtic deposits of the Marne, the Saar, and the Rhine.[b]

The remaining forms of vessel found in the Aylesford graves, from their paste, colour, and general style of fabric, obviously belong to the same ceramic class as the pedestalled vases. Such are the pots (cf. Pl. VIII. fig. 2; IX. fig. 3) with bowl-shaped bellies, the neck or collar of which is in most cases surrounded by one or more of the same cordons that occur on the *situla*-shaped vases, here, perhaps, as in other cases, added simply as an ornamental feature by analogy from the pedestalled types. This form again has a wide Continental distribution, as is shown by its recurrence amongst the Late-Celtic remains of Switzerland and on the Rhine.[c] Among the accessory vases there appears a form of *patera* which is also common to a large Gaulish and Rhenish tract. Some good examples may be seen in the Boulogne Museum, where there is also a specimen of a more elaborate type with a distinct cordon, traces of which also appear on the Aylesford examples round the middle of the sides and another below. Similar *pateræ* have also been found in the Gaulish tombs of the Marne district,[d] and an example from Reims[e] is provided with a well-turned handle. In the Late-Celtic cremation cemeteries of the Worms district they are also well represented together with several other

[a] J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements, &c.* p. 412, 413.

[b] *e.g.* From St. Jean-sur-Tourbe (Marne), *Rev. Arch.* 1883, p. 201, seqq. Pl. XXI. see p. 28, Note c.; from Waldalgesheim (*E. Aus'm Weerth Festprogramm zu Winkelmann's Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1870); and another in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg from a Rhenish site.

[c] See for example the urn from Schärloch, figured in De Bonstetten, *Supplément au récueil des Antiquités Suisses*, pl. vii. 1.

[d] In the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne I have recently obtained for the Ashmolean Museum a specimen of a similar type from a Gaulish grave of the second century, B.C. found near Châlons.

[e] Also in the Châlons Museum.

varieties of the Aylesford vases. These parallels extend, moreover, beyond the Alps. The usage of depositing a *patera* in the grave is, itself, no doubt, of Italian derivation, and, apart from this, a comparison with Plate IX. figs. 1-4, and 6, will show how much even the minor ceramic forms from the Kentish cemetery have in common with the smaller vessels from the Este tombs.

Besides the cordons we find on some of the Aylesford vessels another form of decoration executed in *graffito*, often consisting of a series of fine lines drawn diagonally across the zones, a type of ornament which occurs on Gaulish pottery belonging to the same group. The elegant vase, Plate IX. fig. 1, supplies an excellent example. In other cases we find a continuous zigzag (Plate IX. fig. 5), a reminiscence, perhaps, of the Gaulish type already described (Pl. XII. fig. 1). At times again the ornament covers the whole lower surface of the pot, presenting somewhat of the appearance of the grain of woodwork, and much recalling the engraved designs upon the stones of Gavr' Innis (Pl. VIII. fig. 6). In the remarkable little pot, Plate IX. fig. 6, we have an example of a class of ornament which resembles the traditional decorative motive of British Bronze-Age pottery, in so far as it is obviously derived from basket-work; in the present instance, however, it has a character of its own very different from that of the older indigenous class.[a]

That the earlier native style of pottery should itself occasionally have reacted on the imported wares is only what might be expected; and it would be a manifest exaggeration to trace all the members of the Aylesford class to trans-Alpine sources. There existed in the eastern parts of Gaul itself another very well-marked ceramic school, characteristic of a large "Hallstatt" group, and amongst which the painted vases from the barrow-graves of Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria stand out as the most brilliant representatives, and it is probable that the ceramic class must have made its influence widely felt. The ornaments, for instance, on some of the Gaulish vessels of the Champagne cemeteries seem to point in this direction; and a widely-spread tureen-shaped cinerary that characterizes many of the Gaulish deposits of Late-Celtic type, and which find analogues in Britain, may perhaps be regarded as an offshoot of the same "Hallstatt" family.

[a] A pot with very similar ornamentation has now been recently found in a grave belonging to the Gaulish cemetery of Lutetia (Paris). (See Eug. Toulouze. *Rev. Arch.* 1890, p. 374.)

II. (*i*) Diffusion of the Aylesford Class of Pottery over South-Eastern Britain.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Aylesford cemetery supplies us with the means of recognising a whole class of Late-British pottery, as different from the ruder forms that had preceded it as are the associated bronzes with their highly elaborated decorative style from the simpler shapes of our insular bronze age. Of the Continental range of these forms, enough has perhaps been said for the purposes of the present paper. It remains to consider what extension this well-marked though strangely neglected ceramic class had in Britain itself, where it seems to have hitherto either escaped the notice of our antiquaries or to have been classed in museums under the general head of "Roman."

So far as my present researches go, this class of Late-Celtic pottery extends over the whole of south-eastern England. In Kent it seems to be specially abundant, and several specimens of vessels belonging to this group, the source of some of which has not been recorded, may be detected in the Maidstone Museum. From the hill above Aylesford itself, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the great dolmen known as Kits' Coty House, were obtained cinerary urns presenting the same characteristics as those from the cemetery in the valley below.[a] In the same museum is to be seen a cordoned vase representing a modified form of the *situla*-shaped type, which, with some other cineraries of the same ceramic class, and a very fine plate or *patera* 14 inches in diameter, were found in what was no doubt an ancient British cemetery at Allington, a village which lies a mile above Aylesford on the opposite side of the Medway.[b] Amongst other Kentish vessels, the antecedents of which are unfortunately not recorded, may be mentioned a ribbed cup and a small finely modelled bowl of blackish "*bucchero*" with somewhat straight sides, but presenting the peculiarity that its bottom is slightly convex, recalling thus a characteristic feature of a well-known class of

[a] From the hill above Kits' Coty House were also obtained three British bronze coins, one uninscribed (Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. G. 13, p. 122), one of Eppillus (*op. cit.* pl. iv. 3, p. 197), and one probably of Amminus (*op. cit.* pl. xiii. 12, p. 354).

[b] It is probably to the same cemetery that the curious British cist described in the *Arch. Ass. Journal* (iv. p. 65) must be referred. It presented the peculiarity of having its walls and the domical cover above of clay baked *in situ*. Within was a skeleton in a somewhat contracted posture.

medieval bowls. At Northfleet (in Bevan's pit) cinerary urns of the Aylesford type have also come to light.[a]

A very important find exhibiting the same class of pottery, and revealing the existence of the same form of cremation interment as that of the Kentish cemetery has recently been made in the Eastern Counties. In the spring of 1888 I had occasion to inspect a small deposit brought to light a short time before near Elveden, in Essex, the principal object of which was a two-handled bronze-plated wooden vessel adorned with *repoussé* medallions,[b] and presenting the closest parallel to the bronze tankard discovered in one of the Aylesford graves. With this were found three earthenware vessels of excellent make, and belonging unquestionably to the Aylesford class. One of those was of a reddish colour, and though more globular in form resembled the most delicately finished of the Aylesford vases in the double row of undulating *striæ* that ornamented its body. Mr. Henry Prigg, into whose possession these interesting relics had passed, was at first, owing to their excellence of fabric, inclined to regard them as of Roman[c] manufacture. The Late-Celtic character of the pottery is, however, made probable in this case, not only by its close agreement with the Kentish pots already described, but from its actual association with a fine specimen of Late-British metal-work: I have little doubt indeed, that these associated vessels formed part of a somewhat late interment of the Aylesford kind, and the discovery of calcined bones amongst the earth removed with the relics corroborates this view.[d]

[a] I am indebted to Mr. H. Lewis, of Camberwell, for this information. At the same spot was a funnel-shaped hole 6 feet deep excavated in the chalk and with burnt clay at the bottom, which Mr. Lewis believed to have been used as a kiln for baking the urns in question.

[b] See p. 359, fig. 10.

[c] Romanizing influences need not here be excluded in the case of the pottery. See p. 383.

[d] Mr. Prigg writes, "From the fragments before me it is clear that your idea that these relics accompanied an interment is correct. The fragments in question consist of about a dozen pieces of roughly calcined human bones, among which are the portion of the base of a skull of a young individual, the head of a femur, and, I think, a portion of a scapula." Mr Prigg considered that "the bones had the appearance of having been buried loose in the earth and not in an urn," but the absence of any green stain from the bronze vessel and the Aylesford analogies tell the other way. These bones were sent to Mr. Prigg, with the tankard and urns, by a Mr. Fenton. Two years later, some of the workmen who had dug up the remains, when examined by Mr. Prigg, denied having found bones, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the original account was the true one, and that the whole formed part of an interment of the same class as that of Aylesford, Hitchin, etc. Fragmentary calcined bones do not impress themselves on the observation or memory of untrained excavators. The objects were exhibited by Mr. Prigg, in February 1889, to the British Archæological Association, and a brief notice published in their Journal, vol. xlv. p. 81.

We have here then another typical Late-British urn-burial of the Aylesford class, the cinerary being accompanied by one or more accessory vessels, the purpose of which was in all probability to contain food or drink offerings for the departed.

In the Archæological Museum at Cambridge there are two vases belonging to the Aylesford class. One represents what is probably a late degeneration of the *situla* type with a short pedestal and a cordon round its neck. It is wheel-turned and of a dark grey paste coated with a thin brown slip of the usual character. The other vase, exhibiting a remarkably elongated and elegant version of the same *situla* type, with no less than ten very fine cordons round its body, and a more prominent moulding encircling its pedestal, belongs, so far as material is concerned, to a different category, although no doubt the product of the same race of Late-Celtic artificers who produced the Aylesford pots. It is formed of Kimmeridge shale, and has been turned on the lathe with great skill in two separate sections, which have afterwards been rabbeted together. This vase, which is 14 inches high, was found with another similar vessel in a sepulchral deposit at Old Warden, in Bedfordshire.[a]

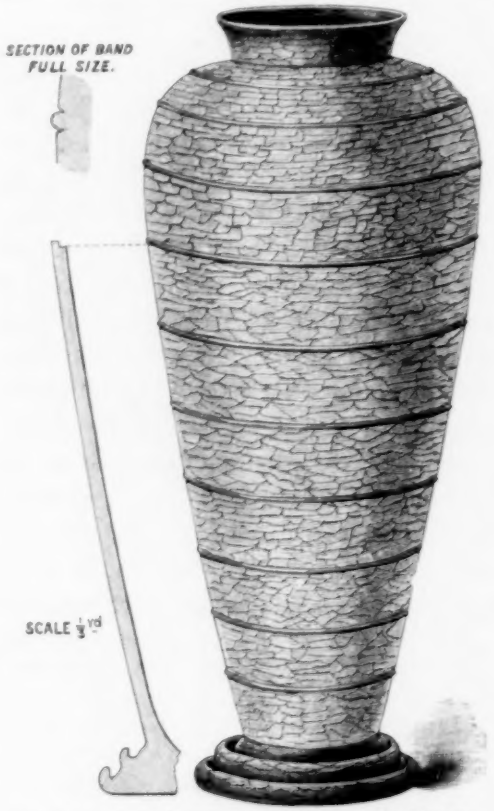


Fig. 8. Vase of Kimmeridge shale, from Old Warden, Bedfordshire. (¼ linear.)

Nor are these the only examples of a class of vessels of the same Late-British type turned in Kimmeridge shale. In 1845 there was found in a withy-bed near

[a] It is engraved by Prof. J. S. Henslow (*Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1846). Prof. Henslow was of opinion that the vases were Romano-British sepulchral vessels. He refers to No. 10 of the publications of the Society, where they were originally described as of oak. He describes the shale vase as made in four sections. Prof. Middleton, however, to whose kindness is due the sketch engraved in fig. 8, assures me that it is only divided into two parts.

Corfe Castle[a] a deposit of Kimmeridge "coal money," in which was a vessel of the same material, described as being "like the bowl of a large glass or rummer, and with the bottom or stand broken off." In 1856 again two vessels resembling truncated *ciste a cordoni* or cordoned buckets, with three ribs round their sides, were found at Great Chesterford, in Essex.[b] With these were found fragments of two elegant vases of dark pottery of the same elongated situla type as the shale urns from Old Warden, and undoubtedly belonging to the Aylesford class.[c] A patera of Kimmeridge shale, perhaps belonging to the same period, was found at Colchester,[d] and a round box and other objects of the same style and material, perhaps exported from Britain, are to be seen in the Museum of Boulogne.[e] There can be no doubt that the fabric of these Kimmeridge "coal" vessels and ornaments, although it continued to flourish after the Roman Conquest, must in its origin be regarded as a British art of great antiquity. That the British artificers, to whom the Aylesford situlas and the other vessels of the ceramic class with which we are dealing, had attained great proficiency in turners' work in Kimmeridge shale is shown in the case of our Kentish cemetery by the deftly wrought bracelets of that material found in one of the earlier graves.[f] In a Bronze-Age barrow at Broad Down, in Devonshire, was found a beautifully turned cup of Kimmeridge shale,[g] in shape much resembling the gold cup found with a bronze celt in a grave at Rillaton, in Cornwall, and the amber example[h] found in a barrow at Hove, near Brighton, associated with relics also belonging to the Later Bronze Period.[i]

Another interesting discovery of similar pottery and indicative of the existence

[a] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. (1868), p. 301.

[b] The Hon. R. C. Neville (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiv. (1857), pp. 85-87).

[c] Two silver *fibulæ*, the forms of which are not given, attached to each other by a wire chain (a characteristic "Tène" fashion), were also found near (*op. cit.* p. 85). Other vases of the same character raised on a foot or "stand" are described as having been found east of Chesterford. In the *Arch. Inst. Journal* (1860, p. 127) another vase of the Aylesford type is figured and described as coming from this site. It was "of dark coloured ware," with a slight cordon round its neck and body, and a more pronounced one round its pedestal. It is there classed as "Roman."

[d] Henslow, *loc. cit.*

[e] Neville, *op. cit.* p. 87.

[f] See p. 5.

[g] Rev. R. Kirwan, "Sepulchral Barrows at Broad Down, near Honiton, &c. (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. [1868], p. 296, *seqq.*). It is certainly of bituminous shale, and probably, as Mr. Franks has suggested, from the Kimmeridge deposits.

[h] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiii. (1856), p. 183.

[i] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxiv. (1867), p. 189.

of a Late-British cemetery of the same class as that of Aylesford has now been made at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire.[a] One of the vases exhibits an elegant *situla*-like contour, and is provided with a pedestal; the others, both in their shapes, cordons, and, in one case the hatched *graffito* decoration of the zones, also recall the Kentish examples. One of the cineraries presents the peculiarity of having a tazza-shaped cover, which had been evidently made to fit into a groove running around the shoulders of the urn. When discovered, however, the cover lay not upon but beside the urn, some burnt bones being upon it, and it is probable that the urn had therefore been opened in search for metal objects at some previous period. The graves were of the Aylesford type, shallow pits in the chalk, and those discovered formed part of a group answering apparently to a "family-circle" such as those described in the case of the Kentish urn-field.

Mr. Franks has kindly called my attention to three vases belonging to the same class found in an ancient kiln at Albury, in Surrey, and now in the British Museum, one of which is imperfectly baked. They are to be regarded as derivatives of the *situla* type, and like them taper off to a pedestal below. They are decorated with vertical bands laid on in slips of the same paste as the pots. I have further been able to ascertain the discovery of Late-Celtic pottery of the same general type from Aston Clinton, in Buckinghamshire,[b] from Abingdon, Berks,[c] and from Whitechurch, in Dorset,[d] as well as from Weymouth,[e] and the Isle of Portland.[f]

An example of the same kind of pottery was found on the Castle site at Northampton; and among the pots found recently in the British camp at Hunsbury, near the latter town, there occurred, side by side with ruder hand-made fabrics and others belonging to a later class, to which reference will be hereafter made, some specimens which must be regarded as the extreme offshoots of the same ceramic genus. The most remarkable of these is a bowl-shaped vessel divided into zones, decorated with triangles and lozenges, hatched with incised

[a] Exhibited by Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A. at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 5th, 1889. Iron shears, so typical of the contemporary "Tène" deposits of the Continent, were discovered in one of the graves.

[b] In the Aylesbury Museum.

[c] In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[d] In the Dorchester Museum. I am indebted for a sketch of this urn to Mr. H. J. Moule, the Curator of the Dorset Museum. It is somewhat globular, of the usual dark brown colour, and with several cordons round its neck. Another cordoned cup in the same museum from Ridgeway, Dorset, seems to belong to the same class. It is however described as of a stone colour, unburnt.

[e] In the British Museum.

[f] In the British Museum.

lines, and covered with the characteristic blackish-brown slip.[a] The incised double lines which in this case divide the zones seem to be a modification of earlier cordons. It is probable that the bulk of the objects found in this Ancient British *oppidum* belong to the latest pre-Roman period, and are slightly posterior in date to those of the Aylesford cemetery. While on the one hand no single object of unquestionably Roman fabric was brought to light, examples occurred of a new class of red ware, in form and material approaching the Romano-British, but exhibiting incised and impressed ornaments of a purely Celtic character, consisting of returning spirals, enclosing punched dots, arranged in circles and triangles.[b] The returning spiral itself, as a motive of ceramic ornament, has a very wide Late-Celtic range, occurring as far afield as the Rhenish Palatinate, Franconia, and the station of Hradisht in Bohemia. As an ornament of Late-British pottery, representing a pre-Roman tradition, I had already recognised it in the case of an urn found with Late-Celtic horse-trappings, two coins of Claudius, and other relics at Kingsholm, near Gloucester.[c] Fragments of pottery with incised and punched ornaments, identical with those of Hunsbury, found in the excavations of the British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, have already been described by General Pitt-Rivers, and were justly claimed as Late-Celtic by Mr. Franks.[d] In this case the pottery showed a black, smooth surface, and answered, apparently, in its general composition to the Aylesford type. The date of the Mount Caburn specimens may be regarded as approximately fixed by the Late-British tin coins found at the same locality, which represent degenerations of very late Gaulish bronze coins, copied from those of

[a] In the Northampton Museum. This style of pottery finds its analogies in some excavated in the late British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, by General Pitt Rivers, on some fragments of which similar incised lozenges occurred (*cf. Archæologia*, xlvi. pl. xxv. p. 39).

[b] Sir Henry Dryden, *Hunsbury or Danes' Camp and the discoveries there*, p. 4 (reprint from Proceedings of the Northampton Architectural Society,), speaks of some of the pottery as Roman, probably referring to this class of ware. From this view, however, I have ventured to differ. A specimen is figured on pl. v. 12, of the above paper.

[c] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 133, pl. xxvi. The relics found included besides three early Romano-British *fibulæ* and the iron blade of a sword. They are now in the Ashmolean Museum, with the exception of the pot and sword-blade. In this important find, approximately dated by the two coins of Claudius as belonging to the middle of the first century after Christ, objects belonging to the intrusive Roman culture are blended indiscriminately with others that represent the survival of indigenous British arts in this still unconquered Western district. The decorative motive on the vase, which consists of returning spirals without any other adjunct, is as purely Celtic in character as that on some of the bronze ornaments.

[d] *Archæologia*, xlvi. pp. 440 and 446, pl. xxv. 32, 35, 36.

Massalia, and dating from the last half of the last century before our era. Their British tin-copies cannot, therefore, be well earlier than the beginning of the first century after Christ.

The comparatively late date of this class of pottery is further shown by the interesting fact, that during the succeeding period of Roman domination, the same characteristic motive of decoration, the returning spirals and dotted circles, continued to be employed by the Romano-British potters. It is seen on a whole series of Romano-British vessels belonging to the so-called "Castor ware," though in these later examples the spirals and dotted circles and triangles are, as a rule, layed on in white slip instead of being merely incised or stamped.

Attention may also be called in this place to a peculiar type of Late-Celtic vessel, which, in so far as it imitates metal-work, supplies a somewhat later parallel to the *situla* vases of the Aylesford class. The type referred to is a kind of bowl with a globular body and an upright collar on either side of which are suspended moveable ring-handles, made of clay, like the rest of the vessel. This type of bowl is simply a translation into clay of one of the most characteristic products of Late-Celtic metal-work, the bowls or cauldrons, namely, of bronze or iron with the same upright collars and moveable ring-handles, which are found in the "Tène" deposits from Scotland and Scandinavia to Switzerland and the Rhinelands. A clay vessel of this form was found at Chesterford,[a] in which the rivets that stud the lower margin of the collar of the bronze prototype are carefully reproduced, and a part of a similar clay vessel may be seen in the Museum of Utrecht. These vessels, judging from their light colour, texture, and finish, come well within the period of direct Roman contact, but their form represents a purely Celtic tradition.

The influence of the Aylesford type of vessels is also distinctly perceptible in the Romano-British ceramic products, the cordons surviving merely as lines and bands. Very interesting parallels to this survival during the Early Roman Period may be seen in the Rhenish Museums, and notably that of Nijmegen, the old Celtic Noviomagus. It is probable however, that, as in the case of so many other branches of Late-Celtic industry, the true descendants of our Belgic vases will be found to be best represented on Irish soil. It may be sufficient here to cite a highly-ornamented cinerary vase of the most characteristic situla shape, and divided into zones by low cordons, which was found in company with another plainer vase of the same kind in a cairn in the townland of Killucken, Tyrone.[b]

[a] It is figured in the *British Arch. Association Journal*, iv. p. 375.

[b] *British Arch. Association Journal*, i. pp. 243, 244.

PART III.—THE BRONZES.

III. (*a*) The two-handled Tankard and some related forms of Late-Celtic Vessels.

In considering the bronze objects found in the Aylesford cemetery, it will be convenient to begin with the two-handled tankard found in the grave with the fine, pedestalled cinerary (fig. 7). Its construction can be gathered from the following detailed description, and the restoration given in fig. 9.

Its framework consists of staves of wood, parts of which are preserved. These staves were about 1 $\frac{1}{10}$ inch in breadth, and half an inch thick, as is shown by the length of the rivets of the handles, they were thinned off however round the rim. The vessel seems to have been about 8 inches in diameter at the top, and was coated by two or more thin bronze plates.[a] The uppermost of these, which slightly overlapped that below it, was 1 $\frac{7}{10}$ inch broad. It turned over the rim and ran inside, covering the same width as outside. This upper band was fastened by a row of rivets fixed in the wood about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch below the rim. Beneath this upper band was another broader plate of metal the original breadth of which was over 5 inches. This plate was in two pieces, soldered together at the point of junction, the end of one plate overlapping the other about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

At the point of junction on either side was attached a vertical handle, and these handles being riveted on at the point where the plates overlapped gave the fabric greater solidity. Each of these handles possessed four terminal stud-sockets, and one in the centre, the former having rivet holes in their centre, the latter being partly ornamental. It is evident that their central disks, which are now empty, originally held ornamental bosses, the material of which may have been of gold or enamel, or possibly of amber. There were no remains of any other metal plates or bands.

This bronze-plated tankard belongs to a well-marked class of Celtic vessels

[a] The plates themselves were in a fragmentary condition, but on three of the remaining pieces the points of attachments of the handles were clearly visible.

and it seems more probable that its origin is to be sought in native woodwork than in any models from the classical regions. A wooden vessel which belongs essen-

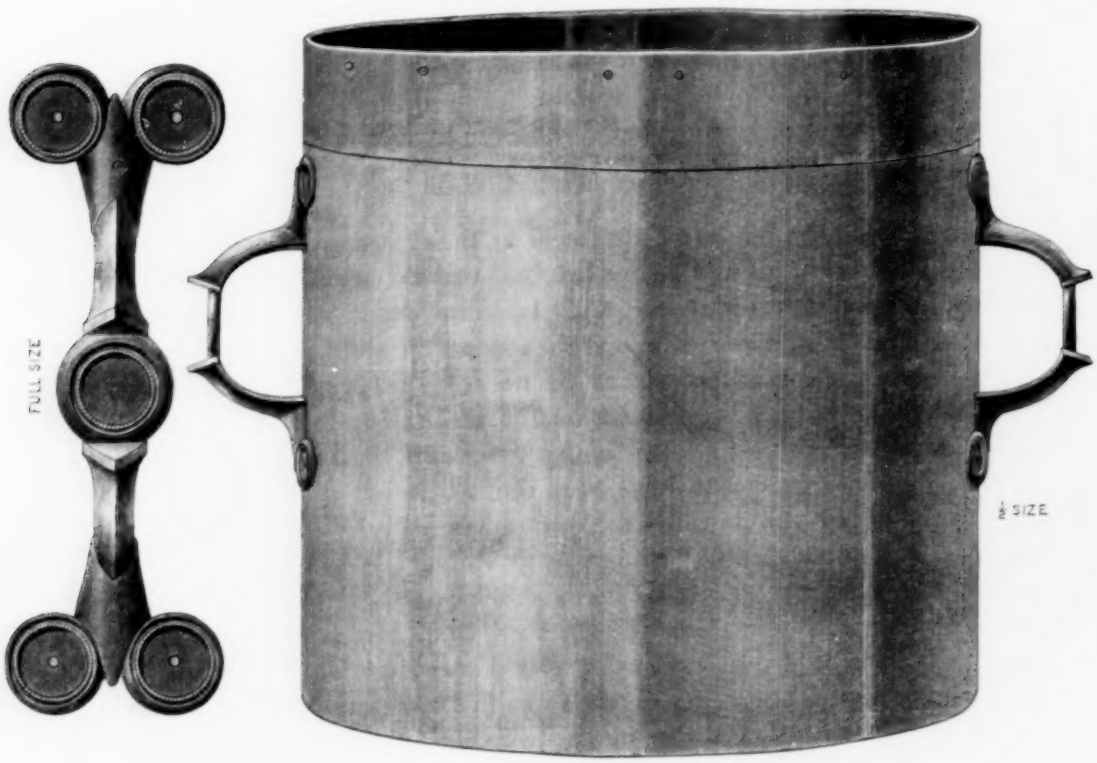


Fig. 9. The Aylesford Tankard (half-linear).

tially to the same type, though in this case it is provided with four short feet, was in fact found in a bog in the North of Ireland.[a] It is carved out of solid oak, and has two vertical handles of one piece with the rest. It approaches a square shape having four larger faces, but has the angles taken off, thus giving it four smaller sides, so that it is actually octagonal. It seems originally to have been provided with a metal collar.

A still nearer parallel to the Aylesford tankard has been supplied by a remarkable example recently discovered at Elveden in Essex, in the cremation deposit already described as belonging to the same period as our Kentish urn-field,

[a] From the Antrim collection in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

and containing cinerary vases of a similar type.[a] This tankard is in the possession of Mr. Henry Prigg, thanks to whose courtesy I am enabled to give a representation of it in fig. 10. It shows the same method of construction as that from Aylesford, a framework of wooden staves covered by thin metal plates, and the handles are attached in the same vertical fashion on either side. The plates are in this case adorned with *repoussé* medallions containing exquisite triquetral designs in the most characteristic Late-Celtic style.

To Mr. Charles H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, I am indebted for the information that a Late-Celtic tankard of the same character as the above, but with a single upright handle, exists in the collection of Mr. T. Layton, F.S.A., of Kew Bridge. It is in a singularly perfect condition, all the staves are preserved, and the bottom is still in its place. A remarkable feature was observed by Mr. Read in the construction of the wooden framework. The staves, namely, were clamped together by means of little diamond-shaped pieces of hard wood let into their sides. Two of the three bronze bands, each 2 inches in width, by which it was covered, seem to have no double overlap, and were fastened severally by two rivets. The middle band was sufficiently fixed by the attachment of the handle, which seems to have been soldered on, overlapping the two ends. The handle is simply two bronze loops or eyes joined by an intervening band. The height of the tankard is 6 inches, diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



Fig. 10. Bronze Tankard from Elveden, Essex.

[a] For a further account of this deposit and the associated pottery see p. 37. It was from the analogy of the Aylesford tankard that Mr. Prigg was enabled so successfully to restore the Elveden example.

An example of the same class, also with only a single handle, is seen in the beautiful bronze-plated tankard found near Tomen-y-mur in Merionethshire, and now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. The graceful curving in of the sides of this vessel and the elaborate openwork decoration of its handle represent an advance from the simpler wooden prototypes and their immediate successors, and incline us to refer this work to a distinctly later date than the Aylesford and Elveden examples. The arrangement of the four terminal coils of the handle, however, with their central studs, on the Merioneth tankard clearly represents an outgrowth of the terminal bosses on the Aylesford handles. A less ornamental handle of the same class, and evidently belonging to a similar vessel, was found with other objects in a bronze cauldron of a typical La Tène type in Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire.[a] Mr. Prigg informs me that a tankard with plain bronze bands and an upright handle was found in one of the smaller barrows at Bartlow, an evidence that this Celtic form lived on into early Roman times in South-Eastern Britain.

III. (*b*) The Bronze-plated Pail and its relation to Classical and Oriental Prototypes.

Amongst all the objects discovered in the Aylesford Cemetery the bronze-plated pail or *situla* (fig. 11) must claim a first place, both for the interest of its associations and the excellence of its ornamental design. It consisted, like the tankard, of a framework of wooden staves, bound round by thin metal plates, which were riveted on to the woodwork. The staves themselves were $1\frac{3}{5}$ inch in width, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick at the bottom, and were bevelled off round the rim, the uppermost of the bronze bands being turned over this bevelled edge. There seem to have been three metal bands of about $2\frac{7}{10}$ inches in width, and as interspaces of woodwork were left between these, the total height of the bucket was about 10 inches. In diameter it was $10\frac{3}{5}$ inches, and it was provided with a single, hooped, movable handle of iron plated with bronze. The points of attachment of this handle on either side were strengthened, and at the same time ornamented, by the addition of two exterior plates of bronze, each of which exhibited a human head in relief surmounted by a kind of double crest with two lateral bosses. The uppermost of the bronze plates that encircle the bucket was adorned with *repoussé* work reliefs of fantastic animals and decorative scrolls which will require a more detailed description.

The form of this pail shows that the present example is in fact a late repre-

[a] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. vii., 1870, p. 8, fig. 2.

sentative of a well-known class of archaic oriental vessels. It is the remote scion of the metal pails seen at times in the hands of the winged Assyrian Genii,[a] of the



Fig. 11. The Aylesford Pail (half-linear).

imported Phœnician *ciste* of early Prænestine tombs and of their later indigenous imitations, such as we recognise them in the *situlæ* of Este and Bologna, of Sesto

[a] Cf., for example, Layard, *Monuments*, &c., series I. pl. 51; Perrot et Chipiez, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, p. 754, and p. 396.

Calende, of Matray and Moritzing. It is a characteristic of this whole class of vessels that their sides are covered with thin plates of metal work divided into parallel zones, exhibiting a succession of pictorial reliefs in *repoussé* work similar to the upper band of the Aylesford pail, and in which, as in the present example, animal forms alternate with plants and foliage.

In a remote degree it shows a certain affinity to the well-known class of cordoned buckets, the *ciste a cordoni* of Italian archaeologists, in their origin an old Mediterranean product, which form such a characteristic feature in the Central European deposits of the Hallstatt Province, but which also occur in some of the early interments of the Late-Celtic class of Belgium and Champagne. The character of the handle of the Aylesford pail and their ornamental attachments is, however, quite foreign to the above class of cordoned *ciste*, and points, as will be shown, to a more classical parentage, while the metal zone that surrounds the mouth of the bucket with its *repoussé* animals and scrolls recalls the ornamental appendages of a vessel which was discovered in a tomb at Palestrina, associated with several objects of unquestionably Phœnician fabric. It was a wooden cylindrical vessel covered with bands of thin silver plate ornamented with reliefs of lions hunting stags, winged oriental monsters, and lotus pattern. Unlike the later *ciste* from the same site it had no cover, but was provided with a single, hooped moveable handle, and seems to have served as a pail rather than a casket. The attachments of the handle form a kind of bust surmounted by a face, perhaps intended to portray the Goddess Hathor, with a characteristic volute curl on either side. On some of the later Prænestine *ciste* the metal zones are divided, like those of the example before us, by interspaces of woodwork, occasionally covered in turn with leather bands.

The attachments of the handle of our Aylesford *situla* have at least this much in common with the last cited example, that they are fashioned into human heads, in this case, surmounted in each case with a kind of crested helmet (fig. 12). The two side-bosses of this helmet are of considerable interest, inasmuch as they must in all probability be regarded as an ornamental out-growth and survival of a form of attachment usual in the case of a class of early two-handled *situlæ*, both Greek and Etruscan, in which on either side of a kind of central crest are seen two open rings in which the ends of the two moveable handles are locked. In the present instance the bucket has only a single handle, which is attached directly to its inner rim behind the heads. The form of the crest, however, and its two lateral bosses, shows that this two-handled attachment

served as its prototype, the bosses representing in a rudimentary form the round apertures in which the knobbed ends of the handles revolved.

As a matter of fact, classical examples of the special type of handle and attachment out of which this Celtic example grew are not unfrequent. A very near parallel will be found for example in a bronze pail dating from about the third century B.C. and inscribed with a dedication to the *Manes* in Etruscan characters which is now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. In this instance a head appears below with flowing tresses evidently intended for Minerva, and the curving loops in which the ends of the two handles here revolve are clearly suggestive of the two side crests of her triple-crested helmet. A later example of the same motive is seen in the attachment of a handle in the Museum Disneianum showing that the same tradition was preserved by Roman artificers.[a]



Fig. 12. Handle attachment of Aylesford Pail. (Natural size.)

The heads on our British example, though as we have seen representing an early tradition of handle-ornament, and in all probability, in this instance, descended from Minerva, are also removed in type from their classical originals. Their most marked characteristic, the tapering away of the whole lower part of the face, brings them into close relation with a series of heads that make their appearances as the terminal ornaments of Gaulish dagger-hilts,[b] as well as on a Rhenish class of Late-Celtic *fibulæ*,[c] the pear-shaped outline of which is at times even more marked. The heads on the fibulæ are in turn intimately connected

[a] *Mus. Disneianum*, pt. II. pl. lxviii. A two-handled bronze cauldron, the attachment of which is adorned with a head of Hercules, was found at Mosbæk Moss, near Giver, in the Aalborg Amt. Denmark (see *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1881, p. 108).

[b] One of these is to be seen in the Museum of St. Germains.

[c] Cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, figs. 3, 4, 5; B. iii. H. ix. T. 1, 5. For one from near Berlin see Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, pl. xxii. f. 11. In some cases the upper part

with the similarly taper heads of the horned sphinxes that decorate the plates of certain belt-hooks found in Celtic interments at Weisskirchen on the Saar,[a] at Nierstein, and again on the gold rings and bracelets of the remarkable find at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate.

III. (*c*) The Foliated Ornaments on the Aylesford Pail: and their Gaulish Connexions.

If we now examine the *repoussé* decorations of the upper band of our *situla* we are struck with the same kind of phenomenon; on the one hand, the evidence of an archaic tradition of which the animal figures supply the surest demonstration, on the other hand the traces of later classical influences and the impress of a highly developed decorative style.

It will be convenient first to examine the more decorative elements of the Aylesford reliefs. Of these the quintuple scroll (Pl. XIII. fig. 9) on either side of the confronted animals is in fact a reduplication of a foliated design (Pl. XIII. fig. 11) that occurs on one of the bronze sheaths, found on the site of the Helvetian settlement at La Tène, and upon which, in harmony with the triangular space that confines it, it assumes a triquetral form. The quintuple arrangement seen on the *situla* band is simply an amplification of such a trefoil as appears on the sheath, which in its turn can I think be shown by a comparison with other La Tène sheaths to be the upper volutes of a Greek *anthémion*,[b] as modified and absorbed into an old traditional Celtic ornamental system of interlocked spirals[c] and triquetras.

of the head is covered with a kind of skull-cap answering to the hemispherical covering which forms the lower part of the helmet in the Aylesford head.

[a] Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, f. 1.

[b] This is seen best perhaps in the design as it appears on pl. 1. fig. 4, of M. Gross, *La Tène, un Oppidum Helvète*. On another sheath again (pl. 1, fig. 6), the central leaf of the palmetto can be distinctly recognised, together with the side festoons (such as they are seen, for example, on the Greek bronze *situla* of the Waldalgesheim find) here converted into grotesque serpentine heads.

[c] Akin to a very old Oriental type consisting of swelling S-shaped curves with taper connections,

This transforation of the Greek *anthémion* explains the existence of the remaining ornamental feature of the band of our pail, the circle, namely, of volute petals with a curving foliated scroll above and below (Pl. XIII. fig. 10), which represents in fact one of the star-like flowers, sometimes rendered as volutes, which on Greek bronze vases and other ornamental metal-work often appear encircled by the sprays of arabesque foliage, serving at times as offshoots for a palmetto. That the Celtic peoples were acquainted with Greek decorative designs of this class appears from more than one example, and notably the fine bronze *situla* of Greek work from the Late-Celtic interment of Waldalgesheim,[a] and the closely parallel vessel found at Kelby in the Isle of Möen. In a somewhat different form we may trace another development of the same motive on the bronze plates of a cauldron of the La Tène style found in the Moor of Rinkebye, Odensee, Denmark, upon which two swine are seen confronting one another on either side of a volute *repoussé* disk, which, except that it has only three triquetral petals, closely resembles the Aylesford device. Beneath the confronted animals are plants in a decorative style, one of which betrays its indebtedness to the Greek honeysuckle by the characteristic inverted conical spirals that hang from it. A near classical parallel to the foliated and floral designs both on the Odensee and the Aylesford vessels is to be seen on the ornamental band that surrounds the rim of a beautiful silver-plated pail from Herculaneum, where animals and birds alternate with arabesque sprays, the terminal scrolls of which enclose large round flowers, in some cases with volute petals, resembling the Celtic examples before us in a somewhat less conventionalized form.

an example of which occurs among the ornaments of a half disk of an Egyptian pilaster (Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, xvii.). It is found at Mykenæ along with other closely-allied ornamental designs, and is a characteristic feature of the bronze shields and disks found in Etruscan and South Italian tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. On the hilts of swords belonging to the latest Hungarian Bronze Age (contemporary with the Early Hallstatt Period), this ornamental motive appears in the simplified shape of the interlocked scrolls, which form such a vital element in all Late-Celtic Art. So striking, indeed, is the parallel, that it can hardly be questioned that it originally reached the Celtic peoples from a common source. They were, however, also undoubtedly familiarized with later classical examples of a kindred design, such as may be seen on the imported bronze basins found at Armsheim in Rhenish Hesse, at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, at Zerff, near Trier, and (in this case, perhaps, a Gallic imitation) at Piemont, near Bussy-le-Château, Marne. Precisely similar basins with the same ornament were found at Dodona.

[a] *Der Grabfund von Waldalgesheim*, E. Aus'm Weerth (*Festprogramm zu Winkelmanns Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1870), Taf. iii.; and cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. iii. H. i. T. 1.

There has been recently discovered at Geisenheim, in the Rhineland, the remains of a bronze-plated pail of Late-Celtic (or Gallicized old German) workmanship, the metal bands of which exhibit *repoussé* scrolls characterized by the same interlocked spirals, which, though less bold and somewhat degenerate in execution, belong to the same class as those of Aylesford and La Tène. In this case, however, the origin from the foliated band of a classical *situla* is even more clearly apparent. This object, now in the Mainz Museum, was found in a grave in association with a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of a somewhat late and degenerate form, a typical La Tène fibula, and other objects belonging to the latest Pre-Roman period.

This reduction of the sprays of the Greek *anthêmion* to uniform scrolls, symmetrically arranged, points to a highly-developed stage of Late-Celtic art. In the earlier group of deposits belonging to this class, as contained in the skeleton tombs of the Upper Rhine, the Saar and Mosel districts, of the Meuse and Marne, this transformation is at best imperfectly accomplished. In the station of La Tène, on the other hand, belonging to the latest period of Helvetian independence, we find this decorative system fully evolved and asserting itself at every turn, and the relationship subsisting between the flowery scrolls on the Aylesford pail and those seen on the bronze sheaths discovered in this Swiss settlement is of so intimate a character that it is impossible not to refer both to the same general period, and even, in all probability, to the same centre of manufacture.

III. (*d*) The Animal Reliefs on the Aylesford Pail, their oriental lineage, and their parallelism with the Coin-types of the Remi.

The recurring pairs of strange fabulous animals with curving horns and bifid tails, with their bodies confronted but their heads turned back to back (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), that decorate the spaces between the decorative scrolls on the uppermost zone of our pail cannot fail to recall a familiar scheme of archaic Greek and Oriental art. In this scheme animals, fabulous or otherwise, are seen either facing each other at close quarters, or, as in the present Celtic example, with their bodies confronted, but their heads turned away from each other. To understand the genesis of this familiar arrangement, we have only to go back a step further to another archaic scheme in which both bodies are united by a single head, which faces the spectator.

Mr. Murray has felicitously explained designs of this character as being due to a primitive attempt to represent perspective, the desire being to show both sides of the animal in a single view taken from in front. This ingenious explanation of the origin of these two-bodied monstrosities may, perhaps, be thought to receive an illustration from a wholly independent quarter. On one of the carved bones of the Reindeer Period, from a cave of the Dordogne,[a] the heads in the one case, in the other the forequarters of swine, are displayed in pairs, the snouts terminating in a common end, which may be regarded as another primitive device for representing both sides of the same animal. The union of two bodies with a single head, in deference to a primitive idea of representing perspective, became itself easily rationalized into two separate but closely-confronted figures, each with a head of its own, and thus arose that numerous race of opposed dual monsters of such frequent occurrence in the early heraldic art of Western Asia, and afterwards of Greece[b] and Italy. Moreover, when once the two bodies were set free from their unnatural union, it was easy for the opposed pairs to separate in their turn into single figures in the same attitude, and in this way a whole series of isolated animal representations took their rise in archaic art. In the class of zoned metal-work with which we are dealing, both the original monocephalic scheme, and its dual or isolated offspring, are of frequent occurrence, and from the bronzes they were taken over into the designs of the contemporary ceramic fabrics, the so-called Corinthian ware of the Greeks, and the black *bucchero* of the Etruscans. The opposed animals are seen on several of the thin bronze plates of archaic Greek workmanship seen at Olympia, some of them in all probability belonging to *ciste* or *situlæ* of the same general class as those found in Italy. Monocephalic double-bodied monsters, such as those described, occur on more than one of the zoned *situlæ* found in the cemetery of Este,[c] and dating from the fifth, or even the fourth, century B.C. Single figures of animals, with their heads turned over their backs, a scheme, as we have already seen, characteristic of the class of opposed pairs from which they have become detached, are also frequent on these Euganean *situlæ* of the Alto Veneto, and are found, moreover, on

[a] Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ, pl. x. B. fig. 7.

[b] It is very conspicuous in the so-called "Island Gems" found at Mykênæ, notably those from the recently discovered tombs.

[c] Prof. Prosdocimi, *Necropoli Euganee di Este* in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, Tav. vii. fig. 7A. Another example occurs on a *situla* in the Nazzaro Collection at Este. These *situlæ* belong to the

vessels of the same class from the cemeteries of the great North-Etruscan centre, Felsina, the later, Celtic, Bononia.

There are, however, features about our Aylesford monsters, and notably the stiff manes and the double curved horns, which do not seem to belong to the same North Italian school. The comparisons that they call up lead us more directly to the East, and recall some of the compound Assyrian monsters of the Palace of Nineveh, on which the curved horns are, as in the present example, associated with a boar-like mane and a tail, the end of which so far presents a parallel to those of the animals before us that its end is divided. Late-Celtic art was singularly eclectic in its choice of prototypes, and without calling in question the generally filial relation in which the present *situla* stands to the earlier products of Italian workshops, we may, in the animals before us, and in the constantly-recurring horned monsters of the same class to be found on Late-Celtic coins and metal-work, be allowed to trace an influence from the Pontic side, where, as we know, from the contents of the Greco-Scythian tombs in the Crimea and South Russia, this peculiar class of horned oriental monsters was of constant repetition both on gems and metal-work down to at least the age of Alexander the Great. When we remember that in the days when Late-Celtic art took its final stamp Celtic colonies extended to the Danube mouth, to Thrace and Asia Minor, the likelihood of the operation of such an influence can hardly be denied. The important find of Greco-Scythian antiquities at Vettersfeld,[a] in the Province of Brandenburg, belonging to the sixth century before our era, shows how, already at that early date, Pontic influences were making themselves felt

end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Period of the Este interments as classified by Signor Prosdocimi.

[a] A. Furtwaengler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde (xxxiv^ter Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste.* Berlin, 1883). Furtwaengler regards this find as a wholly isolated phenomenon connected with the migration of some Scythian tribe at the end of the sixth century B.C. in order to escape Darius. That this Persian invasion may have powerfully contributed to bring Scythian elements into contact with the central European peoples is probable, but it does not seem safe to conclude that the Vettersfeld deposit, which seems to have been of a sepulchral kind, was an isolated phenomenon. Further finds in East-Central Europe may throw a fresh light on this question, but it is by no means clear that other "mix-Hellenic" objects found in early Celtic finds did not arrive from the same source. In this connection I may also mention a gold bracelet in the Breslau museum, the palmetto ornaments of which are nearly allied to Greek decoration of this class on jewellery; and, above all, the gold bracelet from Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, where the rams' horns are executed in a peculiar ornamental style, strikingly suggestive of the stags' horns of Kul Oba. *See* p. 55, note.

very far afield in a westerly direction. A minute analysis of the motives and ornaments occurring on some of the early Late-Celtic relics of the Upper Rhine district and elsewhere has more and more convinced me that no explanation of the sources of these Celtic designs can be complete without taking constant account of this more Eastern line of influence, as well as of the more obvious channels leading from the Alps. To go more deeply, however, into this fertile topic would on the present occasion be out of place.[a]

In Celtic metal-work a very close parallel to the Aylesford design is presented by the uppermost of three animal reliefs (Pl. XIII. 6) that adorn the summit of a bronze sheath found by Professor Desor on the site of the Helvetian *oppidum* at La Tène. The animal thus depicted with its head turned back according to the traditional type has, however, more convoluted horns than those of the example before us, and is certainly intended to represent a stag. The two lower animals with their double, foliated tails also supply a valuable parallel. They belong to the same archaic race of opposed dual monsters as the animals of our pail, and, in the scrolls which in this case hang down from their mouths, display another link of connexion with the early bronze reliefs of Greece and Italy. The same scroll, which in early examples sometimes takes the form of a branch chewed by the animal and partly hanging down from his mouth, is a constant feature in the mouth of the deer and other animals on the *situlæ* of Este. In the case of carnivora we occasionally see in these early bronzes and their ceramic copies the half-swallowed limbs of their prey protruding from their jaws.

It is of the highest interest to note that this particularity, which affords another most suggestive clue to the source of the monstrous forms of Late-Celtic bronze-work, recurs in the case of some of the maned animals on the plates of the Marlborough bucket.

This feature is not entirely without its influence on some Gaulish coins,

[a] Amongst the most obvious points of comparison between Late-Celtic forms and ornaments and those of the Pontic Art Province may be mentioned, besides the horned monsters referred to, the horned sphinxes, rare in Greek and Etruscan art, but almost universal in Græco-Scythian goldwork as well as on that found in the graves of the Rhenish and Celtic districts; the decorative character of many of the animal representations, *e. g.* in the antlers of stags and horns of rams, which show some striking coincidences; certain ornaments on the sheaths and hilts, which also suggest Assyrian and Persian parallels; the occurrence in the Pontic regions of non-Celtic *fibulæ* of the retroflected Late-Celtic form; forms of horse ornaments and trappings; forms of weapons like the scimetar knives with their Dacian and West Asiatic range; finally the prevalence in both groups of the use of enamel, so comparatively rare in Greek and Etruscan works.

notably those of Armorica, where the androcephalous monster, who here supplants the Philippic horse, is seen occasionally with a spray of the same kind falling from his mouth.[a]

The horns of the Aylesford monster with their S-shaped curves present a close resemblance to those seen on the horses of some Gaulish coins,[b] such as that from the Amiens district, figured on Pl. XIII. figs. 4 and 5, the obverse of which, moreover, presents the further parallel of showing two confronted animals. But in many respects the most curious numismatic parallel to the design before us is presented by some later bronze and silver pieces attributed to the Remi, of which enlarged copies will be seen in Pl. XIII. figs. 2 and 3.

The characteristic double curve of the beak-like mouth, the proportionally large eyes and the cross-barred mane, as well as the attitude, are practically identical in the two designs; but the representation on our pail carries us back a step further, and affords ocular demonstration that the maned animal on the coin (as indeed might have been deduced from its pose alone) was originally one of the archaic pairs already referred to. In other words, we have good warrant for concluding that the design on the coin was in this case influenced by some pre-existing design on bronze-work, in all probability belonging to a *situla* resembling that before us. It seems to me that in the case of an uninscribed British gold coin,[c] on which, in place of the usual horse, a horned animal is seen with an open beak-like mouth of a somewhat similar character looking backwards in the same archaic attitude we may trace an influence of the same kind. So, too, the volute flower of the Aylesford plate which, as we have seen, is a Celtic modification of the flower of a Greek *anthémion* indigenous to toreutic work, is found transferred well-nigh line for line as an ornamental appendage to the field of some British gold staters, struck about 30 B.C. by the Icenian Prince Addedomaros.[d]

[a] See, for example, the coin engraved by Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 31. The spray may in some cases be derived from the protruding tongue which is also characteristic of lions and other animals on archaic bronze-work and its derivatives. The lion on the bronze bason from Castelletto Ticino shows this feature in a marked degree.

[b] Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 22.

[c] Evans, pl. B. 5. This type is principally found on the south coast, but ranges as far as Oxfordshire. The average weight of coins of this class is 95 grains.

[d] Evans, pl. xiv. 1.



1. REPOUSSÉ ANIMALS ON BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



4. OBV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS
(HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)



2. COIN OF REMI
(CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, TER P. 23.)



6. UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH FROM
HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.



5. REV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS
(HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)



3. COIN OF REMI
(CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, BIS P. 23.)

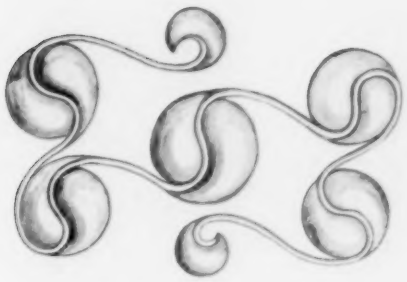


7. HIPPOCAMPS ON PLATE OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.

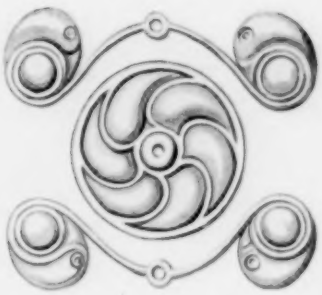


8. HIPPOCAMP AS CENOMAN COUNTERMARK
ON GOLD COINS ATTRIBUTED TO ARVERNI.

LATE CELTIC DESIGNS ON BRONZE WORK FR
LA TÈNE SHEATHS, WITH C



9 FOLIATED SCROLLS,
BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



10 FOLIATED SCROLLS AND FLOWER,
BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



12 REPOUSSÉ HEAD
FROM BRONZE PLATE
OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.



11 FOLIATED SCROLLS ON UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH,
FROM HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.



14 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE.
(HUCHER, PL. XIV. 2.)



13 REPOUSSÉ HEAD
FROM BRONZE PLATE
OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.



15 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, BRITTANY,
HUCHER, PL. XIV. 1.



16 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE.
(HUCHER, PL. I. 2.)

ORK FROM AYLESFORD AND MARLBOROUGH BUCKETS AND
ITH COMPARISONS FROM GAULISH COINS.

III. (*e*) The Influence of Late-Celtic Metal-work on the Coinages of the Gauls and Britons.

The influence of Celtic metal-work of other kinds on the coinage of the Gauls and Britons has hitherto hardly met with the attention that it seems to deserve.

It is in fact due to the formation amongst a branch of the Celtic people of an original school of metal decoration already previous to the approximate date of 300 B.C. that the Celtic coinages, which about that date seem to have arisen independently in Gaul on the one side and in the lands of the Macedonian border on the other, present such an extraordinary parallelism in the evolution of types. Whether the Gaulish artist copied in the West the gold staters of Philip, or in the East indifferently the silver tetradrachms of the same Macedonian monarch or those of Pæonian dynasts, the modifications alike of head and horseman went on upon the same conventional lines as dictated by the pre-existing ornamental traditions of the Celtic metal-workers. We find, to take only a single example out of many, that the triquetra, that old Mykênæan design so familiar on the gold and bronze objects of the earliest group of Late-Celtic interments, where they are found in association with Greek and Etruscan vases, dating some of them from the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.,[a] makes its simultaneous appearance on the Celtic coins of Gaul and Illyricum. In the one case it is evolved from the mintmark ΛP, which seems to characterize the Pellan issues of Philip's gold staters, in the other it alternates with the monogram of the Pæonian king Audôleôn.

III. (*f*) The figured Representations on the Marlborough Bucket in their relation to Armoric Coin-types.

Influences of this external kind were perpetually acting on the Celtic coinages, laying down the lines on which the developments of the Greek prototypes took

[a] Cf. especially the find of Heerapfel near Saarbruck (Gerhard, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1856, *Denkmäler u. Forschungen*, Taf. lxxxv., and *Bonner Jahrbücher* xxiii. (1856) p. 130, Taf. iv. v. vi. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. ii. H. i. Beilage i. zu Taf. 1 u. 2) and that of Waldalgesheim (Grabfund von Waldalgesheim, E. Auss'm Weerth, *Winkelmann's Programm*, Bonn, 1870, and Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. iii. H. i. T. i.) in both of which the triquetra occurs as an ornamental motive. These finds belong, as is well known, to a considerable group of which the Saar and Mosel valleys supply the principal nucleus, but which extend to the Upper Rhine and the Meuse.

place, and at times introducing entirely new features. And that in some cases the source of this influence is actually to be found in *situlæ* such as that under discussion seems to be strikingly illustrated by some of the designs on the great Marlborough bucket, which belongs to the same general category as that of Aylesford. The human heads found amongst the ornaments of the bronze plate of this bucket (Pl. XIII. figs. 12 and 13) are in fact absolutely identical, both in their details and their style, with the heads of the androcephalous horse that makes its appearance on the Armoric coinages (Pl. XIII. figs. 14 and 16). But the curious side-curls attached to some of the heads on the bucket as well as on the coins[a] are an abiding feature in a whole class of *repoussé* metal vessels derived by direct descent from the early Phœnician bowls and *situlæ* such as we find them in the tombs of Palestrina and elsewhere, and upon which griffins, sphinxes, and human-headed monsters are seen with similar side-locks. In this case, moreover, an intermediate link has been preserved to us in a bowl, seemingly an indigenous North-Italian product, and possibly even coming within the period of Gaulish settlement beyond the Alps, discovered at Castelletto Ticino in 1885, upon which a kind of winged female Centaur is seen with a similar arrangement of side-locks. On the zoned *situlæ* of Este again winged monsters of a similar character are seen with a kind of crested *pileus* on their heads, a feature also copied on a group of Armorican coins. These bronze-work parallels sufficiently reveal to us the character of the influence under which the original Philippic horse of the earlier Gaulish coinages was in Armorica transformed into a human-headed monster with the curled locks, the head pieces and at times moreover the wings and collar[b] of a strange androcephalous race.

In the case of the Marlborough figures the parallelism existing, not only in subject but in style, between them and the heads of the androcephalous horse and its driver on the Armoric coins is of such a kind that it is impossible not to

[a] Cf. Lelewel, pl. ii. p. 31.

[b] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, Tav. I. i., and p. 27. See also Baron J. de Baye, *Société des Antiquaires de France* 1886 (*Séance du 29me Déc.*). The cup served as cover for a *cista a cordoni* containing incinerated remains. The *cista* was of the later class, having ten cordons, and, judging from the character of the Greek vases and other such remains associated with *ciste* of this type at Tolentino, Bologna, Ludwigsberg in Würtemberg, and elsewhere, cannot well be earlier than the fifth century B.C., while it may well belong to the succeeding century. At Eygenbilsen, near Tongres, a cordoned bucket of this class (H. Schuermans, *Objets Étrusques trouvés en Belgique*, pl. ii.) served as a cinerary in a typical Late-Celtic deposit belonging to the early group of finds already referred to as characteristic of the Saar, Mosel, Meuse, and upper Rhine valleys.

regard them both as the work of the same Gaulish region. In this Wiltshire bucket therefore, we may, perhaps, venture to recognise an article of Armoric fabric imported into south-western Britain, and to see in it an additional witness to the trade connexion that seems to have existed between the western tract of Gaul and the opposite coasts of our own island, of which the finds of Gaulish coins of the Channel Islands or Armoric type in Devonshire and Hants have already supplied interesting evidence. It is possible that in the case of the Armorican tribes the field of comparison may be reduced to still narrower limits. The Gaulish coins that present on the whole the most striking parallels to the heads on the bucket belong to the Cenomani of Maine, but it is precisely on the coins of that region and of the bordering tribe of the Redones, whose name survives in Rennes, that a kind of hippocamp badge occurs, sometimes as a device on the helmet on the obverse (Pl. XIII. fig. 8), sometimes associated with the androcephalous monster of the reverse. A design of the same character, in this case two opposed sea-horses united in an ornamental form (Pl. XIII. fig. 7), is seen on a bronze zone of the Marlborough bucket. It is highly probable that this interesting product of Gaulish art found its way to Britain in one of the trading galleons of the Armoric Veneti. In the case of some of the Aylesford relics we have been already concerned with the influence of the other Veneti, of non-Celtic race, who inhabited the Adriatic coastlands.

With regard to the date, the parallels instituted between the Armoric coins and the heads on the bronze plates of the Marlborough bucket apply best to the better executed Armoric types of the gold and electrum coinages which seem to have been struck between the approximate dates of 150 and 50 B.C. On the other hand, the fact that on the bronze plates the heads appear as detached designs seems best to fall in with that stage of Armoric art represented by the earlier and finer of the billon coin-types which date from about the middle of the first century B.C., and upon which the heads of the androcephalous horse and his driver show a tendency to break away from their original corporeal bonds, and to fly about the field with flowing tails behind them. After this approximate date the designs become degenerate, and in the hoard of late billon coins of Armoric types found at Rosel, in Jersey, and which from its including a silver piece attributed to the British Prince Amminus may have been deposited in the years that immediately preceded the beginning of the Christian era,[a] it is impossible to find adequate parallels for the heads upon the bucket.

[a] From the fact that this hoard contained some Roman family coins, the latest of which was one of Antony and Octavius struck in B.C. 39, M. Anatole de Barthélemy was inclined to regard the

III. (*g*) Evidences as to the date of the Aylesford Pail.

If bearing in mind the parallels supplied by the Marlborough bucket we turn to our Aylesford example, which obviously dates from the same general period, we find, as already observed, some striking coincidences between the style and form of the animals represented, and those which occur on certain coins attributed to continental Belgic tribes, and notably the Remi and Ambiani. It is a fair deduction that as in the case of the Marlborough bucket we have an article of Armoric export, so in the present example we may be allowed to recognise an article of Belgic fabric, probably from a centre of manufacture approximately indicated by the coin-types of the Reims or, perhaps, the Amiens district. The close resemblance borne by the reliefs on the Aylesford *situla* to those of the sword-sheaths found in the Helvetian station of La Tène fits in well with this hypothesis, if we may accept Dr. Keller's suggestion that the swords and sheaths found on the Swiss site were in all probability, like many similar examples found in other widely distant localities, import articles from a central fabric somewhere in the Belgic region of Gaul.

The parallels with the La Tène ornaments are of further value as supplying us with an additional chronological standpoint. From the associated late Gaulish coins in the Helvetian station, it is evident that the bulk of the Celtic objects there discovered must be referred to the last half of the first century B.C. The gold pieces found however show that a part at least of the other relics brought to light belong to a somewhat earlier period, and if we examine the form of the swords, the bronze sheaths of which present the closest resemblance to the *repoussé* scrolls of the Aylesford pail, it is evident that they do not belong to the latest class represented on the Helvetian site. The earliest Late-Celtic swords, such as those found in the Italian cemetery of Marzabotto, or in the skeleton graves of the Saar valley and Champagne, end in a sharp point. But the Gallic weapons being too badly tempered to be available for thrusting, a progressive

latter year as giving the approximate date of the deposit (*Étude sur les monnaies gauloises découvertes en Jersey en 1875*, p. 177, *seqq.* and *Revue Numismatique, 1884.*) The coin of Amminus, however, in all probability a successor of Eppillus in South-Eastern Britain (see *Evans*, op. cit. p. 208, *seqq.*), must be taken to bring the deposit down to a somewhat later date.

tendency manifests itself to discard the useless point, and in the latest La Tène examples, dating from about the Christian era, the sword-ends become almost square.[a] The swords on the other hand, the sheaths of which represent the same stage of *repoussé* work decoration as the plates of our *situla*, belong to an intermediate type with a more leaf-shaped termination, and can hardly be brought down later than the first half of the first century before Christ.

III. (*h*) Bronze *oenochoe* and *patella* of Italo-Greek fabric from the Aylesford cemetery.

The other two bronze vessels found with the Aylesford pail are of the highest interest as supplying the first recorded instance of the discovery of classical fabrics of pre-Roman date in a Late-Celtic interment of Britain. The association of Greek and more rarely Etruscan, bronzes with Late-Celtic deposits is a familiar feature in the early Continental group of interments belonging to this class, to which reference has been made already, the barrows namely from Moravia to the Saar and Upper-Rhine valley, and the flat, skeleton graves of the Marne. The most characteristic form of bronze vessel associated with interments of this group is the beaked *œnochoé*, a very ancient Oriental form inherited by Hellenic art, some examples of which, as that from Dürkheim[b] and Heerapfel[c] near Saarbruck, are of fine archaic Greek, perhaps Chalkidian, fabric dating back to the sixth century before our era. Greek commercial enterprise having once familiarized the Gallic populations with the use of this ancient form of vessel, these beaked vases seem to have remained in vogue among them to a somewhat later date than amongst the Greeks themselves. Bronze *hydrias* with or without

[a] See especially Dr. O. Tischler's excellent observations on the Celtic swords in *Schriften d. phys.-ökon. Gesellsch. zu Königsberg*, 1882. *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 17, *seqq.*, and again in his *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (*Schriften*, &c., 1884).

[b] Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c., B. ii., H. ii., Taf. 1, 2, 3.

[c] Gerhard, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, xxiii. (1856) Taf. 4, 5, 6. Lindenschmit (*op. cit.* B. ii., H. ii., Beilage zu Taf. 1, n. 2) refers to this place as "Grabhügel von Schwartzenbach." For an early example of a beaked *œnochoe* of this class in a Celtic tumulus at Hradisht, in Moravia, see Wocel, *Pravek zeme Ceské*, p. 202.

their tripod stands,[a] and shallow dishes with scroll-work ornaments,[b] are also amongst the typical imported vessels of this group.

In the Waldalgesheim deposit we find an example of a distinctly later stage of Greek bronze-work; a form of *situla*, namely, exhibiting palmetto ornaments of a somewhat florid style to be approximately referred to the third or second century before our era. A very similar vessel, the decoration of which is even more elaborated, was discovered at Kelby, in the Danish isle of Moen. The form is found in Italian deposits of the second century B.C.,[c] and both in form and in decorative style these vases show a decided approach to the ornate Campanian style, revealed to us by the bronzes of Pompeii and Herculaneum.



Fig. 13. Bronze *Œnochoë* found in Denmark.

It is to this later period, the close of which is illustrated by the station of La Tène, that the imported bronze vase (fig. 14) in our Aylesford tomb must unquestionably be referred. Like the *situlæ* of Kelby and Waldalgesheim it is no doubt the product of Italo-Greek industry, and, like the others, it represents a particular class of Italian vases which were finding their way by Celtic trade routes to Northern and North-Western Europe during the first two centuries before our era. A bronze *œnochoë* (fig. 13) almost absolutely identical with that

[a] The tripod found at Dürkheim near Speier (see Lindenschmit, *loc. cit.*) is the exact counterpart, almost to the minutest detail, of the tripod from Vulci, now in the British Museum. Some of the figures on the stand are in this case obviously Etruscan.

[b] *E. g.* from Hradisht, Moravia (Wocel, *loc. cit.*) from Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate, from Armsheim, in Rhenish Hesse, and Zerff, near Trier (Genthe, *Ueber den etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden* p. 165). An identical vessel was discovered at Dodona.

[c] A *situla* of this shape was found for instance in a tomb discovered in 1888 at Chianciano,

from Aylesford, even to the details of the ornament beneath the handle with its curious terminal cross, was, in fact, discovered in Denmark.[a]

The thin folded-back collar that surrounds the rim of these examples is characteristic of this class of Italo-Greek vessel, and exhibits a marked contrast to the heavy Roman fabric. The handle itself, as can be seen from the Danish specimen, was joined to the body of the vase by a very small attachment. Below this, however, is seen a well-defined convolvulus-leaf-shaped outline within the limits of which the bronze of the Aylesford vessel shows a less patinated and more polished surface than elsewhere, implying that it had originally been covered by a thin embossed plate, doubtless either of bronze or silver. The outline of this plate, as well as of its side-scrolls and cruciform continuation below, is picked out with silvery lines, due, no doubt, to the metal by which it had been originally soldered.



Fig. 14. Italo-Greek Bronze *Enochoë* from Aylesford, Kent. (⅓ linear.)



Fig. 15. Handle Ornament of the Aylesford *Enochoë*. (Full size.)

In the leaf-shaped boss beneath the attachment of the handle and its orna-

near Chiusi, with alabaster urns of the family of Narχni, and belonging to the second century B.C. Now in the *Museo Etrusco*, Florence.

[a] Worsaae, *Afbildninger fra det k. Museum for nordiske Oldsager in Kjöbenhavn*, p. 60, fig. 225.

mental continuations we recognise a decorative outgrowth of a form of handle already met with on Greek bronze vases of the fifth century B.C. in which the handle itself is attached to the body of the vessel by a leaf-shaped termination. A simple form of this is seen on a small vase found in a tomb at Corinth, and associated with late Transitional red figured vases dating from about the year 420 B.C.[a] In a Greek vase-handle, from the prehistoric cemetery of Zirknitz[b] in Carniola, the extreme chronological limits of which can hardly be brought down beyond the fifth century B.C., we already see the simple "convolvulus leaf" assuming a more elaborate form and terminating below in a central cusp and two returning curves. Here we have the starting-point of the present form.

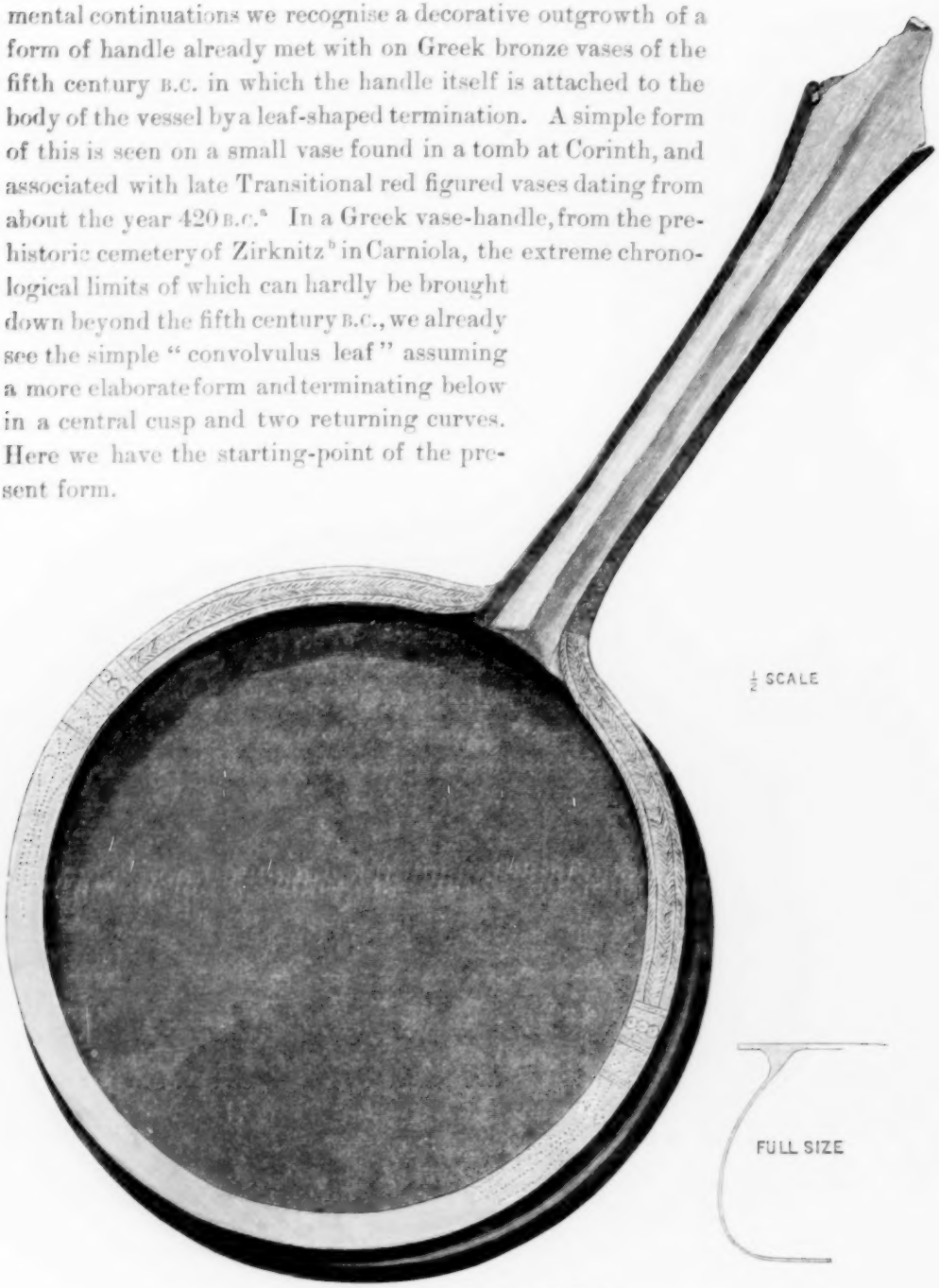


Fig 16. Bronze *Patella*, Aylesford.

[a] Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[b] C. Deschmann, *Funde von Zirknitz* (Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft von Wien, 1879, (viii.) p. 137, *seqq.* See fig. 10).

The type presented by the upper part of the attachment with its central projection and angular wings is common to a whole series of late Greek vase handles. A handle resembling that of the Aylesford and Danish vases was found in a Cisalpine Gaulish tomb at Mezzano in the Milanese,[a] dating from the second century B.C. In this case it appears to have belonged to a small bronze vase[b] found in the same grave, somewhat broader below than the types before us, but belonging to the same general class of fabric, and with the thin turned-over collar. The concentric circles on the bottom of the Aylesford *œnochoé* are a late characteristic which hardly appears on Italian bronze-work before 200 B.C.

The long-handled bronze *patella*[c] (fig. 15), or frying-pan, belongs to the same general category as the imported vase with which it was associated in our Aylesford deposit. It is of a form and fabric that does not occur amongst Roman provincial remains in Britain or elsewhere, and, like the *œnochoé*, must be regarded as an article of pre-Roman import from beyond the Alps.

It is interesting to note, that in this case also we have to do with a form of imported vessel which during the first two or three centuries before our era seems to have been generally in vogue among the Celtic populations. In the Cisalpine Gaulish interments of Mezzano in the Milanese, already referred to as containing a handle similar to that of the Aylesford vase, and belonging, as was shown by the coins and inscribed objects brought to light, to the second century B.C.[d] a bronze *patella* was discovered with part of a long, flat handle, channelled in the middle, and in every respect resembling our Aylesford example. The handle of a similar bronze *patella* also occurred in a grave belonging to another Cisalpine Gaulish cemetery of pre-Roman date excavated at Povegliano, near Verona.[e] In a Gallic tomb at Carrù,[f] again, in the Modenese, was discovered another example.

[a] Pompeio Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, Tav. xiii. 68, p. 245.)

[b] Castelfranco, *op. cit.* Tav. xiii. 66, and see p. 245. A vase of an identical type was found in the Gaulish cemetery of Povegliano, near Verona (C. Cipolla, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. 9).

[c] The long-handled bronze vessels that occur with Roman remains in Britain are bowl-shaped and partake more of the nature of a saucepan than a frying-pan. They are also of heavier fabric.

Two imported Roman objects of this class with colanders to fit them were found in the Danish Early Iron Age interment of Mœllebanke in Seeland (Engelhardt, *Influence Classique sur le Nord pendant l'Antiquité*, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires du Nord, 1876, p. 233, f. 30).

[d] Pompeio Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, p. 245, Tav. xiii. f. 65.) Castelfranco gives the date as 300-200 B.C., but the presence of an uncial *u* and of certain "North Etruscan" inscriptions brings the cemetery down to the succeeding century.

[e] Prof. G. Pellegrini *Di un Sepolcreto preromano scoperto a Povegliano*, Verona, 1878; and see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. f. 8, and p. 238. This cemetery contained "flat-graves," with skeletons.

[f] Fabretti, *Scavi di Carrù*, Tav. vii.; Crespellani, *Scavi del Modenese*, 1879, Tav. ii., 6.

The coincidences in the forms of the imported Italo-Greek objects found in the Kentish cemetery and in the Gaulish cemeteries of Upper Lombardy are of great importance to our present inquiry, and illustrate, what has been already shown in the case of the pottery, the intimate relation subsisting between these sufficiently remote Celtic regions, in the period which immediately preceded the Roman Conquest. From the analogies thus supplied, it is probable, though we have not at present direct evidence of the fact, that the inventory of other Late-Celtic graves belonging to this period in Britain may have contained some of the other classical relics which form part of the typical contents of the contemporary or slightly earlier interments of Cisalpine Gaul. Among the principal of these must be classed the bronze mirrors; and, though I am not aware of any recorded discovery of a late Greek or Etruscan mirror in Britain, the imitations of such, which form a striking feature in later British art, certainly point to an early acquaintance with these articles of imported luxury. It is probable, moreover, that other specimens of bronze vessels, hitherto classed in our museums as "Roman" will eventually prove to belong to the same Italo-Greek or Late-Etruscan class as those from Aylesford. Mr. Franks informs me that some pre-Roman bronze pans apparently of Italian fabric analogous to the Aylesford *patella* were found some years since in Northamptonshire.[a]

The imported bronze vessels found in the Aylesford grave were, as we have seen, in all probability made in Italy in the second century B.C. It is always possible, however, that between the date of their manufacture and that of their deposit on British soil a not inconsiderable interval of years may have elapsed, though, from their generally well-preserved condition, it is improbable that this deposit could have taken place later than the first half of the ensuing century.

III. (*i*) The Aylesford *Fibulæ*.

Of the two bronze *fibulæ* found inside the bronze-plated pail at Aylesford, the first (fig. 17) is somewhat difficult to classify with precision. A simpler form of the same type occurs already in the earliest part of the cemetery at Este, and it may therefore be of Italian origin.

The other *fibula* (fig. 18) is of a type classified by Dr. O. Tischler[b] as be-

[a] They were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Mathew Bigge.

[b] *Die Gewandnadeln oder Fibeln* (von Gurina) in *Gurina im Obergailthal* (*Kärnthen*), Dr. A. Meyer, Dresden, 1885, and cf. Dr. Tischler's earlier work, *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der Physikalisch-Oekonomischen Gesellschaft zu Koenigsberg xxv. (1884) Sitzungsberichte, p. 18, *seqq.*)

longing to the late "La Tène" Period. Its comparatively late date indeed appears from the evidence of its own conformation, the raised rings round what



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

Fibulæ from Aylesford Grave.

we may term its neck being the survival of those that in the intermediate types bind the retroflected end of the fibula to its bow.[a] On the other hand the fact that the *fibula* is of the simple kind, made that is of one piece of metal, and that the spring does not require to be fixed to the head by a hook, conclusively proves that the present example belongs to the pre-Roman period. The "Roman Provincial" *fibulæ*, which are the immediate outgrowth of this type, are in all cases made in two pieces, the pin and spring being separate from the bow, and are provided with a hook to catch the loop of the spiral.[b] Although unfortunately imperfect at the lower part it may with great probability be completed, as in fig. 19. This *fibula*, though fitting on to the La Tène group, is itself probably of Italian fabric.



Fig. 19. Aylesford *Fibula* (fig. 18) restored.

[a] Hildebrand, *Bidrag til Spännets Historia*, Antikvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige, iv. 1872-1880; and Montelius, *Spännen fran Bronsåldern*, &c., pp. 185, 186, and cf. fig. 188.

[b] Tischler, *Gurina*, &c., p. 26.

Fibulæ of this character were numerously represented on the site of Alesia,[a] Alise St. Reine, amongst relics of the final struggle between Cæsar and Vercingetorix, in 52 B.C. They are also found on the site of the Æduan city of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, the predecessor of Augustodunum. It is noteworthy however that in both the above instances this *fibula* is found with the later adaptation of the hook, from which we may infer that the present simple variety dates well back into the first half of the first century before our era. This approximate chronology is quite consistent with that already elicited from the other bronzes from the same grave.

PART IV.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATE AND CHARACTER OF THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY.

From what has already been said it will be seen that the Aylesford interments belong to an extensive Late-British cemetery of a kind not hitherto described by English archaeologists. Arguments have already been adduced to show that the richest group of objects discovered, those namely in the grave containing the Late-Celtic pail, and including among them two imported bronze vessels, cannot be referred to a later date than the close of the first half of the first century B.C. It is probable, indeed, that the *œnochoê* and *patella* of Italian fabric there found were actually made in the preceding century. Of the two uninscribed British gold coins found in the cemetery the stater belongs to a type the full weight of which is about twelve grains heavier than that of the staters belonging to the earliest inscribed coinage of the sons of Commios, struck about 20 B.C. Assuming that the reduction of the weight of British coins was, roughly speaking,[b] one grain in every four years, we may infer that the Aylesford specimen was struck about the year 68 B.C. On the whole the balance of probability weighs in favour of the middle of the first century B.C. as the chronological centre-point of the Aylesford cemetery. Some graves are probably of earlier date, some, no doubt, come down later.

The evidence derived from the discovery of parallel ceramic forms in France and the Rhinelands supplies an additional corroboration of this approximate chronology. It has been shown that analogous types of cinerary vessels are found in Gaulish cemeteries belonging to the latest pre-Roman period, which, on the

[a] Tischler, *op. cit.*

[b] Cf. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 31.

Continental side of the Channel, finds its close in the latter half of the first century B.C. A fresh standpoint for comparison has been lately gained from the excavation by Dr. Koehl and others, of an interesting group of urn-fields presenting the same typical features as that of Aylesford, and productive of a series of ceramic types belonging to the same general class, in the neighbourhood of Worms, the old Celtic Borbetomagus. These finds include both a fine type of *situla* vase, with elegant pedestal and cordons, and other forms representative of the best Late-Celtic ceramic style, as well as some more recent and degenerate offshoots of the same class. Although from the beginning of the Christian Era onwards Borbetomagus was converted into a great Roman centre on the Rhenish border, traces of Roman influence were entirely absent from these interments, none of which can therefore well be later than the close of the first century B.C. The relics exhumed were typically Late-Celtic, including the *fibulæ* with retroflected ends and others of the Nauheim type, iron knives ending in rings or animals' heads, the usual iron shears, tweezers, and La Tène sword of these Continental deposits, and a very fine iron spear-head of the "jessamine leaf" shape $17\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length. With these were found some Gaulish coins, among them silver pieces and bronze imitations of Massaliote coins dating from the latter half of the first century B.C., but also a quarter stater of an East Gallic type representing on its obverse side a comparatively recognisable imitation of the Philippic head, and a winged horse on the reverse, which is hardly of later date than the end of the second century before our era. This latter coin may thus be taken to give the approximate date of the finer ceramic forms discovered in the Worms group of interments.

That some of the later graves of the Aylesford cemetery come down to a date appreciably nearer to that of the Claudian Conquest than 50 B.C. is by no means improbable. The somewhat degenerate character of the vessels found in the "family circle" last excavated, as well as its outlying position on the extreme borders of the cemetery, tends to show that this was the most recent group of interments brought to light on this site, and the pale brick-red, well-baked pottery of the cinerary in grave C seems to point to Romanizing influences, though the cordons and striations of the same vessel still betray its Celtic pedigree. The same brick-red appearance is presented by Nos. 7, 12, and 13 of my list. This class of vessels presents a close parallel to some transitional forms characteristic of the period of incipient Roman influence on certain Rhenish sites, and one of the Elveden pots apparently belongs to the same category.

It seems probable, however, that the Late-Celtic relics recently brought to light

in the British camp or *oppidum* of Hunsbury, near Northampton, reach down to a somewhat later date than those of the Aylesford Urn-Field.

The later class of British pottery with the incised spiral decoration represented by some good examples on the Hunsbury site is wholly absent at Aylesford. On the other hand, that of the Aylesford type appears at Hunsbury in a degenerate form. The character of the embossed ornaments on the Hunsbury sword-sheaths represents a slightly later phase of ornamental development than those upon the *situla* from our Kentish site, which, as has been shown, answer to the style represented by the earlier sword-sheaths of the Helvetian station of La Tène. The hatched lines with which on the Hunsbury example the embossed designs are eked out is a falling off from the simpler and bolder style, which, as in the case of the figures of our *situla*, relies for its effect on pure relief, and in this respect the Hunsbury sheath shows an approach to a later decorative style which lived on in the west and north of our island after the Roman subjugation of the south-east, and is well represented in early Irish art.[a] At Hunsbury, moreover, side by side with the survival of some more primitive forms there occurred a *fibula* of a pre-Roman class, which seems somewhat later in date than even the late forms represented at Aylesford. The example referred to, with its elongated triangular-headed bow, is identical with that to which Dr. Tischler[b] has given the name of the "Nauheim *fibula*," from its plentiful occurrence in the cemetery of Nauheim, near Frankfort, belonging, as is shown by the associated coins, to the last half century before the Christian era.

Both the Kentish cemetery and the Northamptonshire *oppidum* are alike in this particular, that in neither has any single object of purely Roman fabric come to light. This fact is the more remarkable when we recall the astonishing progress of Romanizing fashions among the Southern tribes of Britain during the two generations that preceded the actual conquest of that part of the island in Claudius's reign. What Velleius Paterculus[c] says of the Pannonian Celts was no doubt equally true of the Britons of this period, and many of them must have

[a] E. g. on the radiated crown from the Petrie collection described in *Archaeologia*, xlvii. p. 475. From the spiked form of this crown, analogous to that usual on coins of the Roman Emperors during the period that succeeded the reign of Caracalla, it is probable that this crown is posterior to c. 200 A.D.

[b] *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der phys.-ökon. Gesellschaft zu Königsberg, 1884, p. 27), and cf. *Gurina*, &c. p. 24. This *fibula* has been found on the site of the station of Stradonic in Bohemia, at Bibracte, Lyons, Besançon, &c.

[c] *Hist. Rom.* l. ii., c. 110.

not only acquired a knowledge of the language but have been familiar with the literature of Rome. At the courts of the Kentish prince Amminus, of the sons of Commios, of Tasciovanus or Cunobeline, Latin was already the official speech, and the types of the coinage are permeated with the artistic and religious creations of the classical world. We know indeed from Strabo[a] that in his time the princes of Britain had paid court to and secured the friendship of Augustus, that their envoys had offered gifts in the Capitol, and had made the whole island (or at least its southern part) "well nigh a home-country for the Romans." Under such conditions we should expect amongst the British remains of the period in question, extending from about 20 B.C. to 43 A.D. the year of Claudius's invasion, direct evidences of this advancing Roman culture. We should expect, for example, to find the same forms of imported Roman wares, such as the Arretine vases and their provincial imitations (miscalled Samian), and the small glass bottles that occur in the graves of the latest pre-Roman period in Gaul.[b] That remains of this class exist in the south-eastern parts of Britain cannot be doubted, though they seem to have been hitherto lumped together with those belonging to the period of actual Roman dominion. Meanwhile the entire absence of such relics in any important British settlement or cemetery is itself a strong argument for referring it to a period not only before the date of the Claudian conquest, but before the beginning of the Christian era.

It has already been shown that the characteristic pottery of the Aylesford interments represents in its most typical forms a ceramic class common to the contemporary cemeteries of Belgic Gaul, and which by the light of parallel types found in Champagne and on the middle and upper Rhine may be traced back to bronze originals indigenous in an extensive Italian and Adriatic region.

The sudden appearance on British soil of this elegant exotic race of vases, in their pedestals and cordoned zones revealing still their pedigree of noble metal, and standing out, both in paste and contour, in strong contrast to the rude traditional urns evolved from basket-work and daub by our native potters, is a highly significant phenomenon. It can hardly be interpreted in any other way than as an indication that at the beginning of the period to which the Aylesford

[a] *Geogr.*, l. iv. c. 5, 3, "*ἀναθήματα τε ἀνεθήκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι παρασκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.*"

[b] Strabo (lib. iv. c. 5, 3) mentions the import of glass vessels into Britain during this period (before c. A.D. 24).

cemetery belongs, this Kentish site was occupied by an intrusive Gaulish tribe. The rapid diffusion of the same types of vessel throughout the south-eastern parts of England, as revealed by a series of kindred discoveries, seems to show that this invasion affected a considerable area.

The appearance of the "urn-field" type of cremation burial in the flat earth is, in its way, moreover, as significant as are the forms of the cineraries themselves. In the Late-Celtic inhumation graves like the "King's Barrow" at Arras, in Yorkshire, in which the skeleton of the departed warrior is laid with his chariot and his horses, we recognise the characteristic features of that earlier class of Gaulish interments, such as we find them on the plains of Champagne, the valleys of the Saar and Mosel, or, still further afield to the south and east, which, from the associated Greek and Etruscan relics, are known on the Continent to belong to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries before our era. In the occurrence of these skeleton interments in Britain belonging to the period that directly follows on our insular Bronze Age we may perhaps trace the influence of an earlier wave of Gaulish invasion belonging to the close of the Continental period above indicated, and to which the first introduction of Late-Celtic arts in this island may reasonably be ascribed. The cremation graves of Aylesford, on the other hand, stand in the same relation to the sepulchral practice in vogue among the Gauls of a later age, during the period namely that immediately preceded the Roman Conquest.

We have seen that during this period a new form of cremation burial in shallow pits in the flat surface of the earth had taken root throughout an extensive Gaulish region, where it is associated with the appearance of the same class of pottery as that of our Kentish cemetery. The same is true of the Rhenish districts, and in North Germany and Scandinavia the occurrence of an allied class of pottery, in company with other relics belonging to the La Tène Period of Continental culture in its strictest sense, is accompanied with the diffusion of similar burial rites. In this region an allied usage was prevalent, according to which the ashes were not placed in urns, but were deposited in the graves themselves, the "Brandgruben" or "cremation-pits" of Northern archæologists, which however, like the urn-pits, are excavated in the flat surface of the ground.

The simultaneous entry into Britain of this new "urn-field" type of burial, side by side with the same ceramic forms that mark its extension on the Gaulish side of the Channel, affords a trustworthy clue to the source from which this new sepulchral usage made its way to our shores. The urns, themselves, are, as has been shown, the derivatives of North Italian, and, in a marked degree, Old

Venetian prototypes. The associated bronzes, like the *œnochoë*, or the long-handled *patella*, answer to an Italian usage adopted, as we have seen, by the Gaulish settlers in the Po valley. The Late-Celtic *situla* of the principal grave is itself a development of forms of bronze buckets that in the North Etruscan cemeteries of Bologna, or elsewhere, so frequently fulfilled the function of cineraries. The occurrence of identical or allied bronze forms in "La Tène" deposits of North Germany and Scandinavia points to a common centre of radiation, and, in all probability, in part, at least, to a common channel of transport by the passes of the Alps.

The inference which we seem entitled to draw from this diffusion of North Italian forms of bronze and ceramic relics in the Late-Celtic graves of the last two centuries before our era, *pari passu* with the spread of a new form of cremation interments in the flat earth, is that the new sepulchral practice of urn-burial which superseded the older skeleton interments of the Late-Celtic peoples, was in fact disseminated from the same source, and must be regarded as the outcome of the direct communion with various Italian and Illyric elements into which the Cisalpine Gauls had been brought by their occupation of Ligurian and North Etruscan territories on the one side and of the Eastern Alps and the lands about the head of the Adriatic, on the other. In Italy itself the progress of this sepulchral revolution may be actually watched. In the earliest Gaulish graves at Marzabotto, and elsewhere, we see the fifth-century Celtic practice of the inhumation of the body still adhered to. But the form of urn-burial at that time predominant amongst the neighbouring populations, such as the Old Venetians and their kinsmen, with which the invading Northern swarms came in contact, soon appears to have re-acted on the national ritual of the Gaulish settlers. In the later Cisalpine Gaulish interments from the third century onwards incineration becomes general.

The Aylesford type of cremation graves and the Aylesford type of vases represents then the first introduction on to British soil of forms of sepulchral usage and of ceramic art, which had already propagated themselves across a wide Gaulish tract—answering, in part at least, to the Continental extension of the Belgic group of tribes—from the lands beyond the Alps, in an appreciable degree apparently from the borders of a well-defined Adriatic province peopled by an Illyro-Italic race, the immediate neighbours of the Cisalpine Gauls, and the name of whose most powerful representative is still preserved in that of Venice. The channel through which this new influence reached our shores is undoubtedly

to be sought in Belgic Gaul, and the first stage of its course was probably the Upper Rhine valley.

This sudden break with the pre-existing sepulchral usages and the traditional indigenous forms of pottery points to the progress of a conquering race, and if we may suppose that the first appearance of these new forms dates back to the middle of the second century before our era, the beginning of the movement to which the introduction into Britain of this new culture was due will be found to synchronize in a remarkable way with the first appearance in the south-eastern parts of our island of a gold coinage consisting of Belgic types derived from the Philippus.

The fact that the British gold coins found at Aylesford itself were of types common to the Belgic parts of Gaul, as well as to south-eastern Britain, throws a suggestive light on the nationality of the occupants of this Kentish site during the period to which the cemetery belongs. The same intimate connexion with Belgic Gaul is borne out by the ornamental style of the *situla*, which, if we may judge from the animal forms that it exhibits, was, in all probability, manufactured in the Reims district. In the imported objects of Greek or Italian fabric, we see, for the first time on British soil, the evidences of a race acquainted with the products of classical art, and traditionally accustomed, like the Continental Gauls, to associate such objects with their interments. The conditions revealed to us by the Aylesford discoveries display that close communion with the Belgic parts of Gaul that is otherwise attested by Ancient British coins as well as by the direct statements of Cæsar, from whom we learn that in the middle of the first century before our era the authority or influence of Commios the Atrebatian extended over a great part of Britain. In a certain sense, this connexion may be taken to resemble that which subsisted between England and Normandy during the period that immediately succeeded the Norman Conquest; in both cases we find the same princely houses exercising sway on either side of the Channel, and in both cases the conqueror succeeded in introducing Continental arts and Continental usages to our insular soil. It must however be borne in mind that the Belgic conquerors to whom we have referred the introduction of the Ancient British coinage, the *situla*-vases, and the urn-field system of interment, in all probability were only following in the wake of earlier Gaulish invaders who, perhaps, as early as the middle of the third century B.C., had introduced, together with the more archaic sepulchral usage of inhumation beneath a barrow, the first beginnings of Late-Celtic art in Britain.

XV.—*Wall painting in St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury cathedral church. By the Rev.* John Morris, *S.J., F.S.A.*

Read May 23rd, 1889.

I am enabled by the kindness of a friend in Canterbury to place before the Society a tracing and a photograph of the wall painting which has been recently discovered in the apse of St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury cathedral church, together with a ground plan of the chapel, showing its position. The painting is worthy of attention: first on account of its antiquity, and secondly on account of the singular fact that for seven hundred years it has been hidden from sight.

St. Anselm's chapel was built by St. Anselm himself, or rather by his prior Ernulf. On the accession of St. Anselm in 1093, Ernulf took down the choir which Lanfranc had erected just before, and rebuilt it of larger dimensions. The new choir, like the old, had an apse with a square-ended chapel at its east end, which was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Trinity. On either side of the Trinity chapel Ernulf built two towers, and the portion of each tower that opened into the church was dedicated as a chapel, that on the north in honour of St. Andrew, and that on the south of SS. Peter and Paul. They are no longer towers, but Gervase calls them by that name, and he is completely borne out in this by the Norman plan, *circa* 1165, attributed to the monk Edwin, which shows that the church had two eastern towers, as high as the towers at its west end. These eastern towers radiated out from Ernulf's apse, and their retention when the church was rebuilt by William of Sens and his namesake the Englishman (1174—1184) is the cause of the beautiful curve in the line of the choir walls, which strikes the eye with

such pleasure, both within and without the church, and is very perceptible in the accompanying ground plan.

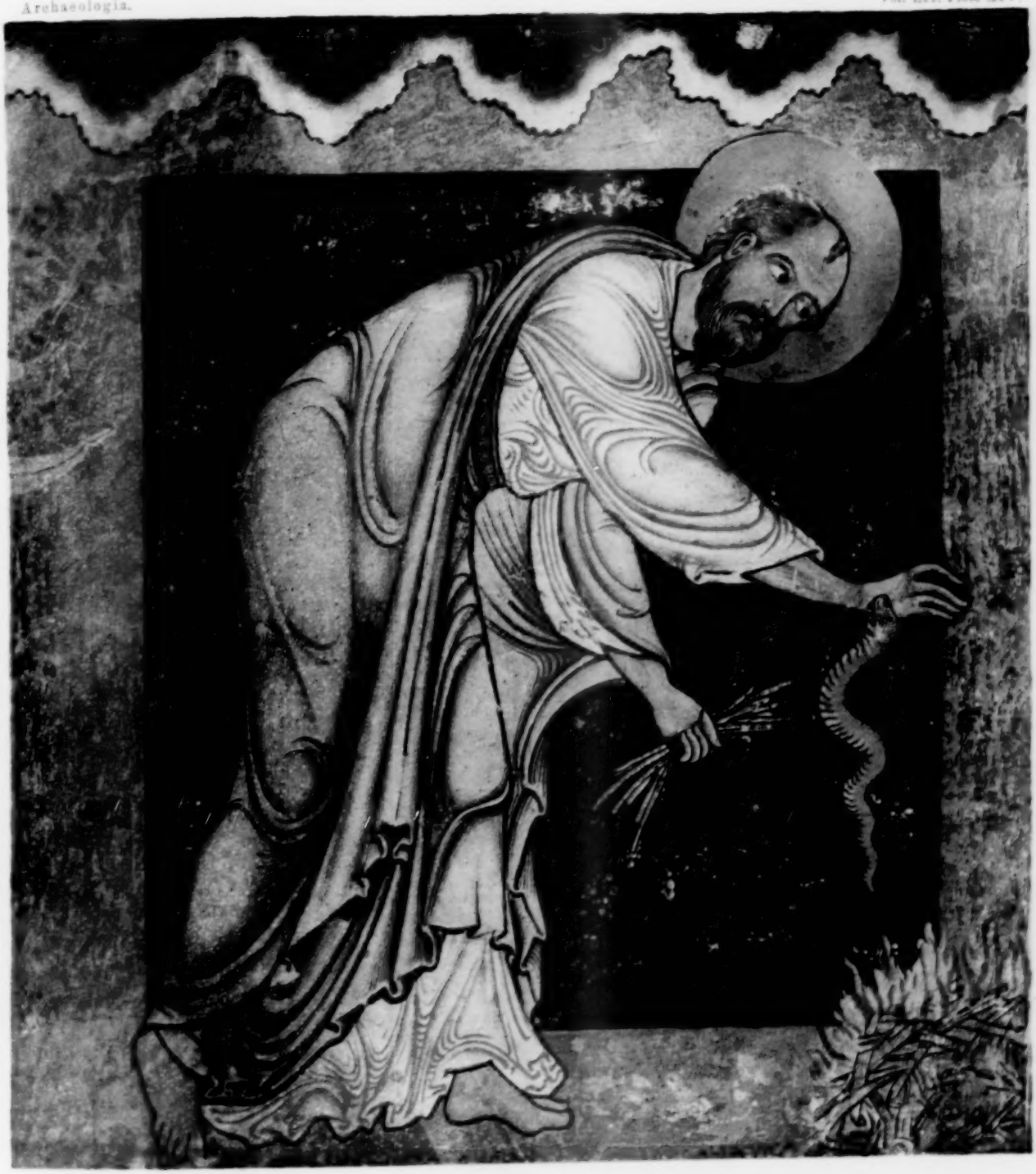
St. Anselm was buried in the Trinity chapel in 1109, and after some years his body was translated into the chapel that he had called after SS. Peter and Paul. Its name was speedily changed by the popular voice, and Gervase tells us that in his time, that is to say, before the fire in 1174, it was called St. Anselm's chapel. It is curious that St. Augustine's abbey should have been dedicated by that saint in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, and that it also should have changed its title and assumed the name of its founder. St. Anselm's chapel was evidently so called from the time when his shrine was placed in it, without waiting for his canonization, for it seems probable that St. Anselm was never canonized formally by the pope. St. Thomas at the Council of Tours in 1163 petitioned for it, and as late as 1494, in the reign of Henry VII. a commission to report to the pope on the virtues of St. Anselm was issued, which commission is often wrongly called the bull of canonization.

The painting on the apse of St. Anselm's chapel has recently been uncovered by the removal of a wall* in the process of restoration of the chapel. The stones of that wall bore undoubted marks of fire, and we thus learn how the painting was saved when the choir of the cathedral was burnt on the 5th of September, 1174. The antiquity of the wall, and the fact that the painting represents St. Paul, one of the original co-titulars of the chapel, are external proofs of the time when the painting was executed. For its style is so free from the stiffness of the designs painted in the early part of the twelfth century, and so different from the style of the well-known paintings in the chapel immediately below it in the crypt, that without such convincing proofs antiquaries would probably have assigned it to a later date.

The chapel beneath, which, from an inscription partly still remaining, has been called St. Gabriel's, but which would seem rather to have borne the title of St. John the Baptist, was built up solidly. The wall cutting off a small portion of the apse in the chapel above, and the substantial building up of the arch in front of the apse in the chapel below, must both be due to the same cause, and have been done at the same time. It must have been thought by the architect, Prior Conrad, we may presume, that buttressing was needed just in that place; and therefore after the chapels were decorated with paintings, those walls were built by him. We may assume that this will have been done before the consecration of the church by Archbishop Corboil in 1130. At any rate the chapel in the crypt

* Shewn by darker shading on the plan.

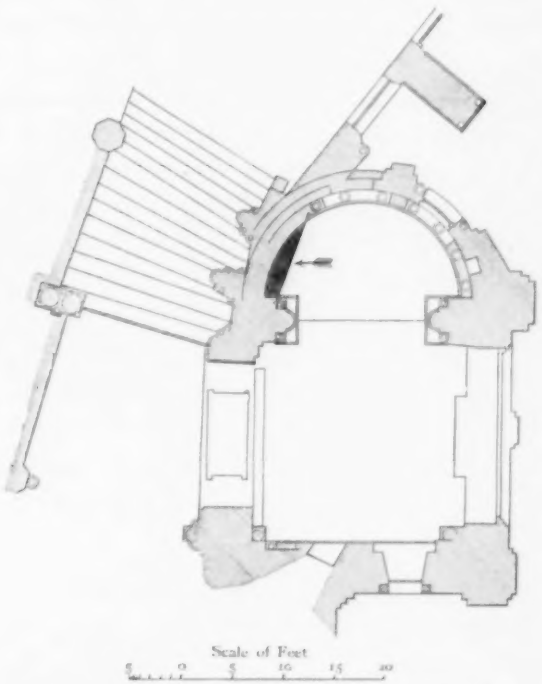




WALL PAINTING IN ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL
IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

(about ½ linear)

was walled up before the time of Gervase, for the altar in it is the only one not mentioned by him in his list of the altars of the upper and lower churches. It is remarkable that there were in his time, that is before the fire in 1174, two altars under the Trinity chapel side by side, which is an unusual arrangement. That on the south side was the altar of St. Augustine the Apostle of England, that on the north was St John the Baptist's. It might be suggested that when the altar originally intended to be St. John the Baptist's was walled up, place was found for an altar in his honour by moving St. Augustine's altar to one side. The walled-up chapel in the crypt cannot be very far from the place occupied in Saxon times by the church of St. John the Baptist, built before 758 by Archbishop Cuthbert as a baptistery and burial-place for the archbishops.



Plan of the chapel of St Anselm in Canterbury cathedral church, shewing the position of the painting of St. Paul recently discovered.

It only remains for me now to say that the painting recently uncovered in St. Anselm's chapel is in the north-east corner of the chapel. It measures 3 feet $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and represents St. Paul

putting sticks on the fire after his shipwreck at Malta, when the viper fastened itself on his hand (Plate XIV.). The ground of the painting is ultramarine, and when it was first uncovered it was very bright. The tunic of St. Paul is white, with the shades in cobalt. The mantle is whitish, shaded with vermilion, and deepened with chocolate. The face is painted naturally, the hair dark. The fire is vermilion and bright; the sticks ochre, mixed with brown. On the hand the mark of the bite is bright red. The viper is bluish white and striped. The clouds are shaded with chocolate and ochre, the upper part of them cobalt, with a rim of ultramarine.

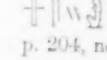
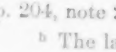
We may fairly conclude that William of Malmesbury included both the paintings in the lower chapel and in the upper in his praise of "the glass windows, the marble pavement, and the many-coloured paintings" of Ernulf's work, "the like of which was not to be seen in England." At any rate we may congratulate ourselves on having such noble specimens of Ernulf's decorative painting. And if hitherto the paintings in the crypt have been deservedly looked upon as surpassing any paintings in the country of their date, they are themselves surpassed both in design and execution by this painting of St. Paul, which may fairly claim to be the finest work of its kind of the early part of the twelfth century, or indeed the end of the eleventh, if it be Ernulf's, who left Canterbury for Peterborough in the year 1100.

XVI.—*On the Hieratic Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu,*[a] *a scribe in the Temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, about* B.C. 305. *By* E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read January 30th, 1890.

THE papyrus which is transcribed and translated in the following pages is preserved in the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, where it bears the number 10188. It was found at Thebes in the year 1860, and was purchased by the late Mr. A. H. Rhind;[b] in 1865 it was sold to the trustees of the British Museum by Mr. David Bremner, together with a number of other papyri collected by Mr. Rhind. A few years later its existence was pointed out by Dr. Birch to Dr. Pleyte, who wrote a short article upon it,[c] in which he gave a description of the chapters and translated some passages principally from the first work written on the papyrus. In November, 1886, a further account of it was given by me,[d] together with hieroglyphic transcripts of some important passages in it.

The papyrus is about 19 feet long by 9½ inches wide, and is very fine in texture; it contains thirty-three columns, or 940 lines, of well-written hieratic.

[a] The sign  is commonly but erroneously read Khem. The variants of the name are  and  Renouf, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii. p. 204, note 2.

[b] The late Dr. Birch informed me that Mr. Rhind had found this papyrus during the excavations which he made at Thebes in 1861. I have searched in Mr. Rhind's *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, London, 1862, and in his *Account of the Tombs in which the Papyri and Tesserae were found* (printed in Birch, *Facsimiles of two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes*, London, 1863, pp. 18-29), for particulars, but no mention of this papyrus appears to exist there. Its registration mark is $2^{6}_{4}18$.

[c] In *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii. pp. 57-64.

[d] In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1886-87, pp. 11-26.

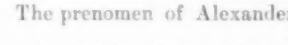
The beginnings of some of the lines in the first column, and parts of the foot lines of the first four columns, are broken away; here and there small breaks in the text occur, but the text as a whole is wonderfully perfect, and nearly all the missing parts can be restored from parallel passages. The bottom edge of the papyrus is stained with bitumen.

The titles of the books, the first words of each paragraph, the directions for reciting the verses and for performing the various parts of the service for the destruction of Apepi, the names of his companion fiends and devils, and certain words are throughout written in red; in my transcript these are represented by a black line printed over the hieroglyphics so written. The handwriting is small and neat, and is of interest to the palaeographer because it exhibits the forms of many of the characters in the transition state between the ordinary hieratic and demotic scripts.

This papyrus seems to have formed one of a number kept in stock by a person who made it his business to supply funereal papyri to be placed in the tombs by relatives of the dead: it was not written expressly for Nesi-Ȧmsu, as we may see by comparing the carelessly written colophon with the careful hand in which a part of the papyrus is written. Traces of two or three handwritings appear in the work. The date when the papyrus was purchased and the titles of the deceased are set forth in the two columns of very cursive writing which occur between the first and second and the second and third compositions written on it. They read: "Written in the fourth month[a] of the sowing season, in the twelfth year of Alexander,[b] the son of Alexander, for Nesi-Ȧmsu,[c] son of Petâ-Ȧmen-

[a] The Egyptian , Coptic ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ=November 27—December 26.

[b] Alexander IV. son of Alexander the Great, reigned, according to the canon of Ptolemy, about twelve years. He began to reign about B.C. 317, but was murdered six years after; in B.C. 305 his successor Ptolemy Soter began to reign. The scribe appears to have added the six years of the interregnum to those of the actual reign of Alexander IV. Dr. Brugsch has published a decree of this king dated in the "first month of the sowing season of the seventh year," (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 1) and M. Revillout has published the texts of monuments dated in the thirteenth year of his reign (*Revue Égypt.* 1880, pp. 8, 15). See also Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Synoptische Tafeln, p. 9; and *Ueber einige Ergebnisse der Aeg. Denkmäler für die Kenntniss der Ptolemaer-Geschichte*, p. 8. Ptolemy Soter became Macedonian governor of Egypt B.C. 322, and assumed the title of king B.C. 305.

The prenomen of Alexander II. was  *Hūā-ab-Ȧmen-setep-en-Rā.*

[c] *i.e.* "belonging to Amsu." The ithyphallic god Amsu was a form of Amen-Rā, the sun-god, and represented the generative power in nature. He is called "Amsu-Amen, bull of his mother," "Amsu, son of Isis," and "Amsu, engendered of Rā." He was worshipped particularly at Panopolis, the modern اخميم

suten taiu[a] the prophet, and Ta-shere, a sistrum bearer of Åmen-Rā, daughter of Nesti-Tûra[b] . . " His titles and offices were as follows: "Prophet of the temple of Het,[c] scribe of Amen of the third order, first divine father and prophet of Amen-Rā, king of the gods; prophet of Horus-Rā, the great and mighty first-born son of Ra-Amen; prophet of Amen the two-horned;[d] prophet of Chensu within Benenet;[e] prophet of Osiris, the great god of the 'persea trees;'[f] prophet of Osiris, the dweller in Asher;[g] prophet of Amen (may his throne be exalted!) the dweller in Apt;[h] first priest of Ra in the temple of Amen of the second order; inspector and scribe of Amen of the second order; vicar of Amen of the second and fourth orders; prophet of Nefer-hetep[i] the great and prophet of

[a] *i.e.* "the gift of Amen, king of the world."

[b] I am not certain about the reading of this name.

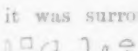
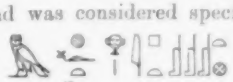
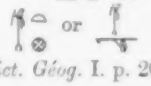
[c] A name of the metropolis of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt (*Diospolis parva*).

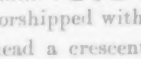
[d] *Sept ābu*, literally "provided with two horns," is the original form of the title which Alexander the Great gave to himself as the son of Amen. The Greeks translated it by *κερασφόρος*, the Arabs by ذا القرنين and the Ethiopians by ዘክልኤ:አቅረንቲሁ:

[e]  *Benenet*, or  *Benbenet*, was a tract of land which surrounded the temple of Chensu at Karnak. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 195.

[f] Name of a part of Thebes.

[g] Asher was the name given to a part of Thebes which lay to the south of the great temple at Amen at Karnak, on the right bank of the river. It was the seat of the goddess Mut, the wife of Amen. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 74.

[h] Apt is the name given in the Egyptian monuments to the part of Thebes which lies on the east bank of the river, and which is represented to-day by the ruins at Karnak and Luxor (El-uksûr); it was surrounded by a wall and was called the "fortress of Ap," and "Ap of the south,"  to distinguish it from another town called Ap, situated in Lower Egypt. The name Ap, or Apt, has survived in the Coptic ⲁⲡⲉ or ⲧⲁⲡⲉ. The famous temple of Amen-Rā was situated here, and was considered specially sacred. The part of Thebes on the west bank of the river was called  *em χeft Åptet* "Contra Apt." The town of Thebes generally was called  or *Uast*, and was the capital of the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* I. p. 20; Mariette, *Karnak*, (Texte), p. 2; Chabas, *Recherches sur le nom Egyptien de Thébes*, p. 6; and Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, I. p. 178.

[i] Nefer-hetep, or more fully,  *Chensu nefer hetep*, is one of the names of the god Chensu, under which he was worshipped with great honour at Thebes. He is represented under the form of a man, having on his head a crescent and disk; on the right side of his head is a lock of hair, and in his hand he holds either a palm-notched branch or a sceptre, with the symbols of life  , stability  , rule  , and dominion  . The statue of this god was sent to Bechten in the 26th year of Rameses XIII. to drive out the evil spirit which had taken possession of the daughter of the prince of this land.

Nefer-hetep the little; prophet of Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys of the temple of Het; prophet of Hathor, lady of Het-sechem, prophet of Mehit,[a] prophet of[b] Amsu, and Atmu, lord of Het-sechem,[c] vicar of Nefer-hetep[d] of the four orders; first prophet of Nefer-hetep, and prophet of the gods."

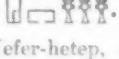
From this it is clear that Nesi-Amsu held several official appointments in the temples of Amen-Rā and the other gods at Thebes, and also in those of Diospolis parva, or Het.

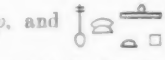
The lines which form the second part of the colophon contain a prayer, a curse upon any one who shall dare to remove the papyrus from its resting-place, and a blessing upon the man who shall take the trouble to "establish the name and the *Ka*" of the deceased Nesi-Amsu. They read: "May their names (words?) be established and increased and never be destroyed before Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys and the gods and goddesses whose names are written upon this book, in the presence of the gods and goddesses, whosoever they are, who are in the nether world and within the mighty and secret pylons which are there! May these names be made to come forth in the mighty nether world! Mayest thou (*i.e.*, the deceased Nesi-Amsu) be proclaimed by them (*i.e.*, the gods and goddesses) in the boat of Rā; mayest thou have given to thee by them sepulchral meals upon the table of the great god in the course of every day; mayest thou have given to thee by them fresh water and incense such as is given to the mighty kings of the north and south who are in the nether world; may there be given to thee by them coming forth and progress among the favoured ones of Osiris at the head of those in the nether world; and may they grant to thee that the rays of the disk may fall upon thy body daily."

"If any person from any foreign land, whether he be Negro, Ethiopian, or

[a] This god is, perhaps, the north wind personified. See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 325.

[b] This line is omitted in my transcript. The text is  *Het-hert nebt Het-sχem neter hen en Mehit neter hen en.*

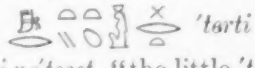
[c] Het-sechem is the sacred name of the metropolis of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt, or *Diospolis parva*, which was dedicated to the worship of Hathor and Nephthys; the name is also written  .

[d] Nefer-hetep, called also  *Ausar Nefer-hetep*, and  *Nefer-χā-hetep*, was the name of Osiris under the form of a *bennu* bird  he was the husband of Hathor or Nephthys of Het-sechem and was venerated there.

Syrian, shall remove this book, or any thief (?) shall carry it off, may his body never draw near to [the presence of the god]; may he never be placed in the cool; may he never breathe the breezes of the north wind; may neither son nor daughter arise to him from his seed; may his name never be remembered on earth through his children; and may he never see the beams of the disk! But if any person shall look upon this book and shall so act that my name and my *ka* be established among the favoured ones of Osiris, may there be done likewise for him after his death in retribution for what he has done for me."

The papyrus of Nesi-Amsu is inscribed with three distinct compositions, which are entitled respectively: 1. The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys; 2. The Litanies of Seker; and 3. The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi. Thanks to the liberality of the Society of Antiquaries, it has been possible to print the full text of each of these works with interlinear transliteration and literal translation. The order of the columns has been kept strictly, and the words written in red ink in the papyrus have been indicated in the hieroglyphic transcript by having a thick black line printed over them. The transcription has been made as uniform as possible, but the scribe was not always consistent in writing the same word; wherever the transcription of a character is doubtful it is represented by (?). In a few cases, where the signs are new ones, special types representing them have been cut. In transliterating I have followed the old system used by Lepsius, Brugsch, Birch, Renouf, and others; the other systems now in use in France and Germany may possess superior advantages, but they do not appear to outweigh their difficulties and disadvantages. The interlinear translation has been made as literal as possible, but a free rendering of each work is given in this introduction. Some passages are easy to translate and easy to understand; some are easy to translate but hard to understand; and some are both difficult to translate and to understand. In making my first transcript and translation I had the benefit of Mr. Renouf's supervision, and I gratefully acknowledge his kind assistance.

I. THE FESTIVAL SONGS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

This work fills seventeen columns of writing, and contains 463 lines. It is entitled "The Verses[a] of the Festival of the two 'Terti," and the rubric tells us that the whole of it was to be sung in the temple of Osiris on the occasion of the festival which was celebrated in the fourth month of the sowing season[b] (= November 27—December 29) from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth day. 'Terti is the term applied to Isis and Nephthys in their character of protectors of the deceased; Isis is called  *'terti urt*, "the great *'terti*," and Nephthys  *'terti ne'teset*, "the little *'terti*." The rubric goes on to state that these verses were to be recited by two women who were virgins[c] and who were ceremonially pure; the hair of their limbs was to be removed, they were to wear ram's wool garlands upon their heads, and to hold tambourines in their hands; on the arm of one of them was to be a fillet inscribed, "To Isis," and on an arm of the other was to be a fillet inscribed, "To Nephthys." Thus arrayed they were to recite or sing the verses of the festival of the 'Terti. The rubric of a similar composition, which has been called the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,[d] gives rather different directions; it reads,

[a] The word rendered "verses" is  and means literally "houses." Dy. Pleyte translated the word by *traité*, *livre*, *chapitre*, and there is conclusive evidence that has, at times, the meaning of *chapitre*, as for example in the enumeration of the chapters of a composition. Here, however, the word is best rendered by "verses." Compare Arab. بَيْت plur. ابيات Syr. ܒܝܬ plur. ܒܬܐ, Gr. *oikos*, Italian *stanza*. In Syriac we have the expression ܒܝܬ ܕܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܡܩܪܒܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ "verses which are to be said when they go in for the offering," and ܒܝܬ ܕܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܪܙܐ "verses which are to be said when they receive the Mysteries" (*i.e.*, the Lord's Supper). See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 479, and Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 378, 192.

[b] *I.e.* ΧΟΙΑΚ. The days of the celebration of the festival correspond roughly with our December 25—29th.

[c]  *apt* appears to be used here in the sense of "defiled" (Comp. Heb. מָחַל Ezekiel, xxxvi. 23); *an apt* = undefiled, pure, unpolluted.

[d] A facsimile of the hieratic text from a manuscript at Berlin is published by J. de Horrack in his *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866. A hieroglyphic transcript is published in my *Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1888, pp. 46-51, and an English translation by de Horrack in *Records of the Past*, 1st ed. vol. ii. pp. 117-126.



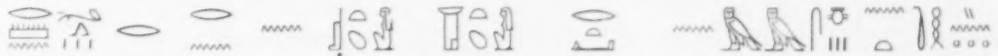
ān *χertu* *set* *sen* *nefer* *em* *ḥāu* — *sen* *ertāt* *senetem-*

To be said by women two, beautiful in bodies their. Shall sit



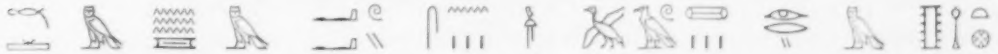
sen *er* *ta* *em* *āā* *ḥetepi* *en* *usuχut* *nāu* *ḥer*

they upon the ground at the door chief of the hall, shall be inscribed upon



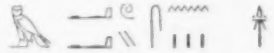
ermen *er* *ren* *en* *Ȧuset* *Nebt-ḥet* *ertā* *nemmes* *ent* *θehen*

their arms the names of Isis and Nephthys. Shall be placed vessels of glass



meḥ *em* *māu* *em* *āāui-* *sen* *ȧment* *pau* *ȧri* *em* *Aneb-ḥ'tet*

filled with water in two hands their left, and cakes made in Memphis



em *āāui* *-sen* *ȧbt*

in two hands their right.

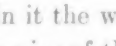
The composition to which this rubric referred was to be recited or sung at the third and eighth hours of the day, and it is especially enjoined that the recital of it shall not be omitted during the period of the festival.

The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys were led off by an address to Osiris on the part of the *χer ḥeb*, or precentor, and they were continued by Isis and Nephthys, who sometimes sang together and sometimes singly; they appear to have accompanied their singing by the beating of tambourines. Throughout the composition there is no rhyme, but there is a very persistent rhythm; this is slightly monotonous, but is quite in keeping with what is known of oriental songs, and the way in which they were sung. The following lines will serve as an example of this rhythm.

[a]  literally means "to bring." It must, however, be translated here by some such word as *said, recited, repeated*. M. de Horrack (*op. cit.* p. 15) translates *ān χertu set sen* by "étant amenées deux femmes."

Col. iv. l. 7	ut f	χesef	Sebau
	māa	ti en	χennu-k
	χesef	mehi χent	het-n
	māa	ti en	χennu-k
	an tut	erek θas	em uāi
	neb-en	em hetep	auset-f

Certain phrases, like "come to thy temple," "come, thy relatives wait," and "come in peace," form refrains, and are repeated at frequent intervals. The structure of the composition has something in common with the non-devotional Hebrew psalms; there is the same parallelism in the members of the verses, the same manner of saying the same thing in different words, and there are many examples of address to the sun-god which begin in the second person and end in the third. The grammatical construction of many of the sentences is interesting and, when sufficiently examined and explained, will increase our knowledge of the grammar of the Egyptian language during the later period of its existence. The Egyptian vocabulary will be increased by this text, for there are words in it which do not exist in the great dictionary of Dr. Brugsch.

About the age of this work it is impossible to make any definite statement. Here and there in it the words  *ki 'tet*, "otherwise said," occur; which show that other copies of the work existed, and that it was sufficiently ancient for variant readings to have crept in. There seems to be little doubt that services were held, and hymns sung in honour of Osiris at Karnak from very ancient times, and it is probable that these verses are either copies of ancient works, or redactions based upon them. Certain passages appear to be corrupt, but it is impossible to correct them without the help of other manuscripts. Judging from internal evidence, it will probably be right to assume that the work in its present form is not older than the twenty-sixth dynasty. Of the name of the author we are quite ignorant.

The subject of the verses throughout is the destruction of Osiris by Set, and the reconstruction of his body by Isis and Nephthys, his wife and sister respectively. As the references to this subject are so many and so frequent, the principal points of the story as given by Plutarch are here repeated. Osiris and Isis, having been united before their birth, were born on the first and fourth of the five days which formed the epact respectively; Osiris was the son of Rhea and the Sun, and Isis was the daughter of Rhea and Mercury. Rhea also bore to Saturn Typhon and Nephthys, the former on the third and the latter on the fifth

day of the epact. Osiris became king of Egypt, and applied himself to the civilisation and improvement of his country. When the Egyptians had learned how to worship the gods, he set out to visit the other parts of the world, in order that all mankind might benefit by his teaching and assistance. Typhon, the half-brother of Osiris, was unable to work mischief in the land of Egypt during his absence, but on his return he joined himself to a queen of Ethiopia, called Aso, and seventy-two other persons, and entered into a conspiracy with them. Having secretly taken the measure of the body of Osiris, he caused a chest to be made exactly of the same size as it, and brought it into his banqueting room; when all those who were present had admired it, he promised to give it to the person whose body it would fit. One guest after another tried to get into it, but without success; last of all Osiris laid himself down in it, and it was found to fit him exactly. Before, however, he had time to get out of it again Typhon threw the cover over him, and, having nailed it down firmly, poured molten lead over it. The box was then carried away to the bank of the river, whence it was brought to the Tanaïtic mouth of the Nile; this happened either in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris, or in the twenty-eighth year of his age. When Isis heard of this she cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning apparel, and wandered about in sore distress seeking for the chest; finally some children who had watched Typhon told her by what mouth of the Nile it had been conveyed to the sea. About this time she also learned that Osiris had been united with her sister Nephthys, who, fearing the anger of Typhon her husband, had exposed the fruit of her unlawful commerce as soon as it was born. With great difficulty and by the help of dogs she finally discovered where the offspring was, and going to the place she bred it up, and it was afterwards named Anubis. Soon after she heard that the chest had been carried by the waves of the sea to Byblos,[a] and there gently lodged in the branches of a tamarisk tree, which in a short time had shot up into a large and beautiful tree, growing round the chest and enclosing it on every side, so that it was not to be seen. Isis came to Byblos and succeeded in obtaining the chest, which she carried away with her to Egypt, but intending to visit her son Horus, she deposited it in a remote and unfrequented place, where, however, it was found by Typhon one night hunting by the light of the moon. Having recognised the body of Osiris inside it, he tore it into fourteen parts which he scattered about

[a] Not Byblos in Phoenicia, but the papyrus swamps in the north-east of the Delta.

the country. Once more Isis set out in search of the scattered fragments of her husband's body, and whenever she found one she buried it and built a sepulchre over it. The phallus of Osiris was never recovered, for it was swallowed by the Lepidotus, Phagrus, and Oxyrhynchus fishes when it was thrown into the Nile immediately after its separation from the body. To make some amends for the loss, Isis consecrated a phallus made in imitation of it, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory. After these things Osiris returned from the nether world, and appearing to his son Horus, encouraged him to do battle with Typhon, and instructed him in the exercise of arms. In the battle with Typhon Horus was victorious, and Osiris his father was avenged.

The Egyptian inscriptions show us that Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Anubis, Set or Typhon, and Horus, are all children of Nut, the Sky, and Seb, the Earth, and Mr. Renouf has proved that these gods are nothing more nor less than powers of nature. The greatest and most important of these was naturally Osiris, the sun, and the Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys were composed in praise of this god. The two virgins who sang them assumed the characters of Isis and Nephthys, and as, in the myth, these two goddesses put together the fragments of the dead body of their husband and called upon him with pathetic and loving words to return to them, so in these the two virgins address the dead god with every endearing epithet possible. The prayers of Isis and Nephthys that Osiris should return again to them were answered, for that god lived again in the person of his son Horus, by whom he was avenged; and the Festival Songs refer to the resurrection and renewed birth of Osiris, the type of man after his death, who in this capacity is identified with the sun, the daily rising of which constantly recalled the idea of a birth eternally renewed.

TRANSLATION.

Column I.

1. The beginning of the verses of the festival of the two Terti, which shall be sung in the temple of Osiris, at the head of those who are in the nether-world, the great god, the lord of Abydos, in
2. the fourth month of the sowing season, from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth days of the same. They are written expressly for the temple, and are to be sung by women whose
3. limbs are pure. They shall be virgins, the hair of their flesh shall be removed, their heads shall be bound round with ram's wool, and
4. they shall hold tambourines in their hands. Their names, Isis and Nephthys, shall be inscribed on their arms;
5. they shall sing the verses of this book in the presence of this god,
6. and shall say, "O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris."
7. The precentor, standing in the front of this temple, shall then say,
8. "O mighty one (?), chief of the earth," four times.
9. Then shall the women with ruffled flowing hair say,
10, 11. "O beautiful boy, come at once to thy temple, for we see thee not.
12, 13. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, draw near after thy departure from us.
14, 15. "Hail, beautiful boy, who leadest along the hour, who increasest except at his season.
16, 17. "Thou exalted image of his father Tenen,[a] hidden essence coming forth from Atmu.[b]
18, 19. "The lord, the lord, how very much greater is he than his father! eldest son of his mother's womb.
20. "O come back again to us with that which belongeth to thee, and we will
21, 22. "embrace thee; depart not from us, O thou beautiful and greatly-loved face,
23. "image of Tenen, virile one, lord of love!

[a] The god Tenen is a personification of the earth, and is also assimilated to the night sun. He is represented sitting on a throne, having on his head horns, disk, and feathers  and holding in his hands  and  See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pp. 246, 1257 (plate cccci), and Pierret, *Panthéon Egypt.* pp. 54, 55. He appears to have been the local god of the land on the borders of Lake Moeris, and in an inscription there he is represented as sitting on the hieroglyphic for an island  See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 59.

[b] The night sun as opposed to Rā, the day sun.

24, 25. "The child (?) whose limbs are feeble by reason of his emotion in opening the womb,
26. "Come thou in peace, let us see thee, our lord.
27. "The two sisters will join thy limbs together, thou shalt feel no pain; they will put an end to thy calamity as if it never had befallen thee.

Column II.

1. "Our heads are turned back upon our faces.
2, 3. "O mighty and great one among the gods, the path which thou traversest cannot
4, 5. "be described; O babe, child at the two seasons, thou, together with that which belongeth to thee, goest round heaven and earth.
6. "Thou art the bull of the two sisters.
7, 8. "Come thou, O babe, who in setting renewest thyself, let us see thee, our lord.
9, 10. "Let thy phallus be with us like the phallus of Tebha at his block!
11, 12. "Come thou in peace, babe, mighty one of his father, be thou established in thy temple without fear, for
13-15. "thy son Horus avenges thee. May Nekau[a] (the devil) be carried away, may he be
16. "placed in his fiery cavern daily, may his name perish among the gods.
17. "May Tebha[b] die finally!
18, 19. "Thou shalt dwell in thy temple and shalt not be afraid of any evil thing that Sut[c] may do unto thee,
20. "for what Nut sent forth[d] has pierced him.
21-23. "Let him embrace us with joy travelling on earth with us. . . . . .

[a] Compare  *maat-f pu seχer-s Sebâu tâ-s mâb-s em seχap Nut tâ-s seshebsheb Nâk âm nef.* "His eye overthrows the Sebau, it makes its lance pierce Nut, and makes Nak to vomit what it has eaten." Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Râ*, p. 10.

[b] Another name for Sut, or Apepi, the chief adversary of Rā.

[c] Sut, or Set, the Typhon of the Greeks, was one of the five sons of Seb and Nut, brother of Osiris, and husband of Nephthys. The worship of this god is as old as the Vth dynasty, and some of the greatest of the Egyptian kings delighted to call themselves "beloved of Sut," and attributed to him all the good qualities possible. About B.C. 1000-600, however, a violent reaction against this god set in; his statues were broken, he was expelled from the company of the gods, and from being considered the god of all good, he became the god of all evil, and his very name was a synonym of wickedness. "Nel mito di Hesiri, Set fu riguardato non solamente come il nemico implacabile di suo fratello ed il di lui uccisore, e quegli che ne usurpò il trono, ma pur anche, quale principio cattivo nel sistema de' due opposti principi; cosicchè in quella guisa che ogni bene essere attribuivasi ad Osiride, ogni danno ed ogni male assegnavasi a Set." Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, p. 1130.

[d] *i.e.* Rā, the son of Nut.

COLUMN III.

1. "Apostates (?).
2, 3. "Our two eyes are looking upon thy face blazing with radiance.
4-6. "Hail, lord, we cry to thee from the left, O beautiful face, lord of love, bull fecundating the cows.[a]
7, 8. "Come, boy with the saffron face, the ONE who increases and who is beautiful in his two eyes.
9-13. "O lord among women, male of the cows, O child, chief of beauties, once more let us see thee as well as what belongs to thee, for I love to see thee.
14-16. "I am thy sister Isis, the darling of thy heart, by reason of my love for thee when thou departest I water this earth with my tears this day.
17, 18. "Thou travellest along, thou art hymned by us, and life springs up for us out of thy nothingness.
19-22. "Come, lord, in peace, let us see thee! O prince, come in peace, and drive away the flame which is in our temple. May thy phallus be with us like the phallus of Tebha."
23. Then the women with ruffled flowing hair shall continue to say:
24, 25. "Hail, Osiris, bull of those in the underworld, the established ONE; how very
26. "much greater is he than the gods! O Baby, virile one,

COLUMN IV.

1-3. "mighty heir of Seb, who art born god of the gods, come to the two widows.[b]
4, 5. "The entire cycle of the gods goes round thee [when] they meet thee.
6, 7. "Cursed be the name of Sut when he comes, behind the shrine, into the presence of thy father Rā, who darts out and repulses the fiend.
8-10. "Come, thy relatives wait, drive away sorrow from our temple, come, thy relatives wait for thee.
11-14. "There is none like unto thee, O thou that dwellest in solitude; the resting-place of our lord is in peace. Victorious one, his long-suffering is greater than himself when the
15. "Lock[c] hovers over his enemies. He fashions the earth according to his designs.

[a] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[b] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[c] The Lock was a name given by the Egyptians to that class of cloud which resembled a ringlet, curl, or tuft of hair, and which was supposed to be an enemy of the sun-god. He was a mythological personage, and is distinctly spoken of as a demon. In an inscription of the XVIIIth dynasty, he is called "the son of Nut," a fact which seems to imply an identification with Set. Renouf, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* viii. p. 212.

16-18. "O thou who comest forth mightily, O great one among the gods, inasmuch as thou art greater than the gods, the cycle of the gods is bowed

19. "down on their knees before thee. I stoop on the ground [before thee] O thou mighty one of the womb!

20, 21. "The uræus crown is upon his head, he is born before his heart; how great

22-25. "is he in his coming! Divine body, lord of love, how exceedingly art thou loved! O soul, thou livest a second time, for the two sisters join thy limbs together drawing near [to thee] having waited for thee a long time.

26, 27. "Inasmuch as thou art greater[a] than the gods thou art proclaimed mighty in thy circuit.

Column V.

1, 2. "Come, thy relatives wait. Thy father Rā butts against the Lock.

3. "The cycle of the gods goes round thee as thou makest thy circuit, and they repulse the fiends for thee.

4, 5. "Remove thou the great grief (?) of thy images.[b] Thy temple is in festival, the evil one

6. "is at his block, the fiend is in evil case through what he has done. He drowns the earth with his empty schemes.

7-9. "Nut drives him off from the earth (?) turning back and bringing the fiend to the block in the storehouse (?).

10, 11. "Thy father Rā is for avenging thy constraint, thy son Horus will return an answer for thee.

12, 13. "Thou traversest the earth as thou revolvest, thou stridest over the four quarters

14, 15. "of Nut. Thou hoverest over the divine dwellings on earth, the two *rehti*[c] are

16, 17. "going round thee. Thou art exalted, thou art exalted! Verily Sut is in the dwelling, may that enemy of thine never rise up!

18. "Come thou to thy temple, Osiris, thy dwelling seeks to see thee.

19. "Thou hearest the report of Horus at the hands of his mother Isis.

20. "Placed in all lands, thou drivest off whatever comes against thy body, thou receivest what is in the house of thy books.

21. "O great god, thou art hidden in thy attributes.

22. "Go not away from thy temple, Osiris, come thou in peace to thy every dwelling,

23, 24. "victorious one, beautiful in his becoming, mighty bull, lord of love.

25. "Thy sister Isis is thy darling, she removes from thee that which causes thee

26, 27. "uneasiness, and embraceth thee; depart not from us, O Lord.

[a] The broken text in this line is probably to be restored by the insertion of  *tcaau-k*. Compare line 17.

[b] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[c] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

COLUMN VI.

1. "Thou didst give life from the beginning . . . . . .
2. "Hail, protected art thou from that which floweth from the nome of Aphroditopolis,[a] from the
3. "evil as if it never existed.
4. "Thy sister comes to thee and cleanses thy limbs. The great and living god, the
5, 6. "greatly beloved one is dandled in the presence of the South and North.
7, 8. "Thou art decorated, O lord of decorations, mighty male, prince of beauties.
9. "Thy mother Nut comes to thee, and as she comes to thee she spreads herself out over thee.
10, 11. "She protects thy limbs against all evil, she advances . . . . . within her, she, the
12. "solitary guardian of thee, has driven away all the disease which was in thy limbs
13, 14. "as if it never existed, she clothes the baby, the lord which cometh forth from her.
15-18. "The lord, the baby which comes forth from her womb, the mighty heir of the gods: the opener of Amenti at his season, makes this earth to be as in times
19-22. "of old. Behold, the blind baby advances, thy father Rā is avenging thee, and thy son Horus protects thee against Sut and all the evil which he has done. Come thou then to thy temple and be not afraid."
23-26. The women with ruffled flowing hair shall also say, "Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy temple; thou twice exalted Being, let thy side be turned to thy temple and towards the gods upon their thrones.
27. "I am the woman who defends her brother, I am thy wife, Osiris, thy mother's sister.

COLUMN VII.

1. "Come thou to me running.
2. "O firm of heart, let thy face be seen because I see not thy face.
3. "Make clear thou for us the way before my face to Rā in heaven.
4. "Heaven unites with earth and darkness is thus made upon the earth daily.
5, 6. "My heart burns at thy escape from the evil one, my heart burns, turn thou thy
7. "side to me and remove it not from me for ever.
8, 9. "O thou that makest firm the two domains and turnest back the ways, I am seeking to see thee for my love's sake.
10. "I am in the town the walls of which are mighty.
11, 12. "I am overcome by reason of thy love for me, come by thyself, and depart not.
13. "Verily thy son [Horus] repulses Tebha at his block.
14. "I have concealed myself among the bushes to hide thy son that he might return
15. "an answer for thee, and that the moment of great distress might depart from thee.

[a] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 1357.

16. "Does not she (*i.e.*, Nephthys) collect thy limbs?
17. "I advance by myself and I go round among the bushes.
18-20. "There is a huge crocodile following after thy son, a female whose face is against the male; but Anubis and I know it.
21. "I go round the ways, and I turn back after my brother, who leaps away from the evil one.
22-27. "The hearts of myriads of people burn, O mighty splendour among the gods, may we see thee the lord! May there be no lack of thy love upon our faces, O phallus, lord of love, king, lord of eternity.

Columns VIII.

1-3. "Thou who fliest as he lives, ruler of everlasting, destroyer of An-reχ,[a] king of the north and south, the lord going forth from Tasertet. May there never be to thee a time of misfortune with which my heart may be filled!
4-6. "O brother, lord, going forth from the nome of Akertet,[b] come thou to me with that which belongs to thee, come in peace, come in peace.
7, 8. "O king, prince, come in peace, let us see thy face again as before, for I love to see the
9 12. "My two hands are lifted up to protect thee, I love, I love the circuits of the two regions, the people of the north are in thy recollection (?) thou receivest a head of hair from them, the breezes which accompany them are of *ānti*.
13, 14. "O husband, my brother, lord of love, come thou in peace to thy seat; O beautiful boy, come to thy house at once, at once, come thou.
15, 16. "The things which concern thee as bull of those who are in the underworld are hidden, a place of secrecy is thy flesh in Pa-Hennu.[c]
17. "Hail to thee in thy name, 'Prince of eternity!'
18, 19. "Horus comes to thee with strength, he delivers thy limbs, he collects for thee the
20. "emanations which come forth from thee. The great god approaches thy body, O thou who art closed up in that which belongs to thee.
21-23. "Come thou in peace, lord, thou that becomest young a second time. Thy son Horus avenges thee, come to thy temple and inundate it with thy love.
24-27. "Sovereign, chief, distinguished in the egg, only one, strong one, mighty one, veritable son, opener of the womb,[d] divine germ of Seb[e] through his mother,

[a] A name of Apepi. (?)

[b] A general name for any Necropolis.

[c] or  *Pa-hennu*, "the house of Hennu," is the name of the 10th nome of Lower Egypt (the Athribis of the Greeks), where the "divine heart" of Osiris was deposited. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 498.

[d] *i.e.* "firstborn." Comp. Heb. פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם Exodus xiii. 2; xxxiv. 19; Numb. iii. 12, etc.

[e] The god of the earth, father of Osiris.

Column IX.

1, 2. "decorated one, greatly beloved, working for those in the underworld, he overthrows
3-5. "disaster. Lord of the underworld, and bull of those who are in it, image of Rā Harmachis, baby beautiful in appearance, come thou to us in peace, in peace.
6, 7. "Thou repellest thy disasters, thou drivest away evil hap. Lord, come thou to us in peace, in peace.
8-10. "Hail thou that becomest young again, come in peace! hail, brother, come let
11, 12. "me see thee, the king and prince of eternity. Stay not, rest not, lord, come to thy temple, be not afraid."
13. . . . . Then shall the precentor say,
14, 15. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, the cycle of the gods seeks to see thee.
16-18. "Child, lord, opener of the womb, baby, who art beloved on account of thy face, perfect heir opening the womb, perfect son coming forth from the god of seeing and hearing,
19. "O Temple, Isis grieves for thee, go not away from thy dwelling.
20, 21. "May the heads [of Isis and Nephthys] be delivered by thy love, for they lament for thee and tie up the curls of their head.
22-25. "Un-nefer, lord of food, chief, mighty by reason of his terror, god, president of the gods, when thou inundatest [the land], things are engendered. Thou art gentler
26-28. "than the gods. The liquid which comes from the emanations of thy body makes the dead and living to live, O lord of food, prince of green things, mighty lord, the staff of life, the giver of offerings to the gods, and

Column X.

1, 2. "sepulchral meals to the beatified dead. Sesheta,[a] Lord of the sepulchral bier,
3-9. "Lord of the two eyes hidden in the horizon, who shinest in his season, who risest at his hour. Thou art splendour, dowered with splendour, thou shinest at the left-hand of Atmu, thou lookest forth from the habitation of Rā, thou collectest his splendours in thy noble form.
10-15. "Thy soul flies after Rā, thou shinest at dawn, thou settest at twilight, thou risest every day; thou wilt rise on the left hand of Atmu for ever and for ever. When thou risest the Lock is accursed, and is put an end to before his doom and before his failure.
16, 17. "Rā turns back the fiend, that attacking devil that comes against him; Amsehti is his heir.
18, 19. "All the gods worship him. The cycle of the gods rejoices when they meet thee,

[a]  The correct reading of this god's name was first shown by Mr. Renouf, in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* Nov. 1884. See also Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1112.

20-22. "Thy occupation is with Rā every day, thou lookest steadfastly from the left, thou lookest steadfastly at the living.

23-26. "Thou art Splendour, the deputy of Rā, the whole cycle of the gods comes to thee invoking thy face; its flame reaches unto thy enemies.

27. "We rejoice when thou hast gathered together thy bones, when thou hast summed up thy body daily.

Column XI.

1, 2. "Thou enterest like Atmu at his hour, without turning, thy bones are made

3. "strong for thee. Apuat[a] presents thee with a mountain of stone and hews out a

4, 5. "burial place for thee. The lord of Taser[b] comes to thee and the two sisters come

6-8. "to thee. They have obtained splendid things for thee, and they gather together thy limbs for thee from the mutilated pieces seeking to put thy body together.

9, 10. "The impurities which are upon them wipe upon our hair, and come thou to us without thy unpleasant recollections.

11, 12. "Come thou in thy attribute as prince of the earth, lay aside thy impetuosity, and

13, 14. "rest upon us, lord. Thou shalt be proclaimed heir of the world, the ONLY god, the fulfiller of the plans of the gods.

15, 16. "All the gods invoke thee, come to thy temple, be not afraid.

17, 18. "O Rā, thou art beloved, beloved art thou of thy two Images;[c] rest thou in thy habitation for ever."

19. The women with flowing hair shall also say:—

20, 21. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, turn, exalted one, turn thy side to thy temple; the gods are seated on their thrones.

22-24. "Hail, come in peace, king, come in peace, thy son Horus avenges thee.

25, 26. "Lay all thy great pain upon thy two images, who weep for thee at thy sepulchres.

27, 28. "O baby, how lovely will it be to see thee! Come, come to us, mighty one, strengthen thou for us our love.

Column XII.

1. "Come thou to thy temple and be not afraid.

2-4. "O ye gods in heaven, O ye gods on earth, O ye gods in the underworld,

5-7. "O ye gods in the watery deep, O ye gods who are among the followers of the deep, we follow after the lord, the lord of love.

[a] "The opener of the ways," a name given to Anubis.

[b] A name of the nether world.

[c] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

8-10. "Brother, phallus, lord of love, hail! Come to me, unite heaven with earth, and
11. "let there be shadow on the earth daily.
12-14. "Messenger from heaven to earth, hail! may we come to thee! Thou makest fruitful the women in the town who seek our lord.
15. "I march over the earth towards my lord; come to me, O messenger from
16. "heaven to earth.
17-19. "May it be granted that the god shall come to his seat, may there be breathing of air to thy nose, may there be breath with the lord in his palace!
20. 21. "Hail, Rā is avenged, there are no disasters to him causing him trouble.
22, 23. "The limit of the desire of my heart is to see thee, heir, king, beautiful babe.
24-26. "Hail, lord of love, come to me, lord, that I may see thee daily, come, brother, that we may see thee.
27, 28. "My two hands are mighty to avenge thee, my two hands are raised up, raised up to protect thee.

Columns XIII.

1. "Male, lord, babe, child, to avenge our lord.
2, 3. "I am the daughter of Seb, depart not from me, O thou who increasest except at his time.
4, 5. "I traverse the roads that thy love may come to me. I fly over the earth, I rest not from seeking thee.
6, 8. "I have in me a flame of love for thee, hail! come let me see thee; I weep for thy lonely condition.
9, 10. "Come thou to me quickly, for the extent of my desire is to see thee; come to me because of my desire to see thy face.
11, 12. "Hail, god invoked at the door of thy temple, thou art protected, protected
13-15. "in peace. Hail, hail, our lord cometh to his temple, the two arms of Isis and Nephthys protect his temple, their lord cometh to his habitation in peace.
16. "Be thou established in thy temple, be not afraid.
17. "Hail, twice exalted one, our lord; lament not in coming to us, O great god, come thou in perfect peace.
20-22. "Thou comest forth to Rā, O victorious one among the gods. O gracious one, come in peace, let me see thee: O child, come in thy attribute of Baby, Hai[a] is
23-25. "overthrown. Horus is like a prince, the mighty one is with thee, there is no work for thee.
26. "Thou art exalted as thou circlest, ... the two sisters.
27-30. "O beloved of his father, lord of rejoicings, thou delightest the hearts of the cycle of the gods, and thou illuminatest thy house with thy beauties, the cycle of the gods fear thy power,

[a] A name of Apepi. (?)

Column XIV.

1. "the earth trembles through fear of thee.
2-4. "I am thy wife who makes thy . . . . . , the sister who protects her brother; come, let me see thee, the lord of my love.
5, 6. "O twice exalted one, mighty of attributes, come, let me see thee; O baby who advancest, child, come, let me see thee.
7-9. "Countries and regions weep for thee, the zones weep for thee as if thou wert Sesheta, heaven and earth weep for thee, inasmuch as thou art greater
10. "than the gods, may there be no cessation of the glorifying of thy *Ka*.
11-13. "Come to thy temple, be not afraid, thy son Horus embraces the circuit of heaven.
14, 15. "O thou sovereign, who makest afraid, be not afraid. Thy son Horus avenges thee and overthrows for thee the Semi[a] and the Lock.
16, 17. "Hail, lord, follow after me with radiance, let me see thee daily; the smell of thy flesh is like that of Punt.[b]
18, 19. "Thou art adored by the venerable women, in peace; the entire cycle of the gods rejoice.
20, 21. "Come thou to thy wife in peace, her heart flutters through her love for thee,
22. "she will embrace thee and not let thee depart from her; her heart is oppressed
23, 24. "because of her anxiety to see thee and thy beauties. She has made an end of prepara-
25. "tions for thee in the secret house, she has destroyed the pain which is in thy
26, 27. "limbs and the sickness as if it never existed. Life is given to thee by the most excellent wife.
28, 29. "Hail, thou protectest the inundation in the fields of Tepahet[c] this day.

Column XV.

1-3. "The cow[d] weeps aloud for thee with her voice, thy love is the limit of her desire. Her heart flutters because thou art shut up from her.
4, 5. "She would embrace thy body with both arms and would come to thee quickly, otherwise said, in peace.

[a] *i.e.* Fiends.

[b] The spice land of Arabia.

[c]  Tep-ahet, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt (Aphroditopolis), Coptic ⲧⲁⲡⲏⲉϩ, the modern اطفيح *Atfîh*. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 933; and Juynboll (مراصد الاطلاع) t. i. p. ٧٥ "اطفيح بلد بالصعيد الادنى من ارض مصر على شاطى الذيل فى شرقيه"

[d] *i.e.* Isis.

6-9. "She avenges thee on account of what was done to thee, she makes sound for thee thy flesh on thy bones, she attaches thy nose to thy face for thee, she gathers together for thee all thy bones.

10-13. "Thy mother Nut comes to thee with peace offerings, she builds thee up with the life of her body. Thou art endowed with a soul, thou art endowed with a soul, thou art established, thou art established, thou hast a soul, O thou lord of women thou makest women fruitful.

14. "When thou comest from the Divine Land[a] there is odorous unguent on thy hair, there is unguent upon thy hair of *ānti* which flows of its own accord.

15-18. "O thou that comest forth, come in peace, come in peace: O king, prince, come in peace. O lord of Sais, the two hands of Nut are stretched out to thee; the heart of Shenthit,[b] turns to thee.

19, 20. "Thou art like a god, and comest forth like a god . . . . . .

21, 22. " . . . . . his baby. The hair upon thy body is like emerald when thou comest from the

23. " emerald fields. Thy hair is of the blue colour which appertains to lapis-lazuli, and

24, 25. " behold, thou thyself art more blue than thy hair. Thy skin and thy flesh are made

26. " for thee of the steel of the south, thy bones are moulded out of silver just as I am

27, 28. " from a babe. The teeth which thou hast are of emerald, *otherwise said*, the unguent of thy hair is of *ānti* which floweth of its own accord.

Column XVI.

1. "The crown of thy head is of lapis lazuli.

2, 3. "The god Seb is laden with peace offerings for thee, and he conveys them to the god who cometh forth from his nose.

4-9. "O heir, mighty one, coming forth from Rā, eldest one, prince, beautiful of face, living soul of Astennu,[c] babe, coming forth from the god of hearing and seeing, eldest one, prince of the two regions, heir of Seb, who gives to thee a circuit, O lord of the disk!

10, 11. "Come to thy temple, Osiris, messenger of the gods. Thy two eyes are opened that thou

[a] *Neter ta*, "divine land," is the name given by the Egyptians to the lands to the east of the Nile on the shore of the Red Sea which extend from the mountains on the south nearly to Suez on the north. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 382.

[b] or "Shenthit," is the name of a funereal form of the goddess Isis to whom sanctuaries in Abydos, Busiris, Denderah, etc., were consecrated. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1178. The name of the sanctuary was Pa-Shenthit. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 89.

[c] A name of the god Thoth.

12, 13. "mayest see with them. Thou drivest off rain storms, thou grantest that the earth may be lightened by the radiance of night.
14. "Come to thy temple, Osiris, at the head of those in the underworld, come to thy
15. "temple, O thou that proceedest from the body of the uraeus which is upon thy head.
16. "Thy two eyes light up the lands of the north and the south, and the gods; thou art
17. "twice exalted, O prince, our lord.
18. "That enemy of thine is laid upon the block and shall never rise up again; thou
19. "art established, established in thy name of 'established one.'
20. "Thou hast thy limbs, O Unnefer,[a] life, strength, health! thou hast thy flesh,
21. "O still heart.
22, 23. "Beautiful is that which cometh forth from thee, knowledge is the utterance of thy mouth.
24, 25. "Thy father Ta-tenen supports the heaven that thou mayest walk over its
26, 27. "four quarters; thy soul flies on the left hand, thou risest in the image of Rā.
28, 29. "Those who are in the underworld receive thee with shouts of joy, and Seb
30, 31. "opens out for thee a passage through it. They come to thee in peace, and thou comest in peace to Tettu.

Column XVII.

1, 2. "Exalted art thou, therefore, Osiris, exalted art thou, exalted art thou in peace.
3-5. "Isis, lady of the horizon, comes to thee, inasmuch as she has conceived the
6. "one, who is the guide of the gods; she avenges thee, she avenges thee, she avenges Horus,
7. "she, the woman who acts as the begetter of her own father."

Here endeth the book.

[a] A name of Osiris. For an explanation of the name, see Renouf, *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, April, 1886, p. 111 ff.

II. THE LITANIES OF SEKER.[a]

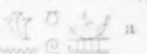
This composition contains one hundred lines, and fills Columns XVIII. to XXI. of the papyrus. It is written in the same neat, careful hand, and appears to be a short rhythmical supplementary work, which was intended to be sung after the festival verses of Isis and Nephthys. It consists of three parts: 1, A Litany to the Sun-god; 2, A Recitation by Isis; and 3, A Litany to the Hathors. The subject-matter generally is easier to understand, but there are a few passages in it which are difficult. According to the rubric, it was to be sung sixteen times to the accompaniment of tambourines. The various names given to the Sun-god will probably be of much interest to the student of comparative mythology.

TRANSLATION.

The Litanies of Seker (Socharis).

Column XVIII.

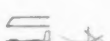
1. The Litanies which Seker introduced: to be said in addition to the mysteries already recited.
2. Hail, prince coming forth from the womb!
3. Hail, eldest son of primeval matter!
4. Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects and evolutions!
5. Hail, golden circle in the temples!
6. Hail, lord of time and bestower of years!
7. Hail, lord of life for all eternity!
8. Hail, lord of myriads and millions!
9. Hail, thou who shinest in rising and setting!
10. Hail, thou who makest beings joyful!

[a]  Seker is, like Ptah, Osiris, and Tenen, a form of the night sun, with which the deceased is identified. The day of the festival of Seker, or Socharis, was celebrated in the various sanctuaries of Egypt at dawn, "at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth." The festival consisted in drawing the Hennu boat  a symbol of the god Seker of Memphis, by a cord round the sanctuary. The god Seker is represented by a hawk-headed mummied figure as early as the time of Seti I. and in this form he is represented sitting on a throne, holding  ,  and  in his hands; he appears on a coffin in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, in the form of a bearded man holding a knife  in each hand. A list of the shrines of this god is given by Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1117-1119.

11. Hail, thou lord of terror, thou fearful one!
12. Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects and divinities!
13. Hail, thou who art crowned with the white crown; thou master of the *urerer* crown!
14. Hail, thou sacred baby of Horus, praise!
15. Hail, son of Rā who sittest in the boat of millions of years!
16. Hail, restful leader, come to thy hidden places!
17. Hail, lord of terror, self-produced!
18. Hail, thou restful of heart, come to thy town!
19. Hail, thou that causest cries of joy, come to thy town!
20. Hail, thou darling of the gods and goddesses!
21. Hail, thou dipper in the sea, come to thy temple!
22. Hail, thou who art in the Nether-world, come to thy offerings!
23. Hail, thou that protectest them, come to thy temple!
24. Hail, Moon-god, growing from a crescent into an illuminated disk!
25. Hail, sacred flower of the mighty house!
26. Hail, thou that bringest the sacred cordage of the Sekti[a] boat!
27. Hail, thou lord of the Hennu[b] boat who becomest young again in the hidden place!
28. Hail, thou perfect soul in the Nether-world!
29. Hail, thou sacred visitor of the north and south!
30. Hail, thou hidden one, unknown to mankind!
31. Hail, thou illuminator of him that is in the Nether-world, that causest him to see the disk!

Column XIX.

1. Hail, lord of the *atef* crown, thou mighty one in Het-suten-henen![c]
2. Hail, mighty one of terror!

[a] The *Sektet*  was the boat of the sun in the morning, just as the *Māti*  was the boat of the sun in the evening. A hymn to the sun-god says:



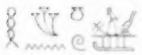
χi-k *em* *ṭuau* *em* *sekti*

Risest thou in the morning in the *sekti* boat;



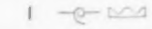
ḥetep-k *em* *māti* *em* *māsher*

Settest thou in the *māti* boat in the evening.

[b] The *hennu*  was the boat which was drawn around the sanctuaries of the temples at dawn. Drawings of it are given by Lanzone, *Dizionario*, plates CCLXV-CCCLXVII.

[c] Heracleopolis, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt.

3. Hail, thou that risest in Thebes, flourishing for ever!
4. Hail, Amen-Rā, king of the gods, who makest thy limbs to grow in rising and setting.
5. Hail, ... offerings and oblations in Rā-stau![a]
6. Hail, thou that placest the uraeus upon the head of its lord!
7. Hail, stablisher of the earth upon its foundations!
8. Hail, opener of the mouth of the four mighty gods who are in the Nether-world!
9. Hail, thou living soul of Osiris, who art diademed with the moon!
10. Hail, thou that hidest thy body in the great coffin at Heliopolis!
11. Hail, hidden one, mighty one, Osiris in the Nether-world!
12. Hail, thou that unitest his soul to heaven, thine enemy is fallen!
13. The goddess Isis cries unto thee, saying, "Hail, from the river,
14. "thou who separatest the pure *ābtu*[b] fish from the front
15. "of the boat of Rā! Hail, lord of the excretion which turns into the rejoicing gods!
16, 17. "Hail, egg which turns into Hen, cutting off the heads of the rebels in her name of 'Lady of Tep-ahet'![c]
18, 19. "Hail, lady of excretion, thou comest in front of the heads in name of 'Hathor, lady of emerald, lady of Thebes'![d]
20. "Thou comest in peace in thy name of 'Hathor, lady of Thebes.'
21. "Thou comest in peace, O Tait,[e] in thy name of 'lady of peace.'[f]
22, 23. "Thou comest forward to overthrow her enemy in thy name of 'Hathor, lady of Het-suten-henen.'[g]
24. "Thou golden one, thou comest in peace in thy name of 'Hathor,'
25. "'lady of Memphis. . . . . .' Thou restest near Neb-er-ter[h] in the name of 'Hathor, lady of Shet-tesher.'[i]

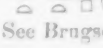
[a] Literally "the door of the funeral passages,"  leading to the tomb.

[b] The *ābtu*  and *ānt*  were mythological fishes. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 16.

[c] Aphroditopolis, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt.

[d] *i.e.* "lady of the peninsula of Sinai," where emerald mines were worked as early as the VIth dynasty.

[e] One of the names of the goddess Hathor mentioned in the eighty-second chapter of the Book of the Dead (Lepsius' ed. pl. xxxi.); it appears to be connected with  *ta*, "fire."

[f] Neb-hetep  or is one of the names of Hathor, the local divinity of  *Pa-heru*, near Tanis. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 333, and Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 370.

[g] Heracleopolis.

[h] *i.e.* "the lord of totality," a name of the god Osiris.

[i] The "town of the red pool," a district in the mountains east of Memphis.

26. "The golden one rises near her father in her name of 'Bast,'[a] advancing above
27. "the temples near the great double house in her name of 'Sati,'[b]
28. "verdifier of the north and south, leader of the gods in her name of 'Uatit.'
29. "Hathor gains the mastery of the enemies of her father in her name of 'Sechet.'[c]
30. "Uatit'[d] gains the mastery over the fire in her name of 'Lady of Ammu.'[e]
31. "There is perfume upon her hair and head in her name of 'Neith.'[f]

Column XX.

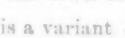
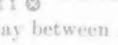
1. "Hail, O ye gods, on account of his virtues.[g]
2. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Thebes!
3. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Suten-henen![h]
4. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Tep-ahet![i]
5. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Nehau![k]

[a] Bast was one of the four great Hathors and represented the life-giving heat of the sun. For the list of Basts and the towns protected by them, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 225.

[b] See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1124, 1131.

[c] A form of Hathor, wife of Ptah, mother of Nefer-Atmu. She represented the blazing heat of the sun. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1098.

[d] A form of the goddess Hathor, whose sanctuary  *Pa-sat*, was situated in Sechem (Letopolis), the capital of the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 659.

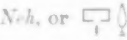
[e] Ammu, *i. e.* "the town of date trees," is the name of the sanctuary of the goddess Hathor, which was situated in "the town of Apis,"  , the metropolis of the 3d nome of Lower Egypt. is a variant of  . There was a town also called Ammu in Upper Egpyt; it lay between Abydos and Panopolis. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 327.

[f] There is a play here upon the words *anti* and *Nit*.

[g] In the papyrus one-half of this line is written perpendicularly on the right-hand side of the list of the twelve Hathors, and the other half on the left.

[h] Suten-henen or  Het-suten-henen, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt, called Heracleopolis by the Greeks, ϩΠΗϹ by the Copts, and اهناس by the Arabs. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 601, and Juynboll, *op. cit.* t. i. p. ٦٥

[i] Aphroditopolis, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt; the local divinity was the goddess Hathor.

[k] *Neh*, or *Pa-neh*, a part of the town of Athribis  *Het-ta-her-ab*, the metropolis of the 10th nome of Upper Egypt, the modern Benha بنها which is famed for its honey, عسل مصر اجود بنها، see Juynboll, *op. cit.* t. i. p. ٧٧ Brugsch. *Dict. Géog.* p. 349.

6. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Rehsau![a]
7. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Shet-Teshert![b]
8. "Hail, Hathor, lady of the Emerald Land![c]
9. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Aneb![d]
10. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Uaua![e]
11. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Ammu![f]
12. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Amem![g]
13. "Hail, Hathor, lady of the 'City of Sixteen.'[h]
14. "O ye nine *smeri*,[i] come ye bearing your father Osiris upon your two hands,
15. "come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations!
16. "Hail, crown of the festival! hail, crown of the festival! Sovereign!
17. "Hail, thou rejoicest the nurses who love thee!
18. "Hail, thou livest, thou livest, for ever!
19. "Hail, thou makest festival for ever!

[a] *Re-hesau*, a town famous for its temple of the goddess Sechet, was situated near Sexem (Letopolis), the metropolis of the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 71, 460.

[b] *Shet-tesher*, "the town of the red pool," was a district situated in the mountains to the east of Memphis, where are to-day the quarries of Ma'ṣara and Ṭurra. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 971.

[c] *Mâfek*, *i.e.* the peninsula of Sinai, where the emerald mines were dedicated to this goddess as early as the Vth dynasty. Compare also the list of Hathors quoted by Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 971, and Mariette, *Dendérah*, t. i. pl. 27.

[d] A town situated to the east of Pelusium and north of Migdol. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 50-52. In my interlinear translation for Memphis read Aneb.

[e] The country of *Uaua* was situated in Ethiopia, to the east of the modern town of Korosko. It is mentioned in the inscription of Una (line 16), where it is described as a Negro-land *Uauat nehes*. In the list of ten Hathors printed by Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 1367, after "Hathor, lady of Aneb," we have "Hathor, lady of *χaχau*."

[f] See Note to column xix. line 30.

[g] *Àmemet* was the sacred name of *Pa-nûtet*, Buto, the metropolis of the 19th nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 25.

[h] *I.e.* Lycopolis, the metropolis of the 13th nome of Upper Egypt. Compare [var] in Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 1067, 1391.

[i] A title of a class of temple official.

20. "Hail, object of adoration, thou traverser of ways!
21. "Hail, thou who art established in the heavenly Tattu!
22. "Hail, god, who listenest to adoration, hail, thou listenest to adoration from the mouth of the divine nomes!
23. "Hail, thou who comest forth from thy two eyes, son of the prophet!
24. "Hail, thou who art protected by amulets when thou speakest!
25. "Hail, protect me, O king, to do thy pleasure!
26. "Hail, protect me, O king, to do thy will!
27. "Hail, Sitter, the restful of heart comes to thee!
28. "Hail, son of the prophet, the festal ritual is recited for him.
29. "Hail, thy name is established in the heavenly Tettu!
30. "Hail, thou sweetly smelling one in the heavenly Tettu.
31. "Hail, thou that comest to destroy the Sebau (fiends)!
32. "Hail, thou that comest to extol the Baby!

Columns XXI.

1. "Hail, thou that settest thy terror in the evil-hearted!
2. "Hail, thou Worker, who followest after thy lord, there is not . . . . . !
3. "Hail, ye evil-hearted, who hate the temple, strike death from his throat!
4. "Hail, the lord of the heavenly Tettu cometh, he has repulsed the evil-hearted!"
5. This book shall be recited sixteen times by players on tambourines.

Here endeth the book.

III.—THE BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI.

This composition contains three hundred and seventy-seven lines and fills columns xxii. to xxxiii. of the papyrus; two columns are written on the back, and as the papyrus is in this place somewhat damaged, the reading of a few of the words is uncertain. The writing is neat and careful, but there are in it traces of more than one hand. The character of the subject-matter is quite different from that of the earlier works in the papyrus, and although rhythmical passages occur here and there, the work cannot be, like them, considered poetical. From the frequent repetition of certain passages parts of the work are monotonous; the varied and interesting nature of the other parts, however, amply atones for this, and makes it of considerable value, both to the Egyptologist, and to the student of comparative mythology.

The subject of the work is the daily battle which was waged by Rā, the Sun-god, against the demons and fiends of mist, clouds, rain, thunder, darkness, and night. The head of these veritable powers of darkness was named Apepi, and he seems to have been assisted in his dire work by fiends called Qettu, Sebau, Sheta, etc. Each night when Rā went to his home in the west he was assailed by squadrons of fiends under the leadership of Apepi; with these he waged war throughout the night, and chiefly by the might of sun-flame, he was enabled to show himself each morning to the expectant world. The fiercest and most violent attacks were made upon him during the night, but the fiends of darkness never lost an opportunity of sending clouds into the sky by day to obscure his light and to overcome his power. When they could send rain with their clouds they did so, and they rejoiced greatly when they succeeded in making a violent thunderstorm. Rain and cold were disliked by the ancient Egyptian as much as they are detested by his modern descendants. Everything then that he could do to cause the sun to shine, and to keep off the rain and cold he felt it to be his duty to do. Apart from his bodily comfort, he had a spiritual interest in the victory of the Sun-god over his foes. When the ancient Egyptian deposited his relative or friend in the grave, he identified the resurrection of his body with the daily renewed birth of the Sun-god. The dead man was identified with Osiris, the night sun, king of the dead, lord of the under-world, and a form of the Sun-god; if the god of the dead were overcome by the powers of darkness, what hope of renewed birth could remain for his subjects? The dangers which hovered over the path of the night-sun must necessarily stand in the way of the dead man; any deed or service which gave power to the Sun-god, or defeat to his enemies must also, necessarily, be of great benefit to the dead man. The name of the dead man is linked with that of Rā, the Sun-god, in the following manner: "Horus takes his steel lance and drives it into the heads of the enemies of Rā; Horus takes his steel lance and drives it into the heads of the enemies of P-āa[a] (the deceased). Therefore art thou exalted, O Rā, for thy enemies are smitten, Apepi is slaughtered, and the fiends of the Devil have been cast down.

[a] *P-āa*, *i.e.*, the "mighty one," written inside a cartouche, in this papyrus takes the place of the name "Osiris," by which in other papyri the deceased is usually designated.

Therefore art thou exalted, P-āa, for thy enemies are smitten, thy foes are slaughtered, and thy devilish opponents are cast down. Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā gains the mastery over thee Apepi, and P-āa gains the mastery over thee, Apepi." Hence provided that the dead man is justified before Osiris, whatever good is done for the god is also done for him; and a service recited by the priests in a temple to the honour and glory of the Sun-god became an act of worship in which each person would gladly join, as much for the sake of his beloved dead as for his own material comfort.

The "Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi," printed in the following pages was, as we learn from the title, recited in the temple of Amen-Rā in the Apts every day. It was divided into sections and chapters, each of which is clearly indicated in its proper place, and contained shorter compositions on the subject of the defeat of Apepi which were to be recited at suitable occasions. Of its author and date nothing is known. It contains variant readings, and it is evident from this that other copies of the work were extant, and also that it was sufficiently old for doubts to have arisen in the minds of scribes about the correct readings. The work is not entirely original, but appears to be a much amplified redaction of a number of chapters of the Book of the Dead which refer to the turning back of serpents in the under-world. A comparison of the seventh, thirty-first, thirty-third, and the thirty-fifth to the thirty-ninth chapters with the Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi will show that the redactor of this work was well acquainted with them, and that parts of them enter into it. Of these chapters the thirty-ninth is the most largely used, but it will be seen that there are many important variations between the two texts, due either to corruptions of the text, or to a change in religious views. The oldest hieroglyphic recension of this chapter has been given, with variants from three manuscripts, by M. Naville in *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch* (Band 1, bl. liii. Bd. ii. ss. 107—109). In two manuscripts it is found with the sixty-fifth chapter, and in two others before or after the fortieth chapter. The text as given by Lepsius (*Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, bl. xviii.) is, in many places, quite different from that printed by M. Naville. Translations of it have been printed by Dr. Birch[a] and M. P. Pierret;[b] the following tentative version has been made from the text of M. Naville.

1. The Chapter of Repulsing his Serpent in the Nether-world.

2. Get thee gone, depart, withdraw, thou baleful Serpent, retreat and be drowned at
3. the pool of the Sky, where thy father has commanded thy slaughter to be made. Depart thou to that birthplace of Rā, where exists that which makes thee afraid. I am Rā in his terror.
4. Get thee back, Sebau, by the darts of his beams Rā has overthrown thy words.
5. The gods have reversed thy face, the lynx has torn out thy heart, the scorpion has shot forth fetters upon thee, and Māāt has sent forth
6. destruction for thee. Those who are in the ways overthrow thee; fall down, depart, O Apepi, enemy of Rā! O pass away over the region in the east of the sky in the

[a] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. v. p. 193.

[b] *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Egyptiens*, pp. 135—140.

7. voice of the roaring thunder cloud! Rā opens the gates of the horizon at once and comes forth; [Apepi] is ruined and cut to pieces.
I have performed thy will, I have performed thy will,
8. O Rā, I have done well, I have done well. I have worked in peace, making the ropes of thy boat to advance.
Apepi is overthrown! The gods of the south, north, west, and east tie and
9. fetter Apepi, they set fetters round about him; Rekes overthrows him, and Hertit fetters him. Rā sets, Rā sets, Rā strengthens himself in peace!
10. Apepi is overthrown, Apepi, the enemy of Rā, falls down.
The sting which thou art made to taste is stronger than the sting of
11. the scorpion; it has wrought death for thee and thy courses are over for ever. Thou shalt never experience sexual pleasure, there shall never be emissions of body to thee, O Apepi, enemy of Rā, who repulses thy face, O
12. hater of Rā, when he sees thee. Get thee back, thy head is crushed, thy face is slit, thy head is rolled along in the filth of the roads, thy head is broken in on his land, thy bones are broken, thy limbs are cut
13. in pieces, Nekker has condemned thee, O Apepi, enemy of Rā.
Thy sailors, thy green food, and thy necessaries, are
14. provided and offered to thee there. The advance to the house, the advance which thou makest to the house is a good advance. May there never come forth any evil disaster against me from thy mouth while thou workest for me.
15. I am Set, letting loose the storm clouds and the thunder clouds within the horizon of heaven, as his heart the Lock.
Says Atmu, "O ye soldiers of Rā, lift up your faces, for, by the
16. might of Powers, I have repulsed Neutā."
Says Seb, "O ye that are in your seats in the boat of Chepera, make
17. yourselves ready, find your roads, and hold ye your weapons in your hands."
Says Hathor, "O take ye your armour."
18. Says Nut, "Come, we will repulse that destroying one who follows after him that is in his shrine; he shall go forth [against] him . . . . . Neb-er-ter is without repulse."
19. The gods who are in their cycles, going round the lakes of emerald, say, "Come, O mighty one, we adore and deliver the mighty one in [his] shrine, from whom proceedeth the substance of the gods.
20. Commemorations are made for him, shouts of acclamation are given for him, he is addressed by you and praised."
"Hail," says Nut, with reference to that Sweet One.
21. Those who are among the gods say, "He comes forth, he finds the way, he maketh captives among the gods, he drives away evil from Nut, Seb stands up."
Hail, victorious one!
The cycle of the gods marches along . . . . . Hathor is trembling.
Rā triumphs over Apepi.

The Book of the overthrowing of Apepi is divided into the following chapters and divisions:—

I. The Chapter of Spitting upon Apepi.
II. The Chapter of defiling Apepi with the left foot.
III. The Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi.
IV. The Chapter of putting fetters upon Apepi.
V. The Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi.
VI. The Chapter of putting fire upon Apepi.
VII. The First Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.
VIII. The Second Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.
IX. The Book of Overthrowing the enemy of Rā.
X. The book of turning back Apepi. To be said at dawn.
XI. The Book of knowing the Evolutions of Rā and the overthrowing of Apepi.
XII. The Book of Overthrowing Apepi.
XIII. Another Book of Overthrowing Apepi.
XIV. The Accursed Names of Apepi.
XV. A Hymn of Praise to be recited after the foregoing Chapters.

The subject-matter of the first six chapters calls for little comment; they consist chiefly of adjurations against Apepi, and accounts of the various methods by which he was destroyed. The rubrics which follow these chapters order what acts were to be performed at the time of their recital. Apepi, the enemy of the Sun-god, was represented as a serpent of many folds, with a knife stuck in each. A wax figure of this fiend was made and taken by the priest into his hands. When he recited the words "An end to thee, an end to thee, Apepi, I have destroyed the enemy of Rā," he cast the wax figure of Apepi upon the ground and smote it four times with his left foot, saying "Thou art defiled, Apepi." A wax figure of Apepi, with his accursed name cut upon it, was also to be wrapped in a piece of new papyrus, upon which a figure of Apepi was drawn in green ink, and burnt in a dried grass[a] fire; what remained afterwards was to be mixed with excrement and burnt, and while it was burning it was to be spit upon by the priest several times. This was to be done morning, noon, and night, and at certain other times and seasons which are duly specified. If tempests were raging in the sky, or if heavy black-red clouds were stealing over the sky to obscure the sun's disk, or if heavy rain had set in, to make these pass away it was necessary to burn several such figures, and to recite these chapters over them while they were burning. The last part of the rubric which refers to this section of the papyrus states that it is a meritorious act for a man to perform these acts, that it is good for him upon this earth and good for him in the nether-world; they will enable him to attain to dignities which are above him, and he will be delivered from all evil things. Following this comes what appears to be a note by the scribe: "May I see these things happen to me."

The first book of the overthrowing of Apepi was to be recited by a person, ceremonially clean and pure, over a papyrus, upon which the name of Apepi was written in green colour, while it

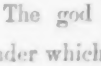
[a] I am unable to find an exact meaning for the word *χessau* which is here translated by dried grass.

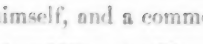
was burnt in the fire. The subject-matter is the injuries which are inflicted upon Apepi by Rā, Horus, and the deceased for whom the papyrus was written.

The second book of the overthrowing of Apepi was also to be recited by a person ceremonially clean and pure, and was devoted to the destruction, not only of Apepi, but also of Sebau, Qettu, Sheta, and the other rebels, fiends, and devils that accompanied him. The rubric is a little fuller than that of the first book, and orders that a wax figure of each demon and of his father, mother, and children shall be made, that they shall be wrapped up in pieces of new papyrus, upon which their names are written, and tied round with black hairs. These figures were to be spit upon, defiled with the left foot, and hacked with a stone knife, and then burnt in a blazing fire of dried grass. The rubric also orders that the book was to be recited, according to the original codex, when the *atep* boat of the sun went forth, at dawn, to overthrow the enemy of Rā, and every enemy of Horus. It was a meritorious act to recite it in the presence of the god at dawn every day without fail.

The short book of overthrowing Apepi which next follows is of small interest, and the "Book of turning back Apepi," which follows it, merely contains some interesting variants of the old theme, *i. e.*, the tortures which are inflicted upon Apepi by Rā, Horus, and the other gods.

Among this mass of half magical, half religious compositions, we meet with a very remarkable document entitled "the Book of Knowing the Evolutions of Rā," which relates to the origin of things and the genesis of gods and men. In Colums xxvi. and xxvii. one version of it is given, and in Columns xxviii. and xxix. is another; the first version is the shorter of the two, and is more easily understood. It is difficult to account for the presence of two versions of the same text in one papyrus; but it is fortunate that both occur, for the second helps to explain the first. Both are difficult to translate because it is nearly impossible to find exact equivalents for some of the Egyptian words, and it appears that, in places, the text is corrupt. The literal and the running translations of this document given below are not intended in any way to be final; they are only put forward to give an idea of the meaning of this, so far as can be ascertained, unique work.

The account of the creation is put into the mouth of the god Neb-er-ter, who is supposed to state how he came into existence, and what had happened since his birth. He begins by saying that there was no heaven and no earth, and that animals and reptiles did not exist; all animal life, according to his assertion, was made out of the watery mass of Nu, (the abyss or sky) which previous to his coming into being lay in an inert and chaotic state. There was not even a place upon which this god could stand; but his will was strong, and by an effort thereof he laid the foundation of everything which afterwards came into existence, and performed all that there was to be done. More than once the god points out that he was quite alone, and that there was none other who worked with him. As to his own origin he says that he developed himself out of the primeval matter which he himself had made, and that he evolved himself out of this matter by a series of evolutions which followed one after the other; from the same matter all other things were made by him. The word here translated "evolutions" is  *χeperu* which may be fairly accurately rendered by "rollings" or "turnings." The god  *χeperа*, who performed these "turnings" or "rollings," was the form under which Neb-er-ter developed

himself, and a common title of this god is  *χeper teef, i. e.*, "becoming of himself" or "self-produced," like the Greek *αὐτογενής*. Without either insisting on the appropriateness of the word "evolutions" as a rendering of *χeperu*, or attempting to read into the text the modern technical ideas connected with it, it is nevertheless a remarkable coincidence that this word should so admirably suit, and make sense in many passages of a text written more than two thousand years ago to explain the various stages in the creation of the world, gods, men, and animals. The god Chepera not only created himself out of the matter which he himself had made, but he did so by uttering his own name from his mouth, thus using it as a word of magical power, and he straightway developed himself by evolutions or turnings. A little earlier the god tells us that his name is Ausares, which is the "matter (germ?) of primeval matter"; Ausares,  may possibly be a form of Ausar or Osiris. The conception of a god creating himself out of matter, which he had made, by the mere utterance of his own name is remarkable, and shows what an amount of power was attributed to the utterance of certain names. The word here translated "matter" is *paut*, and means literally the "cake" or "substance" from which all things were made.

Neb-er-ter, under the form of Chepera, having created matter and himself and animals, next brings the gods into existence. This he does by union with his own limbs, and as a result the gods Shu and Tefnut are produced. Thus, says the god, "from being one god, I became three gods, and they came out of myself into existence in this land." The origin of men and women were the tears which fell from the eye of the god. Thus far the meaning of the text appears to be perfectly clear, in spite of the repetitions of words and sentences which occur in it. A very difficult passage, however, follows here, and its meaning is not so easily perceived. It appears to have reference to the eclipse of the eye of Chepera or Neb-er-ter (*i. e.* Rā), and to a dispute which the god had with it. According to one version the god Nu complains that his eye is eclipsed, and Neb-er-ter says that it growled or raged at him because of some act of his. In the other version Neb-er-ter says that Shu and Tefnut brought his eye along with them, but that when it came, and saw that the god had collected his limbs and wept near them, and that men and women had sprung into existence from them, it growled at him. Both accounts agree in saying that Neb-er-ter restored it to its place in his face, that he filled it with radiance, that it put into order all things, and that it ruled the whole earth. Both accounts end by saying that Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Seb and Nut, and that Nut gave birth to Osiris, Horus, dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis, and Nephthys. This is the account of the creation as accepted by the Egyptians three hundred years before Christ at least. The text is, no doubt, corrupt, and from the frequent repetitions which occur, it is clear that a large number of variant readings, or glosses by scribes, have been incorporated into it. The number of glosses, or variant readings, shows that the work is of some antiquity, and hence it appears that the copy before us cannot be the first that was written. It is much to be hoped that future discoveries in Egypt will bring to light other copies of the text in a more correct form and of older date.

The formulæ for the destruction of Apepi are continued to a great length after the account of the creation, and the rubrics of the chapters are chiefly repetitions of those which are found early

in the papyrus. Concerning one chapter it is said "It is a mystery, and is to be performed in the chamber; no eye shall see it. The Book of Words of Power is its name." At the end of it is a smaller chapter in which the gods Rā, Atmu, Chepera, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Hu, Sau, Osiris of Kochome and Hiku, the genius of Rā are taken to witness that the deceased P-āa has cast fire upon Apepi. This chapter is, in its turn, followed by "Another Book of overthrowing Apepi," and in it every dead person, every living person, and every person who is to be born is called upon to regard P-āa as a "great god, lord of heaven," for "Rā protects him, Rā protects his soul against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person. Rā will shut the mouth of every person who would speak evil against P-āa, and Rā will watch carefully to do harm to any person who would do any harm or evil thing to him." The rubric, which states at what time of the day this chapter is to be said, is mutilated; and with it the "Book of Neb-er-ter" comes to an end.

Next follow, written in red, twenty-nine of the abominable names of Apepi, many of which have been mentioned already in the chapters of the work. Owing to a break in the papyrus, one or two of them are incomplete; the meaning of most of them is evident.

In the last rubric of the work it is ordered that four wax figures of serpents are to be made, to represent the "children of inertness," *i.e.* Apepi, Sebau, Qettu, and Sheta. The first is to have the face of a . . . . . , the second the face of a cat, the third the face of a duck, and the fourth the face of a crocodile. The tail of each was to be thrust in his mouth, a knife was to be stuck in the back of each, each was to be tied round with fetters, and cast upon the ground while the priest uttered imprecations upon it. The names of the four wax figures were Hemhem (Roarer), Aaqaruaba, Hauna-aru-her-hra and Unti.

Following this rubric is the hymn of praise to Rā by the deceased, which ends the papyrus. In it P-āa addressed the god by his great titles of honour, and he claims to be his son in very truth. He says "O Rā, look with thy two eyes, and be graciously pleased with what I have done. I have destroyed Apepi for thee, I have overthrown him within his cavern. He is shut up in restraint, his body is destroyed and blotted out from the horizon of thy two heavens. Apepi has been cast down into the fire and the flame has carried him off; the heart of Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, rejoices, for his enemy has fallen beneath him. Rā triumphs over his enemy, Amen-Rā triumphs over his enemy, Atmu triumphs over his enemy, and Thoth triumphs over his enemy."

The story of the daily battle waged by Rā, the sun-god, against Apepi has something in common with the Babylonian legend of the battle which took place between Marduk and Tiamat. Marduk, the Babylonian sun-god, corresponds to Rā or Horus, and Tiamat, the she-devil of blackness, mist, and night, with scaly body, claws, and tail, corresponds to Apepi. The Babylonian cycle of the gods sent forth their lord and master Marduk to do battle with Tiamat, and they provided him with a spear or club, of fabulous power, and bows and arrows wherewith he might overcome her. They commanded him to destroy her utterly, and to scatter her blood and person to the four winds; Marduk took with him a net wherewith to snare her, and also created a number of winds for his help. He drove across the sky in a chariot, and when he drew near to her he challenged her to combat. He first sent against her a mighty wind, which she tried to

swallow, but she was unable to close her mouth by reason of its violence; this wind entered into her and smote her with great force so that she was overthrown. Marduk then seized his club and smashed in her head, he cast his net round her body, he cut out her entrails, he skinned her, and obtained the mastery over her. The fiends and devils, who accompanied her and formed her army, were scattered, her hosts were overthrown, and they fled away in great fear and trembling. They were, however, pursued by Marduk, who overtook them, and, having broken their limbs, cast his net round about them and fettered them. This brief summary is sufficient to show how great the resemblance between the two legends is; in matters of detail the resemblance is more striking. The Babylonian legend, unfortunately, gives us no rubrics, so that it is impossible to say if this composition was recited daily in the temples at Babylon, or if certain acts, such as the burning of wax figures, which accompanied the recitation of the Egyptian service for the slaughter of Apepi, were performed when it was read. In both the Egyptian and Babylonian legends the gods sing a hymn of praise to their victorious leader on the defeat of the great fiend that opposed him, and the sun shines and the heavens become bright.[a]

Of interest, too, for the subject of Egyptian magic, are the important details given in the rubrics to the Egyptian text of the service for the slaughter of Apepi. In these we learn that, in addition to the chapters and prayers which were to be recited in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, it was necessary to perform certain acts of a magical nature. Apepi, the demon whose destruction was earnestly sought for, was supposed to exist under the form of a crocodile with a hideous face, and he was accompanied by hosts of demons in various forms and shapes. To annihilate his power it was necessary to make a figure of him in wax, and to write his name upon it in green ink. This figure was to be wrapped up in a papyrus case, upon which the figure of Apepi had been written in green ink, it was then to be tied up with black hair, and spit upon several times, and its back was to be gashed with a knife. The figure was then to be cast upon the ground, and trodden upon with the left foot several times, and then burnt in a fire made of a certain plant or grass. If this act was performed at morning, noon, and night, and at certain other stated times, and certain formulae or chapters were recited at the same time, the same injuries that were inflicted upon the figure of Apepi would be inflicted upon Apepi himself. When Apepi had been thus disposed of, wax figures of his principal demons were made and burnt in the same way. How old this piece of ritual is it is not possible to say definitely, but I believe it to be older than the xviiith dynasty. That the custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures is as old as the xixth dynasty is certain, for there is a case on record in which it appears that a certain superintendent of the cattle of the king was prosecuted in an Egyptian court of law for having made figures of men and women in wax, thereby causing paralysis of their limbs and other grievous bodily injuries.[b] He had by some means obtained a book of magic, which contained not only the formulae necessary for obtaining magical results, but also directions

[a] A summary of the contents of the Babylonian text was published by me in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, November 1883, and the full text in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* December 1887, p. 86; an accurate German translation is published in Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 277 ff.

[b] See Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

how to proceed; he shut himself up in a secret chamber, and there proceeded to cast spells upon the people of his town.

A remarkable instance of the use of wax figures is recorded in the life of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Nectanebus II., the last native king of Egypt, was given to the study of magic, and, having become an expert, he used it in a remarkable way to preserve his country from invasion by enemies. Whenever they came to make war against him he used to go into his palace and overcome them from there by means of magical practices. If they came by sea he took a basin of water and set it in the middle of his room, and having made models of the soldiers of the enemy and of those of his own army he placed them in models of ships which he set upon the water opposite to each other. He then took a rod of wood in his hand, and uttered magical formulæ and the names of certain demons. Presently the ships would draw near to each other and the wax figures would begin to fight. If the figures which represented his own soldiers were victorious on the water in the basin his soldiers were victorious on the sea; but if they were beaten and the ships sunk, the same result whuld happen to his army if they attempted to fight. One day, by this means, Nectanebus discovered that the gods of Egypt had handed over the country to the invader, for his ships were scattered on the basin of water, and were driven hither and thither by those of the enemy; on seeing this he disguised himself and fled away.[a]

The above remarks will indicate the interesting nature of the texts which are transliterated and translated in the following pages. It is hoped that the attention of other students may be drawn to the consideration of them, and also that other copies may come to light to clear up the difficulties which now exist.

TRANSLATION.

The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.

Column XXII.

1. Here beginneth the book of the overthrowing of Apepi, the enemy of Rā, the enemy of Unefer, life, strength, health, triumphant! It shall be recited in the temple of Amen Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, at the head of the Apts, in the course of every day.

The Chapter of spitting upon Apepi.

Then shall be said: —

2. "Be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi."

Rā rests with his *ka*, P-āa rests with his *ka*, Rā cometh mighty, Rā cometh victorious.

3. "Rā cometh exalted, Rā cometh dowered, Rā cometh with acclamation, Rā cometh in beauty, Rā cometh as king of the north, Rā cometh as king of the south, Rā cometh with divine

[a] For the Greek text see *Pseudo-Callisthenes* primum edidit C. Müller, Parisiis, 1877, lib. I. cap. 1., and see my *History of Alexander the Great*, p. xxxix.

4. "oblations, Rā cometh with triumph then, P-āa, life, strength, health! thou hast destroyed for him all his enemies as he has slain for thee Apepi. He slays Qettu for thee, he gives adoration to thy might,
5. "he adores thee at all thy risings in which thou risest for him, and he overthrows for thee all thy enemies in the course of every day."

The Chapter of defiling Apepi with the left foot.

To be recited:—

6. "Therefore art thou exalted, Rā, for thine enemies are destroyed.
"Shine, therefore, Rā, for thine enemies are fallen.
"Verily, Rā has destroyed for thee all thine enemies, O P-āa, life, strength, health!
Verily, all thine enemies are destroyed for thee in life and death. Rā gains the mastery over thee, Apepi,
7. "his flame bristles against thee, it gains the mastery over thee, turning its flame against thee; its fire falls upon the enemies of Rā, its flame falls upon all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health!
8. "Rā gains the mastery; O Rā, thine enemy is trampled upon by thee in thy horizon. Those who are in the *sekti* boat adore thee, the *ahiti* go round thee and thy boat with acclamation, thou renewest festival in the valiant-hearted who are in the māāt boat.
9. "Adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis."

The Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi.

To be recited:—

10. "Horus takes his steel lance and thrusts it into the heads of the enemies of Rā; Horus takes his steel lance and thrusts it into the heads of the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! Of a truth Horus takes his steel lance and smites the heads of the fiends in front
11. of his boat.
"Therefore shalt thou be exalted, Rā, for thy fiendish enemies are hooked, Apepi is slaughtered, and the fiends of the Devil have been cast down. Therefore shalt thou also
12. be exalted, P-āa, for thy fiends are hooked, thy foes are slaughtered, and thy devilish opponents are cast down. Come then, Rā, in thy splendours, those who are in their
13. shrines adore thee in thy beauties in that thou risest and shinest unopposed by foes; thy words of power protect thy body. P-āa adores Rā, he thrusts his lance against Apepi, he
14. takes the flame of fire and casts it upon him, he sticks hooks into the bodies of his enemies. Be there fire upon you, be there flame upon you, be there burning to you, O ye enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! may it consume you. Therefore shalt thou be exalted, Rā, for hooks are stuck into thy fiendish foes, fire is cast upon Apepi, and it gnaws
15. into the joints of his backbone. Hail, there is fire thrown on Apepi.

"Rā is in the midst of the breezes of the north winds, and the valiant hearted ones who
16. navigate his boat in the horizon exult at the sight of him. He overthrows the fiend, his fire prevails over Apepi, and the Fiend roars, may he never be at peace, may he never be at peace!

"O Rā Harmachis, show thy beautiful face to P-āa, life, health, and strength! destroy
17. thou for him all his enemies, for he adores thee in very truth. Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies."

The Chapter of putting fetters upon Apepi.

To be recited:—

18. "O ye fetterers, fetter, fetter ye Apepi that enemy of Rā! Thou canst not know, O Apepi, what will be done unto thee, for justice meets thee.

19. "O thou that goest back at thy moment, thou destroyest thyself; by opening thy throat, thou holdest fast the fetter. Horus cries, 'Be thou fettered;' Rā cries, 'Be thou tied up, mayest thou never experience the delights of the pleasures of love,

20. "'mayest thou never escape from his fingers'; Rā cries, 'Mayest thou be damned;' and Horus dwelling in invisibility cries, 'Be thou tied up.'"

The Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi.

To be recited:—

"O slaughterer, mayest thou have the mastery, mayest thou have the mastery and over-
21. "throw the enemy of Rā with thy knife! O slaughterer, mayest thou have the mastery, mayest thou have the mastery and overthrow with thy knife those heads of yours, Sebau
22. and Apepi, slaughtering and slaying them with thy knife!

"O goddess Septet, who providest flame, O goddess Asbit who presidest over the spark, overthrow ye the Fiend with your knives, slaughter ye the Demon with your swords, slay
23. ye them because of the injury done to you, hack them in pieces because of what has been done to you, let there be justice done to them by you because of the evil which has been wrought upon you. Rā triumphs over you, ye fiends, Horus hacks you in pieces."

The Chapter of putting fire upon Apepi.

24. To be recited:—

"Fire upon thee, O Apepi, that enemy of Rā! The eye of Horus prevails over the accursed soul and shade of Apepi, the flame of the eye of Horus gnaws into

COLUMN XXIII.

1. "that enemy of Rā, the flame of the eye of Horus eats into all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death, in life."

When Apepi is put in the fire speak ye with words of power, and say, "Taste thou, death to thee Apepi! Get thee back, retreat thou enemy of Rā, fall down, wriggle away, depart, retreat. I have driven thee back, I have hacked thee in pieces. Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi. Taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi!

3. "Back, thou fiend, an end to thee! Therefore have I cast fire at thee, therefore have I caused thee to be destroyed, therefore have I judged and condemned thee to an evil doom. An
4. end to thee, an end to thee; taste thou, an end to thee, mayest thou never rise up again! An end, an end to thee, an end to thee, taste thou, and come to an end. I have destroyed the enemy of Rā.

"Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies."

5. Afterwards thou shalt smite Apepi with thy left foot four times, and shalt say, "Defiled art thou, Apepi."

After Rā has risen, standing facing him, with both thy arms bent shalt thou say, "Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed
6. over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; in very truth has Rā been made to triumph over thee, Apepi; destroyed is Apepi."

This chapter must be recited over [the name of] Apepi written in green ink upon a piece of new papyrus, and over a wax figure of Apepi on which his name is inscribed in
7. green ink; this figure shall be then put in the fire that it may devour the enemy of Rā. One must place such a figure in the fire at dawn, at daybreak, at eventide, when Rā sets
8. in the land of life, at midnight, at the eighth hour of the day, at the coming on of the evening, and even at every hour of the day and night; also, on the day of the festival, by
9. day, by month, by the sixth day festival, by the fifteenth day festival, and likewise every day. Then will Apepi, the enemy of Rā, be overthrown in the shower, for Rā will shine, and Apepi will be overthrown in very truth.

10. This figure of Apepi is to be burnt in a fire of dried grass, and when burnt, its remains (ashes) are to be mixed with excrement and thrown into a fire. The like of this must be done by thee at the sixth hour of the night, and at daybreak of the festival of the fifteenth
11. day. When the figure of Apepi is thrown into the fire, one must spit upon him very many times at the beginning of each hour of the day until the shadow comes round.

12. Afterwards, when thou hast thrown Apepi into the fire at daybreak of the festival of the sixth day, spit upon him and defile him with thy left foot; thus will be repulsed the roarings of the "Backward of face." Thou shalt do the like of this at daybreak on the festival of the
13. fifteenth day, for by it will Apepi be repulsed and slain before the *sekti* boat. Thou shalt do the like of this when tempests rage in the eastern parts of the sky when Rā sets in the
14. land of life, to prevent the arrival of red threatening clouds in the eastern quarter of the sky. Thou shalt do the like of this very many times to prevent the arrival of a shower
15. or a rain storm or thunder cloud in the sky. If thou doest the like of this many times as a preventive against the shower, the sun's disk will shine, and Apepi will be overthrown in very truth.

It is good for a man to do this, good for him upon earth, and good for him in the nether-
16. world; to this man is given power to attain to dignities which are above him, and he is, in very truth, delivered from all evil things. May I see these things happen to me![a]

17. THE FIRST BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI THE ENEMY OF RA.

To be recited:—

"Down upon thy face, Apepi, thou enemy of Rā! get thee back, retreat, fiend! Sebau
18. is deprived of his arms and legs, thy snout shall be split; such are the things that shall happen unto thee. Thou art cast down and overthrown. Rā Harmachis overthrows thee, he destroys thee, he damns thee, he sticks hooks into thy body. Thou art thrown down
19. into the fire, the flames proceeding from it come forth, they blaze up at thee at their opportunity."

20. "Isis says with vehement utterance, 'Thy soul is cut in pieces, thy vertebrae are hacked asunder, Horus showers blows upon thee, and the children of Horus deliver crushing blows on thee; thou art destroyed at their season.'

"Get thee back, retreat, retreat, thou art overthrown in going back and retreating,
21. Apepi. The great cycle of the gods who are in Heliopolis turn thee back. Horus drives back thy crocodile, Sut destroys thy opportunity. Isis repulses thee, Nephthys cuts thee in pieces, and the cycle of the great gods who are in front of the boat of Rā drive thee
22. back. The chain of Sut is upon thy neck, the children of Horus drive their spears into thee, those gods who guard the secret portals repulse thee, and the flame from their fire
23. comes forth against thee.

"O thou that goest back and retreatest before the flames of fire which come forth from their mouth, O thou fallen one, O wriggler, O Apepi, O thou who goest back

COLUMN XXIV.

1. "and retreatest, thou enemy of Rā, thou art fallen at this moment of ill luck of thine!

"Those who are in the divine boat have overthrown thee, get thee back and begone.

[a] This sentence appears to be the remark of the scribe.

2. "Cursed art thou, destroyed art thou, repulsed art thou at thy moment of ill luck. O mayest thou be tripped up! Thy accursed soul and body are turned back, thou thyself art turned back, thy flesh is stripped off thee, thy blows are inflicted, the hacking in pieces and
3. "slaughter of thee is performed, and thy crocodile is destroyed. Thou art deprived of thine ears, the flesh is smitten from thy limbs, thy soul is turned back from thy shade, thy name is destroyed, thy enchantments have come to naught, destroyed art thou, overthrown art
4. "thou, thou shalt never come forth from that cavern of thine for ever and ever. Blows are
5. "inflicted upon thee a second time, thou art fettered and beaten by the cruel beaters, thine opportunity is destroyed, thy crocodile is driven back, Rā seizes thee by the ear and makes
6. "thee go back upon that seat of thine, thou art tripped up and driven backward, thou art condemned for thy crime, Rā beats thee and thy opportunity of escape comes not. Thy
7. "accursed soul and shade are damned, the eye of Horus has condemned thee, it prevails over thee and eats into thee to the fulness of its face. O, an end to thee, Apepi, it (*i. e.*, the eye of Horus) darts at thee, it turns thee back, it destroys thee and makes an end of thee."
8. Then shalt be said firmly with the mouth:—
"Down upon thy face, Apepi, enemy of Rā! The flame coming forth from the eye of
9. "Horus comes against thee, a mighty flame which comes forth from the eye of Horus comes against thee. Thou art thrust down into the flame of fire which rushes out against thee, and which is fatal to thy soul, thy intelligence, thy words of power, thy body, and thy
10. "shade. The mistress of fire prevails over thee, it sticks hooks into thy soul, it makes an end of whatever thou hast, and sends darts into thy form. Thou hast fallen by the eye of
11. "Horus which is powerful against its enemy, which devours thee and leads on the mighty
12. "flame against thee; the eye of Rā prevails over thee, the flame devours thee, and nothing of thee remains.
13. "Get thee back, thou art hacked in pieces, thy soul is parched, thy name is buried in oblivion, silence covers it, it is overthrown; thou art put an end to and buried under threefold oblivion. Get thee back, retreat thou, thou art cut in pieces and
14. "removed from him that is in his shrine. O Apepi, thou doubly crushed one, an end to thee, an end to thee! Mayest thou never rise up, may thy soul never
16. "rise up again! The eye of Horus prevails over thee, and devours thee daily, according to what Rā decreed should be done unto thee. Thou art thrown down into
17. "the flame of fire which feeds upon thee; thou art condemned to the fire of the eye of Horus which devours thee, thy soul, thy intelligence, thy body, and thy shade; mayest thou never have the enjoyment of sexual pleasure, mayest thou never
18. "have issue of thy body for ever!"
Then shall be said four times, "Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi."
Then shall be said four times, "Horus triumphs over his enemies."
Then shall be said four times, "P-āa triumphs over his enemies."
"Get thee back, retreat before these words of power which come forth from my
19. "mouth on behalf of P-āa for ever, these (?) shall destroy thee; never shalt thou escape thy fate, Apepi, enemy of Rā."

20. To be said four times, "Taste thou fiend, Sebau."
These words are to be said by a person ceremonially purified and clean. Behold, too, thou shalt paint the accursed name of Apepi upon new papyrus, and put it
21. in the fire when Rā shows himself in the morning, when Rā is in culmination and when Rā sets in the land of life. This shall be done on the eighth day, by day, and at every hour of every day, by month, on the festival of the sixth
22. day, on the festival of the fifteenth day, and likewise on every day for the overthrowing of the enemies of Rā Harmachis.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI, THE ENEMY OF RA.

23. "Fall down upon your faces, O ye enemies of Rā, ye hostile fiends, ye children of inertness, ye rebels and enemies! Nameless sinners are they whose caverns of fire are prepared for them according to the commands of Rā. The rebels, fiends,
24. "and demons are fettered and tied fast; how many are the enemies who have rebelled! Fall down then upon your faces at the moment of Rā, and come to an end. He overthrows you,

Column XXV.

1. he casts down your head upon your faces, yea, he destroys you, he performs your slaughter. O an end, an end to you! Be ye destroyed, annihilated, brought to naught! May ye never exist, may ye never rise up, may your heads be broken,
2. "Your throats cut, your vertebrae severed, your blows inflicted and your slaughter performed! The eye of Horus endowed with flame falls against you and obtains
3. "the mastery over you. The eye of Horus rises against you and his power smites you. His eye gains the mastery over you, it consumes and devours you in its name of Devourer, and it gains the mastery over you in its name of Sechet; fall ye therefore
4. "by its deadly flame and by the burning which cometh forth from its fire. O it destroys, destroys, destroys you! the blaze cometh forth against you, ye enemies of Rā and fiendish foes of Horus, it comes against your bodies, and against
5. "your shades. The fire comes forth and roasts you, it frizzles, frizzles you, scorches, scorches you, and tries you; Apt-s-ur (*i.e.*, "the fire tries,") judges you, devours you, consumes
6. "you, destroys your souls, and her flames send burning darts into your shades. O, an end to you, an end to you! Ye are destroyed, destroyed, cut asunder, and hacked in pieces, and your slaughter is performed; ye are judged by the fire and the
7. "flame, the lord of blazing heat, the fire of which eats into your souls and drives darts into your accursed bodies, and fetters you with its fire. The fierce fire cuts at you with
8. "its cutting flames, it stabs you with its daggers, it consumes you with its heat, it burns you up with its burning, it sets you on fire with its conflagration, it burns you to ashes with its blazes; it eats you up with its flame, and bites

9. "into you in its name of Set ("fire"), it tries you in its name of Apt-s-ur ("the fire tries"). The fire, provided with huge flames, throws you down into itself and eats into your souls.
10. "O fall ye down, fall ye down, fall ye down therefore, for ye are overthrown; Rā has overthrown you, fall ye down therefore through the impact of his moment. He makes an end to you, an end to you, he destroys you, he overthrows you,
11. "he cuts you asunder, he damns you, he destroys you, he makes an end of your name, he hacks in pieces your soul, he roasts you, he annihilates you, he fetters you, he casts hooks into you, he overthrows you, fall ye down then
12. "through the flame of fire which destroys you; may there never be to thee again a rising up.

"O, come to an end, come to an end, come to an end! Come to an end then, come to an end. May your souls come to an end, may your bodies come to an end, may your shades come to an end, may you come to an end! May you never rise up, may your souls
13. "never rise up, may your body never rise up; may you never rise up, may your shades never rise up, may you never rise up, may your lives never rise up, may you never rise up, may a defender never rise up for you, may your heads
14. "never be fastened again on to your bodies. Retreat therefore ye before Rā, retreat therefore Sebau, may ye never rise up again at the words of power of Thoth. The great God is victorious over you, he casts hooks into you, he causes to be done unto you what your souls hate, fire comes forth from his mouth against
15. "you, be ye therefore consumed, O fiends, may ye never rise up again at the words of power of Thoth. He overthrows you, he hacks you to pieces, he destroys you, the fire coming forth from the eye of Horus judges you, it
16. "devours you to the fulness of its face, it destroys you with the intensity of its flame, and is not repulsed at the moment for which its heart wishes in its name of Mert. Come to an end therefore before it, retreat before it, go back before it,
17. "get thee gone before it, O every enemy of Rā, and every enemy of Horus. It shoots its arrows into you, it makes thee go back, it destroys you, it puts an end to you, it destroys you; may you never have the enjoyment of sexual
18. "pleasures, may ye never have issue from your bodies for ever!

So then Law makes Rā to triumph over you, Apepi, children of inertness, mighty ones of inertness.

Then shall be said four times, 'Rā triumphs over his enemies.'

Then shall be said four times, 'Horus triumphs over his enemies.'
19. "Then shall be said four times, 'Osiris, at the head of those in the nether-world, triumphs over his enemies.'

Then shall be said four times, 'P-āa, life, strength, health, triumphs over his enemies.'

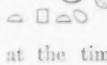
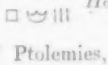
"I have overthrown Apepi, Sebau, Sheta, and Qettu, children of inertness,
20. "in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Rā in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Horus in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of

21. "Amen-Rā, lord of the universe, at the head of the Apts, in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Ptah of Memphis, lord of the universe, in every
22. "place in which they are, likewise every enemy of Atmu; likewise every enemy of Thoth,[a] lord of Chemennu;[b] likewise every enemy of Iusāset,[c] lady of Annu (Heliopolis), Hathor, lady of Hetep-hemt,[d] the shade of Atmu; likewise
23. "every enemy of Horus-Chent-Chattha,[e] lord of Kakam;[f] every enemy of Chuaut[g] Neter (?) Shes (?); every enemy of Bast, the mighty lady, lady of Bubastis; every enemy of Osiris, lord of Tattu[h]; every enemy of the 'Ram, lord of Tattu (Mendes),' the great god, the life of
24. "Rā. I have overthrown every enemy of Anher-Shu,[i] the son of Horus the Concealed, every enemy of Amen-Rā Sam-Behutet,[k] every enemy of Anubis, lord of Siut,[l] every

[a] The divine intelligence, the inventor of arts and sciences and the god of astronomy, numbers, geometry, weights and measures, architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

[b]  *χemennu*, Coptic ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ, was the sacred name of  *Pa-Tehuti*, "the town of Thoth," *i.e.*, Hermopolis Magna, the metropolis of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

[c] A goddess whose shrine  *Het-heka*, was situated at  *Annu*, Heliopolis; she was a form of Hathor of Lower Egypt.

[d]  or  *Hetep-hemt*, the name of a district belonging to the Heliopolitan nome, which, at the time of Ptolemies, formed a kind of supplementary nome with the metropolis *i.e.*, Bilbeis. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 546.

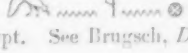
[e] See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 621.

[f] A name of the great necropolis of Memphis, near the Serapeum, in the desert of Sakkárah; the κωχώμη of Manetho.

[g] *I.e.*, "the protectress," the feminine counterpart of Horus-Chent-Chattha.

[h] Mendes and Busiris both bore the name of Tattu; here Busiris, the metropolis of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, is referred to.

[i] Anher was the son of Rā, and a form of the god Shu; his name means the "guide of heaven." He is called "the god of lofty plumes residing in Thinis," and is represented wearing  See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mit. Egizia*, p. 75.

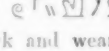
[k] Another name for  *Pa hen-en-Àmen*, the metropolis of the seventeenth nome (Diospolis) of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 705. The reading Sam-behutet was first proved by Mr. Renouf.

[l] Lycopolis, the modern Asyût أسيوط. For a list of the Anubis gods see Lanzone, *Dizionario Mit. Eg.* p. 67.

enemy of Horus, lord of those in the east (?), every enemy of Horus of the two eyes[a], lord of Shetenna[b], every enemy of Horus in . . . . . .[c]

COLUMN XXVI.

1. "every enemy of Horus-sam-taiu,[d] lord of Chatet,[e] every enemy of Horus in Pe, Uatit in Tep,[f] every enemy of Horus the aged,[g] lord of the south[h] in every place in
2. which they are; I have overthrown every enemy of Seb in every place in which they are."
   Then shall be said by a person washed and ceremonially pure:
   "Now are ye done for, O every enemy of Rā, and every enemy of P-āa, life, strength, health! in life and in death together with all the schemes which are in your hearts."
3. Then shalt thou write the name of their fathers, mothers, and children, with every . . . . . with green paint upon new papyrus, and shalt also inscribe their names upon wax figures of them which shall be tied round with dark hair; these
4. figures shalt thou spit upon and defile with thy left foot, and pierce with a stone knife. Put these into the flaming fire of the burners, in addition to the [figure with the] name of Apepi, and burn it with the *χessau* plant when Rā rises, when Rā is
5. in culmination, when Rā sets in the land of life, on the first hour of the day, on the . . . . . hour of the night, on the second hour of the night and until the third hour of the night, at daybreak, and likewise at every hour of the day, and every hour of the night. Let a figure be burnt on the festival of the new moon, on the
6. festival of the sixth day, on the festival of the fifteenth day, and likewise [by day] and by month. Then will be overthrown the enemy of Rā, then Apepi will be overthrown in very truth, then will be overthrown the enemy of Rā.
   This book shall be performed after the manner of that which is laid down in writing when the atep boat of the sun goes forth to overthrow the enemy

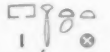
[a] *I.e.*, lord of the two *utats*  He is thought to be a form of  *Amsu āāh*. Amsu, the moon god of Panopolis, is represented with the head of a hawk and wears  and ; in each hand he holds  See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 617.

[b] The metropolis of a supplementary nome in Lower Egypt; for the identification of this place see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 805.

[c] I am unable to transcribe this name.

[d] *I.e.*, Horus, uniter of the North and South.

[e] A name of one of the sacred quarters of Denderah, the metropolis of the sixth nome of Upper Egypt; this name appears to have some reference to the victory of Horus-behutet over Set. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 370.

[f] Pe and Tep were the names of two districts, which together formed the town of  *Pa-Uatet*, the metropolis of the nineteenth nome of Lower Egypt, where the goddess Uatet was worshipped.

[g] He was the son of Hathor of Apollinopolis Parva, and brother of Osiris.

[h] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 355, 847.

7. of Rā, and every enemy of Horus of the two eyes in Aaat-Peka.[a] It is good for a person if this book is recited before the venerable god regularly and always.

THE BOOK OF OVERTHROWING THE ENEMY OF RA IN THE COURSE OF EVERY DAY.

To be recited:—

8. "Fall down upon thy face Apepi, enemy of Rā; be drowned, be drowned! O thou that comest forth from unknown places, get thee back, get thee back, quickly, quickly; hasten thou to go back as quickly as thou didst come forth. Let there be
9. "overthrow to thee at the pool of heaven, for Rā has commanded thee to be slaughtered. Mighty flame rises up against thee, provided and coming forth from Ap-Hekau,[b] whose two eyes are open observing the two earths. The mighty spell comes forth from the chamber, which is in the shrine, against thee; the hawk
10. "comes forth against thee; the two uraei rear themselves up; and the flame from out of the mouth of the guardians of the secret pylons comes forth against thee. Come to an end, enemy, fiend; be fettered, Apepi. Rā reposes upon his station
11. "within his shrine. Hail to thee Rā, in thy serpent goddess, Mehenet!"

Then shall be said four times:

"Thy voice is triumphant over Apepi, thy voice is Law against thy enemies, and the voice of P-āa, life, strength, health! is triumphant against his enemies.

"Be thou vomited upon, Apepi.

12. The Book of turning back Apepi Char, (the thunder?), which is to be performed at dawn.

To be recited:—

"Be thou vomited upon, Apepi, enemy of Rā [To be said] four times.

"O thou that must turn back from him that is in his coffin, come to an end,

13. "thou fiend, and fall down upon thy face, vomit over it! Get thee back to the place whence thou camest, may thy roads be blocked up, may thy paths be obstructed, mayest thou be confined in the place where thou wast yesterday; may thy body be powerless, thy heart feeble and thy limbs torpid.
14. "Thou shalt be annihilated, thou shalt never come forth, thou art decreed for those who preside over the block, the slaughterers who are provided with knives. May they cut off thy head, may they cut in pieces thy neck, may they do for thee a second time, may they throw thee into the flame, and goad thee and terrify thee more
15. "than the flame at its moment. The flame gains the mastery over thee, it devours thy limbs, it gnaws into thy bones, it drives hooks into thy flesh, Chnemu[c] carries off thy

[a] The necropolis of the nome Pharbaethites, the capital of which was Shetennu. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 227.

[b] See Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 929.

[c] Chnemu is usually styled the creator and maker of men.

children to his block, thy limbs are transferred to the flame, and thy soul is fettered; may it never traverse the earth, may

16. "thy two hands nevermore exist on this earth, O Apepi, enemy of Rā! Horus the Aged, son of Isis, destroys thee. Thou shalt never have heir or child, thy soul shall never attain to the heaven which Shu supports, thou shalt never

17. "see nor look out of thine eyes, thou art destroyed, and thy shade, O Apepi, enemy of Rā, shall never more exist, vomit thou fiend! Thy name shall come to nought and thou shalt never more be remembered, and thy mastery is completed; be sick over thyself each time thou art mentioned. Rā inflicts thy blows upon thee, thou art

18. "tied up by Isis and fettered by Nephthys, and the virtues of Thoth destroy thee. Thy accursed soul shall never rise up among other souls, thy accursed body shall not be with other bodies; may the fire bite into thee and the flame devour thee, burning thee

19. "up as soon as it rests upon thee, Apepi, enemy of Rā. Rā rejoices, Atmu is full of delight, and the heart of Horus the Aged is glad because Apepi is transferred to the flame, Nekau is transferred to the fire; may he never again exist, and may

20. "the shade of Apepi, the enemy of Rā, never again exist in heaven or earth."
Then shall be said four times, "Be thou spit upon and come to an end, Apepi!"
The above is to be said over a figure of Apepi made of wax, and likewise written on new papyrus. Throw them into the fire in the presence of Rā every day, likewise on the first day of the month, and on every day, and on the festivals of the sixth and

21. fifteenth days; then will Apepi be overthrown on water, on land, and with the stars.

THE BOOK OF KNOWING THE EVOLUTIONS OF RA, AND THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI.

Column XXVI.

The words of Neb-er-ter who speaks after (or concerning) his coming into existence.

22. "I am he who evolved himself under the form of the god Chepera. I, the evolver of evolutions, evolved myself, the evolver of all evolutions, after many evolutions and developments which came forth from my mouth. There was no heaven, there was no earth, ground—animals and reptiles were not then in existence. I constructed their forms out of the inert mass of watery matter,

23. "I found no place there upon which I could stand. By the strength which was in my will I laid the foundation [of

Column XXVIII.

20. The words of Neb-er-ter who says:—
"I have evolved the evolving of evolutions. I evolved myself under the form of the evolutions of the god Chepera, which were evolved at the beginning of all time. I evolved the evolutions

21. "of the god Chepera, I evolved by the evolution of evolutions, that is to say, I developed myself from the primeval matter which I made, I developed myself out of the primeval matter. My name is Ausares (Osiris?), the germ of primeval matter. I have

22. "wrought my will to its full extent in this earth, I have spread abroad and filled it,

things] in the form of the god Shu, and I made for them every attribute that they have. I was quite alone, for I had not evacuated the god Shu, and I had not spit forth the god Tefnut; there

24. "existed none other who worked with me. I laid the foundation of all things out of my own heart, and the evolutions of things, the evolutions out of the evolutions of their births which took place through the evolutions of their children, became multiplied.

My hand acted for me as a husband, and I copulated with my shadow (or hand);

COLUMN XXVII.

1. "I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated the god Shu, and I spat out from my mouth the god Tefnut. My father Nu (the sky) says, 'They eclipse my eye behind them since for long periods of time they depart from me, after that I from being one god became

2. "three gods, from myself, evolved in this land.' Shu and Tefnut rejoiced in the watery mass in which they existed, and they brought to me my eye along with them. After this, then, I collected my limbs, and I wept

3. "over them, and men and women sprang into existence from the tears which fall from my Eye. When it came and found what I had done in its place, it growled at me; with the splendour (*or* might) which I wrought, I restored it and made it take up its place in my face, and afterwards it ruled the

4. "whole of this earth. Their moment fell upon their plants (?), and I restored to it what had been carried off from it. I made plants to spring up, I created all

I lifted up my hand (?) I was quite alone, nothing existed, for I had not evacuated Shu, and I had not yet spit forth Tefnut. I uttered my name, as a word of power, from my own mouth, and I straightway developed

23. "myself by evolutions. I evolved myself under the form of the evolutions of the god Chepera, and I developed myself out of the primeval matter which has evolved multitudes of evolutions from the beginning of time. Nothing existed on this earth [before me], I made all things. There was none

24. "other who worked with me at that time. I made all evolutions there by means of that soul which I raised up there from inertness out of the watery matter. I found no place there upon which I could stand, I was strong in my resolution, and I laid the foundation [of things] out of my own

25. "self, and I performed all that was done. I was quite alone. I laid the foundation [of things] by my own will, I created also the multitudes of things by the evolutions of the god Chepera; and their offspring came into existence from the evolutions of their

26. "births (*or* children). I evacuated and Shu arose, I spat and Tefnut arose; thus from being one god, I became three, out from myself, coming into existence in this land. Shu and Tefnut, then, rejoiced in the watery mass in which they were.

27. "Through my eye I brought them along after long periods of time, and they advanced towards me. I gathered together the limbs of my own person from which they had come forth

reptiles, and everything that existed from them (*i.e.*, Shu and Tefnut?)

5. "Shu and Tefnut give birth to Nut, Seb, Nut giving birth to Osiris, Horus, dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis, Nephthys at one birth, one after the other, and their children multiply upon this earth."

after I had begotten them with my hand, and my heart came to me out of my shadow (hand?). I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated

COLUMN XXIX.

1. "Shu, and I spat out Tefnut; thus from being one god I became three gods, out of myself, who came into existence in this earth. Therefore Shu and Tefnut rejoiced in the watery mass from which they had arisen. Through my eye I brought them along after long
2. "periods of time. I gathered together the limbs of my own person from which they had come forth after I had begotten them with my hand, and my heart came to me out of my shadow, I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated Shu and I spat out Tefnut.
3. "My father Nu (the sky) says, They eclipse my eye behind them, for numbers upon numbers of centuries. Plants and reptiles [came into existence] from the god Rem, [*i.e.*] from the tears which I let fall. My eye cried out and men and women sprang into existence.
4. "I filled [my eye] with flame, it growled against me, and afterwards came another growth in [its] place. Its force fell upon the masses (?) and masses (?) which I
5. "had placed before (*or* in) it, it put order into them and drew near to its place in my face, and ruled the whole earth. Shu and Tefnut bring forth Nut, Osiris, Horus dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis and Nephthys, [who] by their children make multitudes
6. "of evolutions upon this earth from the evolutions of the births from the evolu-

tions of their children. They invoke my name and they overthrow their enemies; they create words of power for overthrowing Apepi."

COLUMN XXVII.

6. "The mighty words of power, which are the genius of enchantments, are to be recited, for they are fated to destroy the enemies of Rā by the might of their utterance. May it be fated for me to hear what has become of my limbs. That evil enemy is overthrown, Apepi has fallen into the flame, a knife is stuck
7. "into his head . . . . . his name no longer exists on this earth. It is fated for me to inflict blows upon him, I drive darts into his bones, I destroy his soul in the course of every day, I sever his vertebræ from
8. "his neck, cutting into his flesh with a knife and stabbing through his hide. He is given over to the fire which obtains the mastery over him in its name of "Sechet;" it has power over him in its name of "Chut-ubti-cheft" (Eye
9. "burning the enemy); darts are driven into his soul, his bones are burnt, and his limbs are transferred to the fire. Horus, mighty of strength, has decreed that he shall come in front of the boat of Rā; his fetter of steel ties him up and makes his limbs so that they cannot move; Horus repulses his opportunity during
10. "his eclipse, and he makes him to vomit that which is inside him. Horus fetters, binds, ties up, and Aker takes away his strength that I may separate his flesh
11. "from his bones; that I may fetter his feet, and cut off his two hands and arms; that I may shut up his mouth and lips, and break in his teeth; that I may cut out his tongue from his throat, and carry away his words; that I may block
12. "up his two eyes, and carry off his ears; that I may tear out his heart from its seat and throne, that is to say, from its station; and that I may make him so that he exists not. May his name never exist, and may what is born to him never exist; may he never exist, and may his kinsfolk never exist; may he never exist, and may his relatives never exist; may he never exist,
13. "and may his heir never exist; may his offspring never grow to maturity; may his seed never be established; moreover, may his soul, body, intelligence, shade, words of power and his bones and his skin never more exist! May he fall down and be overthrown and never rise up again! Let the flame
14. "of the eye of Horus grip him. The Striker and the Executioners have their knives and hack at him, they drive their knives into him, and he falls to the ground through the infliction of those evil blows which I have decreed to be
15. "inflicted in the course of every day upon his damnable form. The eye of Horus falls upon

him cutting and hacking his head from his neck; the goddess Sechet tears out his intestines and kicks them on the fire

16. "with her left leg; she places them on the fire and burns into him in her name of "Set-usert-āa" (Fire, victorious mighty one); she burns into him, and drives out his soul from his body; she obtains the mastery over him in her name of "Sechet;" and she overpowers him in her name of "Chut-nebat."

17. "She consumes his interior and blazes in it with the flame of her mouth; Uatit devours [him] and casts herself down against his cavern so that he may never come forth from it again for ever and ever. She constrains those who

18. "have fetters, and they cut in pieces his soul, his body, his shade, his intelligence, and his words of power; they tear out his heart from its place and they destroy his name. He has fallen down, and shall never rise up again, for I have

19. "decreed his annihilation, and the annihilation of his soul. Uatit has seized the bones of Shu (?) at the storehouse of the eater of green things, and she causes his tongue to be split; the goddess Sati also provides destruction for him at the moment of her strength. Sechet places his heart in the flame of the utterance of her

20. "mouth; he falls by her slaughter, and his eye is stopped up. Darts are driven into Apepi and he is overthrown by Rā himself; Rā triumphs over Apepi in the presence of the cycle of the great gods, and a dagger is driven into

21. "his head in the presence of Rā every day. The gods of the south overthrow him, the gods of the north overthrow him, the gods of the west overthrow him,

22. "and the gods of the east overthrow him. The starry deities of Orion of the southern skies fetter him, the Great Bear in the northern heavens turns him back, and those who are in the decans involve him in chains. The fire devours him, the flame consumes him, it drives fiery darts into his bones

23. "and hair, it burns up his members, it shrivels up his skin, and he is utterly overthrown by the hands of the gods. May his name nevermore exist in the mouth of men, and may he nevermore be remembered in the heart of the gods! May he be spit upon each time that his name is mentioned. Rā

24. "has inflicted disasters upon him, he is twice annihilated, he is doubly stabbed by darts of fire, the flame has gripped him, Henbu has fastened upon him; he shall never more breathe, he shall never more breathe, he shall never more smell the breezes, he shall never more smell the breezes. He is

25. "cast into the fire and it burns into his two eyes, its flame slays and devours his face. The gods who are in the divine boat of Rā desire to attack him. O tears that come forth from my eye inflict your blows

26. "upon him, and upon that damnable form of his! Behold, O ye gods, and grant, O ye gods, that his dwelling place and tomb may never exist; grant, O ye gods, that his name may never exist; grant, O ye gods, that his soul, intelligence, shade, bones, and hair may never exist; and grant not unto him, O ye gods, the space of his two hands and arms!

COLUMN XXVIII.

1. "That his children and his accursed heirs may never exist, grant, O ye gods; that his seed may never grow nor lift up its ears, grant, O ye gods; that his words of power may be of none effect, grant, O ye gods; that he may never rise up in heaven or upon earth, grant, O ye gods; that he may never rise up among
2. "the dwellers in the south, north, west and east, grant, O ye gods; and that he may never exist among mortals, grant, O ye gods! May he be in the flame of that eye of Horus, may it obtain the mastery over him in the course of every day,
3. "may it burn in him and never be extinguished for ever and ever. May it seize him at his moment, may it repulse his crocodile, may it burn him and may he come to an end. If Apepi rises up may it grip him, may the flame overthrow him, may Rā himself overthrow him. Rā triumphs over thee. Verily I have
4. "slain thee, verily I have blotted out thy name, and thou art therefore committed to the flame every day, according to what Rā commanded should be done to thee. Behold then, Rā, hear then, Rā, verily I have destroyed thy enemy, I have defiled and trampled upon him with my feet, and I have spit upon him. Rā is made to triumph over thee, and over all his enemies, they have fallen
5. "down and shall never rise up again. The name of Apepi is consumed, inasmuch as I have destroyed his place of habitation, his throne, and his tomb; I have destroyed his soul, his intelligence, his body, his shade, his words of power, his seed, his egg, his bones, and his hair, and he shall be given to the fire
6. "every day according to what Rā has commanded to be done to him. There shall be therefore destruction and seizure and burning for all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death and in life. May their members be hacked in pieces, may they be torn out of their skins, may the lords of Heliopolis make
7. "them their possession and destroy them before thee, O Rā, every day, and may the fire which is in them consume them. May their souls, intelligences, bodies, shades, words of power, bones, hair, strength, utterances and words of power
8. "never more exist; may their graves, homes, habitations and tombs never exist; may their fields, trees and plants never exist; and may they never have water,
9. "bread, fire or warmth; may their children and kinsfolk and heirs and families never exist; may their heads, arms, legs, ears and seed never exist; may their place of habitation upon their own lands never exist; may water never
10. "be poured out for them in this land among the living, and may water never be poured out for them in the Nether-world among the blessed dead.
    Thou hast decreed them to the block of Sechet in Aat-nebt-Asher, thou hast overthrown them at the victorious moment of the Mighty Baby, thou hast
11. "adjudged them to the power of the fetterers among those who dwell in the Nether-world. May their souls never be permitted to come forth from the Nether-world, may they never be among the living upon earth, may they never see Rā

12. "daily, may they be chained in fetters in the depths of the nethermost hell, and may their souls never be permitted to come forth thence for ever and ever. These things are decreed to happen to them because of their cursing Rā in his shrine. The gods in the shrine mete out justice to them, they lay hold upon

13. "the two hands of Apepi, the eye of Horus obtains the mastery over them, and they consume and burn away upon the altars of Sechet, upon the brazier which devours limbs. They are seized in thy presence, Rā, daily, according to what the great god (Rā) decreed should be done to them for ever and for ever.

14. "Thou, O Rā, art seated in thy shrine, thou advancest in the *sekti* boat, thou restest in the *ati* boat, thou traversest thy two heavens in peace, thou obtainest the mastery, thou livest, thou art strong, thou increasest, thou art mighty, thou destroyest by thy decree all thy enemies who do wrong to P-āa, life, strength,

15. "health! with all evil spears (?), every man, every woman, every damned person, every beatified person whatsoever, all the easterns of all foreign lands, and all the enemies of P-āa in death and in life. I have destroyed and made of none effect what thou hast vomited, and thou art fallen, O Apepi. Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi. Four Times. P-āa, life, strength, health! triumphs over

16. "his enemies. Four Times."

This chapter is to be said over a figure of Apepi, inscribed upon new papyrus with green ink, and placed inside a covering upon which his name is written. It must be tied around tightly and put into the fire every day; thou must

17. stamp upon and defile it with thy left foot, and thou shalt spit upon it four times during the course of each day, and when thou placest it in the fire thou shalt say four times, 'Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, Horus triumphs over his enemies, and P-āa, life, strength and health! triumphs over his enemies.' Next thou shalt

18. write down the names of all the male and female devils of which thy heart is afraid, the names of all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death and in life, and the names of their father, mother, and children inside the covering, together with a wax figure of Apepi. These shall then be placed

19. in the fire in the name of Apepi and shall be burnt when Rā rises in the morning; this shalt thou repeat at noon and at evening when Rā sets in the land of life, while there is light at the foot of the mountain. Over each figure of Apepi shalt thou recite the above chapter, in very truth, for the doing of this is of great effect upon earth and in the Nether-world.[a]

Column XXIX.

7. "Rā fetters the two hands and arms and feet of Aker that they may not exist, and he is fastened to one place while Rā inflicts upon him the blows which are

8. "decreed for him. He is thrown over upon his accursed back, his face is gashed because of the

[a] For lines 20—27, col. xxviii., and lines 1—6, col. xxix., see above, col. xxvi., lines 22—24, and col. xxvii., lines 1—5.

evil which he has done, and that accursed form of his remains prostrate. The children of Horus are overthrowing him, they drive away his soul from his body and his shade, and the sages who are in the boat, and the tears of my eye

9. "desire to proceed among them. The disasters of Apepi are decreed, may he never make his courses in this land according to his will! He is annihilated, and his soul is annihilated; those who are in the south overthrow it, those who are in the

10. "north overthrow it, those who are in the west overthrow it, those who are in the east overthrow it. The sages who are in this land, and the cycle of the gods who sprang into existence from the body [of Rā] are watching to overthrow Apepi.

11. "His soul is accursed, his name is destroyed, he is overthrown by your two arms, and his name is caused to be dissipated. May children never exist for him, and may his place of habitation, his soul, his body and his intelligence never more exist. He is given over to the eye of Rā, and it obtains the mastery over him and consumes him. I am decreed to rise up to destroy him, to overthrow his

12. "name, and to make his words of power of none effect. I have decreed them to the flame, I have decreed them to the fire, I have given them over to the eye of Ra, the eye that will consume and devour his soul, his

13. "intelligence, his body, his shade, and his words of power; may he never have sexual pleasure or emission from his body for ever."

This is to be said over a wax figure of Apepi upon which his name has been written with green ink, and over a figure of Apepi inscribed

14. upon new papyrus. Thou shalt also make in wax figures of every enemy of P-āa, in death and in life, and thou shalt write their names upon them in green ink; then shalt thou tie them up inside wrappers, spit upon them, trample upon and defile them with thy left foot, make gashes in them with a knife and throw them into a fire

15. of *χessau* grass, and quench it with the urine of a crocodile. Also, thou shalt paint the names of Apepi and of every enemy of P-āa, in life and in death, upon a slab (?) on the ground and thou shalt trample upon it and defile it

16. with thy left foot, as if it were in very truth an actual person. This figure will know (?) Rā and his evolutions, and will make him to triumph over his enemies.

This book is a mystery [to be said] in the chamber, let no eye see it. The "Secret book of overthrowing Apepi" and the "Book of words of power" are its names.

17. "Apepi is destroyed, his fiends are cut off, Rā triumphs over his enemies, and the divine boats are made to advance in peace. Apepi is made to retreat to the fire, he is made to advance to the divine block of execution, that filth (*i.e.*, Apepi)

18. "is beaten into nothing in very truth, repulsed and made to turn back are his soul, his body, his intelligence, his shade, his children, his kinsfolk, his family, his relatives, his heirs, his hair, his belongings, his evolutions, his body, his

19. "egg, his name, his substance, his arms, his legs, his speech, his words of power, his strength, his seat, his cavern, his tomb, and his two accursed hands; he is overthrown, and his ear is taken off from him. O Rā, thy *sekti* boat

20. advances, and the knife which is in it is made to gain the mastery over him in the presence of Rā every day. When Rā hears this book recited his heart is fortified, his boat is made to advance in peace, and Apepi in his every name is destroyed. "Adoration to the god who causes his strength

21. "to come into existence, the writing is tied up, Nekau and Kettu are cut in pieces, and the god rejoices in coming into existence," says Isis.
Rā, who makes the Fiend to retreat, who blinds his two eyes from covering up the height of heaven, in very truth, who drives darts into his soul as well

22. as into his body, who turns back his bones and places them in the fire, who makes him drive his teeth into his own body, says, "He is given over into the hand of the executioners of Rā, he is made to retreat."
To be recited:—
"Back thou Apepi, thou thing upon which Rā treads! Back thou claw of strife,

23. "thou enemy, thou legless and armless Fiend, whose children are destroyed in coming forth within thy cavern, thou thing upon which Rā treads and which he has turned back. I know the evil which thou hast wrought. Thy head

24. "shall be cut off, thy slaughter shall be consummated, thou shalt not lift up thy face against the great god, let there be fire upon thy face, let there be flame upon thy soul, may the mighty block of execution destroy thy flesh, mayest thou smell the slaughter of the great god! The goddess Serqet curses thee and turns

25. "thee back. O thou that didst twice attempt to come in, twice wast thou overthrown by this word of power which came forth from my mouth. Thou art given over to the flame and it destroys thee; thou art cast down into the fire by the eye of Horus upon thy face. Thou art fallen upon thy face and thy soul is overthrown. The eye of Rā obtains

26. "the mastery over thee. Thou art fallen, thou art fallen, thou art driven back, thou art driven back; O legless and armless serpent, fall down upon thy face. Duration of life shall not be to thee, for thou shall go into the fiery brazier, and the Great God, the self-produced, shall

27. "overthrow thee; those who are in his boat shall destroy thee with the might of their utterance and with the words of power which come forth from their bellies. Thou art thrown upon thy back and thy throat is cut open. The executioners of Sechet are for slaying thee,

Column XXX.

1. "their mouths are buried in thy flesh, they stab thee, letting thy blood fall on the fire, they cut open thy head with a knife, and the mighty god removes thy ears. Retreat, retreat, go back, go back, thou art overthrown, thou

2. "art destroyed, thy footsteps are removed, for the great god carries away thy legs. Rā comes forth and Horus the mighty rises up; they curse thee and Rā triumphs over thee. Thou art spit upon, O thou enemy, Rā slays thee,

3. "vomit thou over thyself. Thou art fallen, thou art come to an end and thy two eyes are

blocked up (?); Rā utters words of power to fetter thee. That which cometh into existence from thee has come to an end, thy belongings are destroyed, they body and shade are made an end of, and thy words of power are made of none effect.

4. "Rā takes away thy life from thee, and the moisture of thy mouth and thy breath shall never more exist. Thou art thrown down, thou art made an end of, the god lays hold of thee with fettering irons, thou art decreed for a mighty slaughter, thy fiends are destroyed, thou art without hands and feet, and thou hast no strength of heart in

5. "its place. Thou art cut in pieces and hacked asunder. Retreat, retreat, go back, for the dagger of Horus comes forth against thee. The chain of Sut is thrown over thy head, Rā himself destroys thee, thy voice is broken and thy cries

6. "cannot be heard. O, thou art destroyed, and made an end of; may that which cometh into existence from thee never rise up. Thou art given over to the eye of Horus and it obtains mastery over thee in the course of every day. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, Rā and Atmu destroy thee, they turn thee back

7. "by the might of their utterances. Thou hearest my words of power, and thou diest according to what Rā commanded should be done unto thee. O enemy of Rā, I know what thou doest. Come, get thee back in thy accursed turn, thou art fallen at thy evil moment. Rā blocks thy way and curses

8. "thee, and the great cycle of the gods judges Apepi, the enemy of Rā. Thou art cast down and overthrown, and thou art seized by irons at that moment. Thou art given over to the knife, and together with those knives which are in the boat of Rā, it obtains the mastery over thee. Thou art given over to

9. "the fire, and it obtains the mastery over thee in the course of every day. Thou art given over to the block, and Isis overthrows thee with her words of power. Thou art given over to the eye of Horus, and Usert Ubti[a] consumes thy soul. Thou art given over to Horus, into the two hands

10. "of the mighty god, and he comes against thee having his dagger in his hand. Thou art given over to Sut, the son of Nut, and he severs thy vertebrae and cuts into thy neck, and he fetters thee with that victorious chain of his which is in his hands. Thou art given over to the eye of Rā, and the burning fiery eye

11. "of Horus bites into thy carcase. Thou art given over to the rowers and sailors of Rā, and they set thy head down on the ground. Thou art given over to Horus, dwelling in invisibility, which is in Sechem, and art cut to pieces by his knife.

12. "Thou art given over to the keepers of the secret pylons, their flames come forth against thee and devour thee, and mighty dread rests upon thy body, O enemy of Rā; thou shalt never advance nor pass on, thou shalt never [again] come

13. "into existence, and there shall never rise up and come forth to thee a soul from among those who are in the Nether-world. Thou art given over to the flame of the utterance [of Rā], and the hawk of Horus comes forth against thee from among those who are in the East. Thou art given over

[a] *I.e.*, "mighty flame."

14. "to the words of power which are in him, those who are in their shrines accomplish their purposes against thee, and they slay thee again and again. Thou art given over to the fire of the God which is on the altar of the eater of limbs (?) in the cavern of the rowers of Rā
15. "at the block of Thoth. Each god receives his weapon(?), and their hearts are satisfied in performing thy slaughter. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, get thee back, retreat, down with thy head, even to the dust! Thy ears are destroyed, thy eyes are blinded, and there is an end to thee. Mayest thou and thy form and
16. "thy attribute never more exist, mayest thou never come to Rā in his two heavens. Rā is in heaven and he triumphs over thee. May thy tail be placed in thine own mouth, mayest thou bite into thine own skin, and
17. "mayest thou be hacked in pieces upon the altar of the gods of the great cycle in Heliopolis! thou art cast down and overthrown, and they make thee to fall. Disasters and flames come forth against thee out of the fire, out of the midst of the fire they cry out to thee, they set their faces against thee
18. "from out of their flames, they hack at thee with knives of flint, they burn thee in thy windings, they destroy thee with the knives which are in their hands, the children of Horus destroy thee, their words of power enter into thee,
19. "their powers turn against thee, thou art accursed upon the water (?), and thou art accursed in all the deeds which thou didst perform in that evil hour. Make no attempt upon the *sekti* boat of the gods, get thee back,
20. "Fiend, thy soul is destroyed, thou art cut asunder, thou art driven back from the divine bark, thou art accursed, thou art driven back, the eye of Rā devours thee. Get thee back, Fiend, an end to thee; Horus has
21. ". . . . . in thee. O broken Apepi, Rā has obtained the mastery over his enemy. The eye of Rā devours thee in its name of "Devourer," it gnaws into thee and consumes thee by the magical words of the utterances
22. "[of Horus and Rā], the flames smite thee and thou diest through them, they cast thee down, they repulse thee and they obtain the mastery over thee! Thou vomitest, there is an end to thee, thou art turned back, and the great cycle of the gods in Heliopolis cuts thee in pieces; the mighty ones who multiply
23. "the deadly spark of the flame fetter thee with hooks. Thou art given over to the flames of those who are in its name [of . . . .], it (*i. e.* the spark) makes an end of thee, and meets thee in thy accursed exit. There is fire against thee, it bites into thy flesh, it makes an end to thee with
24. "flame which burns up thy soul, and it consumes thy bones and thy flesh. The eye of Horus and the eye of Rā work against thee, and Sut drives his lance into thee. The deadly lion, the soul of Bast, the
25. "lady of slaughter, is against thee, and he reposes on thy blood. Let there be fire upon all thy ways! The goddess Pechit, blazing with fire, the mighty lady of slaughter, the mistress of the spark, works evil against thee, she removes thy flesh, she does harm to thy soul, and she burns thee

26. "up with flame. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, the cycle of the great gods who are in their shrines in front of the boat of Rā consumes thee that thou mayest nevermore exist. Mayest thou never be avenged, mayest thou lie down prostrate and nevermore be roused up! Rā has overthrown thee for ever, thou shalt never be stationed in

Column XXXI.

1. "heaven, thou shalt never exist upon earth. Thou shalt be a victim to that great knife, and thou shalt be slaughtered again and again. Fall down, then, by the knife of the god, a net is thrown over thy head, the spear is in
2. "thy stomach, and the darts of Rā are driven into thy form. Thou art overthrown at thy evil moment, thou art burnt up at the moment of Horus. The god comes forth against the Fiend, Apepi is overthrown. Thy face, Apepi, is on the block
3. "at that place where Rā spits, thou art destroyed by it for ever. Mayest thou never have sexual pleasure or emission from thy body, may thy male offspring never exist, may thy egg never grow! The gods that come forth from the eye of
4. "Horus shall cut thee in pieces and thou shalt pass away. Thou art fallen and Rā-Harmachis overthrows thee, he comes against thee with the dagger in his hand, he makes a successful design against thee, and thou becomest non-existent. An end to thee, then, Apepi, enemy of Rā! Four times.

   Mayest thou never come into existence! May thy soul never exist, may thy *ka*
5. "never exist, may thy body never exist, mayest thou never exist! May thy limbs never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy arms never exist, may thy limbs never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy bones never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy words of power never exist, mayest thou never exist, mayest
6. "thou never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy form never exist. Mayest thou never exist, may thy attributes never exist; mayest thou never exist, may that which springs from thee never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy hair never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy possessions never exist; mayest
7. "thou never exist, may thy emission never exist; mayest thou never exist, may the material of thy body never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy seat never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy tomb never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy cavern never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy funeral chamber never exist;
8. "mayest thou never exist, may thy paths never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy seasons never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy words never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy entrance never come to pass; mayest thou never exist, may thy journeyings never exist; mayest thou never exist,
9. "may thy advances never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy coming never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy sitting never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy growing never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy body never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy prosperity never exist!
10. "Thou art smitten, Apepi, enemy of Rā, thou shalt die, thou shalt die. Thou shalt perish,

thy name shall perish, thy teeth shall become powerless, thy . . . . . shall pass away, thou shalt be blind and shalt not see. Fall down

11. "upon thy face! Thou art overthrown, overthrown, destroyed, destroyed, made an end of, made an end of, hacked in pieces, hacked in pieces, slaughtered, slaughtered, cut to pieces, cut to pieces, chopped asunder, chopped asunder, butchered, butchered. Thy head is cut off by that knife in the presence of Rā daily. Aker thee to judgment dooms,

12. "and he turns back Apepi's bones. Retreat thou, for Rā Harmachis overthrows thee. Thou art given over to the god who brings destruction upon thee. He says,

"The daggers of Horus are driven into thy head, and they cut it off from thy neck; thy soul is overthrown, thy shade shall never exist, thou art destroyed

13. "at the divine block. Thy head is cut off and thou art thrown down upon thy back; get thee back, O fiend, enemy of Rā. Thou art cut to pieces at thy accursed exit. The eye of Horus eats thee and bites into thee, its heart is satisfied

14. "when its fire and its flame are directed against thee. Get thee back, Apepi, with that accursed foot of thine! The cycle of the gods lift up their faces against thee, and they spit their flame into thy eye. There is fire against thee, a deadly

15. "fire, which masters thee, and burns thee away, and consumes thee. Thou art given over to the flame which is in its mouth, it cuts thee in pieces; Rā turns back thy eyes, and Horus blinds thee from his boat; the flame obtains mastery over thy throat and it performs thy slaughter. There is a knife in thee, and it

16. "destroys thy limbs. Thou shalt never come to the boat of the great god, for Rā himself turns thee back. Thou art at the block and thy face is laid upon it. The gods who are in the shrine of Rā overthrow thee, and the shrine overthrows

17. "thee; thou art walled up, and thy two ears are removed."

Isis overthrows thee with her words of power, she smashes thy mouth, she removes thy ears, she will never give Rā over to thee, for ever, for ever

18. "and for ever. That spear of Rā turns back into thy limbs, be silent, be stabbed, die, live not! Isis and Nephthys overthrow thee, and together they turn back thy crocodile; get thee gone, retreat, be blind, perish, be destroyed thy

19. "soul, live not, for ever and ever. Thy opportunity departs, and the flame of fire which is in thy body takes away thy strength. There is fire upon thee, it grips thy body, and burns thy bones, when thou comest forth it burns thy

20. "soul and gnaws thy body. Thou art seized by the mighty fire which flames against thy limbs, and then returnest to thy block.

Rā makes Thoth to slay thee with his words of power. Thou shalt never come to the

21. "boat of Rā, for Rā himself turns thee back. He knows all the evil which thou hast done. "The flame of those who are in the south is against thee, and masters thee," says divine Sothis Anqet, decreeing what is to be done to thee. "The flame of those who are in the north is against thee and masters

22. "thee," says Uatit, lady of Pe and Tep, decreeing what is to be done to thee. "The flame of those who are in the west is against thee and masters thee," says Kesun, lord of those in

the west, decreeing what is to be done unto thee. "The flame of those who are in the east is against thee and masters thee," says Sept, lord of those

23. "who are in the east, decreeing what is to be done to thee. Mayest thou never exist in any place in which thou art. Behold thou, the flame masters thee. Thou art given over to the flame of the eye of Rā, it decrees its flame against thee in its name of

24. "Uatit, it eats into thee in its name of "Eater," it obtains the mastery over thee in its name of "Sechet," and it flames against thee in its name of "Flame." Die thou by the flame of fire, be there blindness to thee! The eye of Horus obtains the

25. "mastery over thee, it removes thy two hands, it carries away thy two feet, and decrees thy disasters. Rā says, "Let evil arise to thee." Horus says, "Let slaughter be made of thee, be thou spit upon, fettered, and overthrown!

26. "May thy soul be carried away from thy shade, may thy head be fettered, *otherwise said*, may thy head be cut off, may thy bones be smashed, may thy flesh be torn from thy limbs, may thy soul be turned back from thy shade, and thy body be brought to nought: and mayest thou nevermore exist! Thou art seized

27. "by the fire, tortured and turned back." The might of the uraei of Rā overthrows thee, the fire of their mouths chews thee up. Thou art given over to the fire, it blazes in thee, it sparkles in thee, it destroys

Columns XXXII.

1. "thy soul at the divine block; the great cycle of the gods rages at thee by reason of that work which thy two hands have wrought. Amen in his Apts enfeebles

2. "thee, and drives his horn into thy neck. Isis says, "It is decreed that thy ways shall be stopped." Her son Horus shuts up thy name. Tefnut says, "The water is turned away from thee, and thou art seized when thou comest forth from it." Shu drives his spear into thee, saying, "Be thou drowned, and never come forth, O Apepi, enemy of Rā."

3. "Be thou spit upon, Apepi. Four times. Be spit upon O every enemy of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death in life."

THE BOOK OF OVERTHROWING APEPI.

To be recited:—

4. "O Rā, O Atmu, O Chepera, O Shu, O Tefnut, O Seb, O Nut, O Osiris, O Horus, O Isis, O Nephthys, O Shu, O Tefnut, O Hu, O Sau, O Osiris, lord of Kakam (Cochome), O Hiku, the genius of Rā, the deceased P-āa comes to you,

5. "he casts fire against Apepi, he carries off the . . . . . of the Fiend, he gives joy to the boat of millions of years. The hearts of the rowers of Rā are in exultation within his shrine, the souls of the gods rest in his horizon,

6. "the gods who are in it give to him adorations. Rā is at the head of Het-Mesq, Horus comes forth upon his station.

"Rā triumphs over his enemies. Four times.

"P-āa triumphs over his enemies. Four times."

ANOTHER BOOK OF OVERTHROWING APEPI.

"O every man, woman, dead person, and unborn person whatsoever who would

7. "do harm to P-āa, O ye gods who would do violence to him, may he be in your sight like a great god, lord of heaven! May all his tongues cry out to Nebau when he travels over the two heavens and earth with fulness

8. "of breezes, when Rā destroys his enemies! May he be a messenger to Heliopolis to propitiate the heart of Atmu and his Powers, and to put Northern and Southern

9. "Heliopolis in delight! May he be in your sight like the golden *abtu* fish under the boat of Rā! He terrifies all the enemies of Rā, he gives power to the heart of Horus; he crushes the enemies of Rā, he gives joy in the heart of Horus; he

10. "sets the rudder in the boat of the great heart of Rā reposing in its shrine: he destroys all fiends. The *māāt* boat is in strength of heart, the *sektet* boat is in peace, *otherwise said*, in fair winds. The goddess Heset is united to her lord in exultation. Rā is protecting him, Rā is

11. "protecting the soul of P-āa, Rā protects him, protects him against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person whomsoever. Rā will shut every mouth which would speak any evil thing against P-āa. He will make thy face

12. "blind and he will watch carefully any person who would do any evil or wicked thing to him. Rā opens the mouth of P-āa life, strength, health! against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person whatsoever."

This chapter is to be said when Rā is . . . . . in order to make him live long.

Here endeth the book of Neb-er-ter.

13. The Accursed Names of Apepi.

14. Apepi, Fiend, bristling with terror.
15. Apepi, Fiend, Doubly evil One.
16. Apepi, Fiend, with face turned behind.
17. Apepi, Fiend, Roarer.
18. Apepi, Fiend, Evil doer.
19. Apepi, Fiend, Qerner or Qelnel.
20. Apepi, Fiend, Iubani.
21. Apepi, Fiend, Devourer.
22. Apepi, Fiend, Adversary of the world.
23. Apepi, Fiend, Eclipser of the earth.
24. Apepi, Fiend, Chermuti.
25. Apepi, Fiend, Monkey (?).
26. Apepi, Fiend, Tortoise.
27. Apepi, Fiend, Destroyer of the world (?).
28. Apepi, Fiend, Strong-face.

29. Apepi, Fiend, Unti.
30. Apepi, Fiend, Karau-ememti.
31. Apepi, Fiend, Repulsive of face.
32. Apepi, Fiend, Devil of Devils.
33. Apepi, Fiend, Rebel.
34. Apepi, Fiend, Chan-re- . . . . -nāa, *otherwise said*, Cha . . . . . .
35. Apepi, Fiend, Nai.
36. Apepi, Fiend, Am.
37. Apepi, Fiend, Turre-pa (?).
38. Apepi, Fiend, Iuba.
39. Apepi, Fiend, Uai.
40. Apepi, Fiend, Fourfold Charebutu.
41. Apepi, Fiend, Sau.
42. Apepi, Fiend, Beteshu (Inert One).
43. The inscriptions which are to be written upon new papyrus for the coverings [of the wax
44. figures of Apepi and the other fiends] which are to be thrown upon the ground and put in the fire.

Make a figure of a serpent having his tail in his mouth, and a knife stuck in his back,
45. and cast it upon the ground, saying, "Apepi, Fiend, Betet."
46. Make another mystery of words, *i.e.*, make four other figures of the
47. enemies [of Rā] having the faces of . . . . . , fetter them and tie their hands
48. behind them [and call them] "Children of inertness."

Make another serpent with the face of a cat, having a knife stuck in it, [and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Roarer."

49. Make another with the face of a . . . . . , having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Aat-qar-Uaba.
50. Make another with the face of a crocodile, having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Hauna-aru-her-hra."
51. Make another image of the Fiend with the face of a duck, having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Unti."
52. Make another figure with the face of a white cat, tie it up and fetter it and [put] its knife [in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Apepi, the Fiend."
53. Make four other images each having the face of a duck, tie their hands and their feet together, and stick knives in their backs; [let them represent the] "Children of inertness."

A Hymn of Praise to be recited after the foregoing.

1. "Hail father! lord of the gods, mighty one of the great cycle of the gods!
2. Hail thou primeval matter from which the gods were formed, hail creator of men, hail thou evolver of all evolved things which came into existence after thou thyself wast evolved!
3. I am thy son, thy heart in very truth, that strength of heart which comes forth from thy mysterious being, and commemorates their coming into existence from thee with words of power for

4. making thy beautiful virtues which come forth from my mouth to make protection for thee;
   I am perfect with plans.
5. Come, O Rā, look with thy two eyes, and be graciously pleased with what I have done.
   I have overthrown Apepi for thee
6. at his moment, I have destroyed him within his cavern. Horus the two-eyed has his weapon
   to cut off the head of thy enemy. Menhi (*i.e.*, the executioner)
7. has his mighty knife and he cuts off the head of thy fiend: the flame
8. devours him and shoots fire into his soul [as he lies] on his block.
   Thy soul is joyful, thy soul is joyful. Thou sailest along the sky with fair
9. winds. Come, O look thou with thine eye at what I have done with the limbs of Apepi . . .
   the enemy. He is shut up in restraint, his body
10. is destroyed and blotted out from the horizon of Aa-Peqa, and of thy two heavens; thy towns
    are saved and possess stability. Thou art
11. firm, thou art strong, thou growest, thou growest, thou risest, thou risest, thou shinest, thou
    shinest every day.
12. Thou risest in thy boat, thy heart is dilated with joy, thy children fill thy heart.
13. Rā cries out to the Enemy, the serpent whose face is turned behind him, "Away with thee,"
    and utters horrible cries against him when
14. he is at his block; he then turns round and crushes him.
    Hail thou who comest forth from the horizon over all lands with strength of heart, thy
    heart, O Rā, rejoices every day.
15. Apepi the fire has cast down, and the flame has carried away Nekau; the heart of Amen-Rā,
    lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of
16. the Apts, rejoices, for his enemy has fallen beneath him.
    Rā triumphs over Apepi, Rā triumphs over Apepi,
    Rā triumphs over Apepi, Rā triumphs over Apepi.
17. Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
18. Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy."

Here endeth the book.

THE FESTIVAL SONGS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

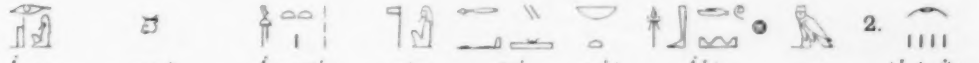
(British Museum Egyptian Papyrus 10188.)

Column I.

1. 

Ḥā *em* *ḥet* *nu* *ḥeb* *t'erti* *àri* *em* *pa*

Beginning of the chapters of the festival of the two Terti, made in the temple of



Ámsar *χent* *Ámentiu* *neter* *āāi* *nebt* *Ábṭu* *em* 2. *àbeṭ fṭu*

Osiris, at the head of the Amentiu, god great, lord of Abydos, in month four



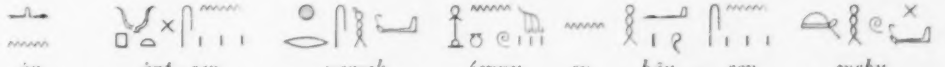
ḥa *ḥru* *t'at-sen* *neferit* *er ḥru* *t'at-sas* *seri* *χertu*

of the sowing, day twenty-two up to day twenty-six. Written with reference to



pa *àu* *t'er - f* *àn* *χertu* *set* *āb* 3. *ḥā*

temple to entirety its, brought with reference to women pure of limbs,



àn *àpt - sen* *χersek* *ḥennu* *en* *ḥāu - sen* *meḫu*

not polluted are they, removed (is) the hair of limbs their, crowned (are)



ṭep - sen *em* *ser* 4. *ner* *em* *āāni - sen*

heads their with ram's wool, [placed are] tambourines in two hands their,

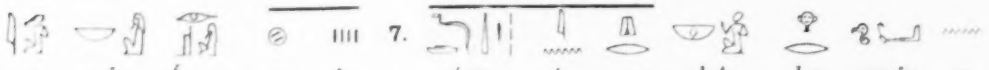
* The words over which a black line is printed are, in the papyrus, written in red.



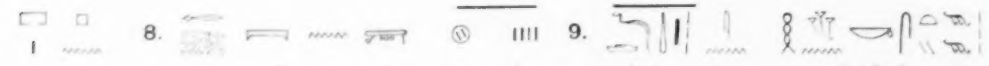
mâtennu *ren - sen* *ḥer* *ermen-sen* *er* *Âuset* *Nebt-ḥet*
inscribed (are) names their upon two arms their 'To Isis and Nephthys.'



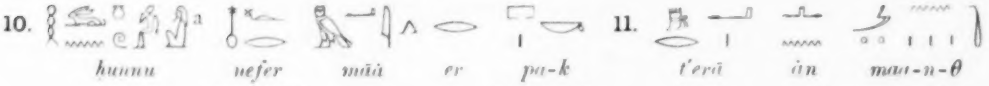
5. *ḥes-sen* *em* *ḥet* *nu* *ḥât* *ten* *emḥeḥ* *neter* *pen* 6. *t'eṭ* *χer* *sen*
chant they in the chapters of book this before god this, is said by them,



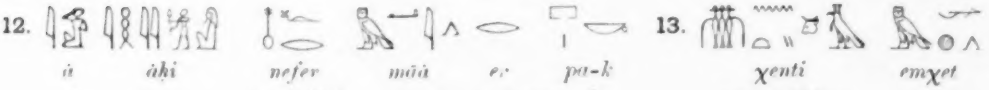
à *neḥ* *Âusar* *sep* *ftu* *t'eṭṭu* *àn* *χer - ḥeb* *ḥer* *nerâu* *en*
'O lord Osiris,' times four. Says the precentor at the front of



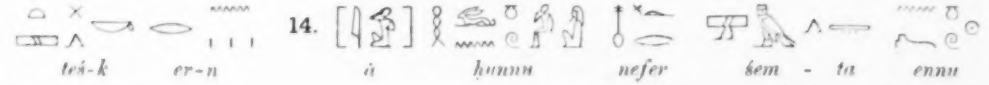
pa *pen* 8. *âa* *ḥer* (?) *en* *ta* *sep* *ftu* *t'eṭṭu* *àn* 9. *ḥenḳsti*
temple this, 'O..... chief of earth' times four. Say the women with flowing hair,



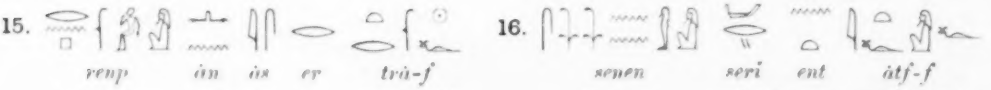
10. *ḥunnu* *nefer* *mâà* *er* *pa-k* 11. *t'erâ* *àn* *mau-n-θ*
"Boy beautiful, come to house thy at once; not see we thee.



12. *à* *âḳi* *nefer* *mâà* *er* *pa-k* 13. *χenti* *emχet*
O boy beautiful, come to house thy, approaching after

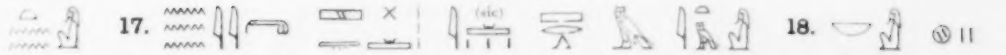


teś-k *er-n* 14. *à* *ḥunnu* *nefer* *śem - ta* *ennu*
departure thy from us. O boy beautiful. piloting the hour,



15. *renp* *àn* *às* *er* *trâ-f* 16. *senen* *seri* *ent* *âtf-f*
increasing except at season his. Image exalted of father his

[a] In this papyrus, after every title of the Sun-god, and the name of everything relating to him, the determinative of divinity, 𓇋, is placed.



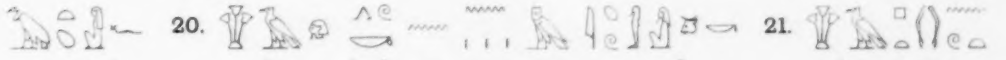
17. *Tanen* *mâi* *śeta* *per* *em* *Âtmu* 18. *neb* *sep sen*

Tanen, essence hidden coming forth from Atmu. The lord, twice,



tennu *su* *er* *àtf-f* 19. *sems* *em* *χat* *en*

how great (is) he more than father his! Eldest from the womb of



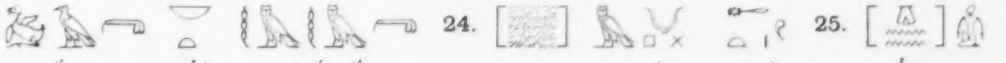
mut-f 20. *ḥa* *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *àru-k* 21. *ḥapt-n-tu*

mother his. Back come thou to us in attribute thy. Embrace will we thee,



àn *ḥeru-k* *er* *n* 22. *nefer* *ḥrà* *ur* *mertu* 23. *senen* *Tanen*

not depart thou from us. beautiful of face, great of love. The image of Tanen,



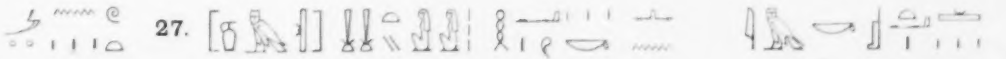
t'a *nebt* *net'emt'em* 24. *em* *àp* *χat* 25. *ḳenen*

the male, lord of love. [child]? opening the womb, feeble (are)



ḳâu-f *em* *ennuḥ-f* 26. *iu-k* *em* *ḥetep* *neb-n*

limbs his in emotion his. Come thou in peace lord our



mwa - n - tu 27. *χnem* *senti* *ḥâu-k* *àn* *àm-k* *àuset-à*

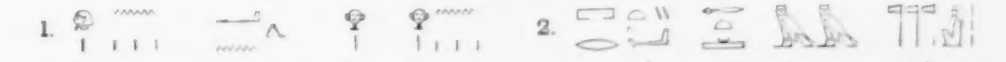
see we thee. Unite the two sisters limbs thy, not (is there) in thee pain,



28. . . . . *ṭu* *mà* *enti* *àn* *χeper-f*

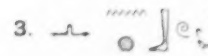
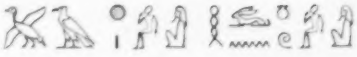
[they destroy] the evil as if never happened had it.

Column II.

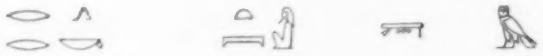


1. *ṭep - n* *àn* *ḥer* *ḥrà-n* 2. *perti* *àat* *emma* *neteru*

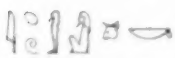
Head our (is) turned back upon face our. Mighty one great among the gods,

3. 
4. 

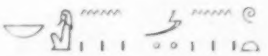
àn neχebu-s mâtennu àri - nek pa χi ḫunnu
not described (is) it the road (which) makest thou, the babe, child


5. 

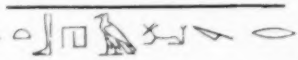
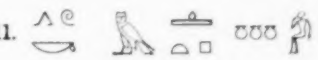
àu trâui àn às rer-k pet ta em
at two seasons ..... Goest round thou heaven and earth in


6. 
7. 

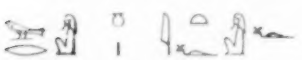
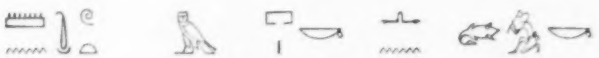
àru-k àn-k em ka ent senti iu-k χi
attribute thy. Art thou like a bull of the two sisters. Come, thou babe,


8. 
9. 

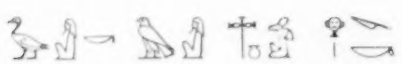
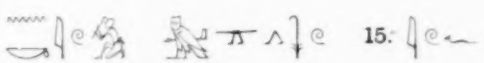
renp em ḥetep neb-n maa-n-tu sam-k àm-n
renewing in setting, lord our, let see us thee. Let phallus thy be among us


10. 
11. 

mâ sam Tebha er nemmat-f iu-k em ḥetep nu
like the phallus of Tebha at (*or* against) block his. Come thou in peace, babe.


12. 

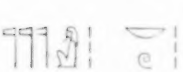
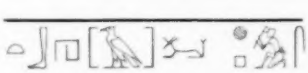
ur nu àtf - f men-tu em pa-k àn sent-k
great one of father his. Established art thou in house thy, not fearest thou.

13. 
14. 
15.

se - k Ḥeru net' - ḥrâ-k nekàu mâs - su àu f
Son thy Horus avenges thee. The devil may carried off be he, may be he

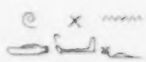

16. 

em χebait-f ent χet hru neb śâṭ ren-f emmâ
in cavern his of flame day every, may be slain name his among


17. 
18. 

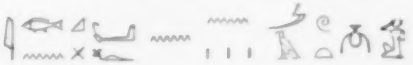
neteru nebu Tebha χep-s âṭi àu-k àn pa-k
the gods all, Tebha may die it finally. Art thou in house thy.





àn *sent-k* 19. *Sut* *em* *ṭu* *nebt* *àri* *nef* 20. *uṭ-nef*

not fearest thou Sut in evil all (that) does he. Has shot him (what)


sehab *Nut* 21. *àuq-f* *en* *n* *maatu* 22. *seḳ* *en* *tu*

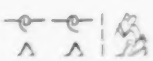
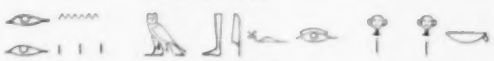
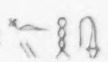
sent forth Nut Embraces he us joyfully travelling on earth




àm-n 23. *à . . . s* *ḥer* *àpt* . . . . . .

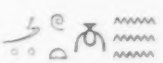
among us, ... to open . . . . . .

Column III.

1. *stastau* 2. *maa-n* *em* *bàf* *ḥer* *ḥrà-k* 3. *uḫḥ*

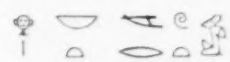
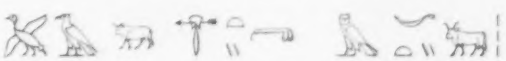
apostates (?) Two eyes our (are) looking upon face thy blazing with





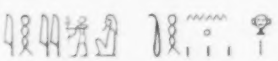
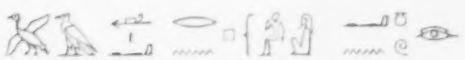
maatu 4. *àhai* *t'er* *àbṭ* *neb-n* *er-n* 5. *pa* *nefer*

radiance. Hail from the left lord our from us. The beautiful


ḥrà *neht* *mertu* 6. *pa* *ka* *sati* *em* *kmit* 7. *maà*

face lord of love. the bull sowing seed in the cows. Come


àḥi *θehen* *ḥrà* 8. *pa* *uà* *renp* *ànnu* *em* *maa-f*

boy saffron face. the ONE increasing, beautiful in two eyes his.

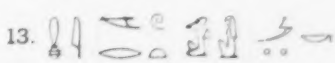




neb *em* *ḥemt* 10. *t'a* *en* *kauit* 11. *pa* *χi* *ḥer* *neferu*

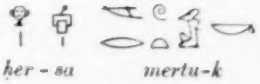
Lord among women. male of the cows. the child chief of beauties.





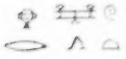
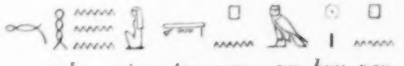
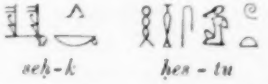
12. *ḥa* *maa-n-tu* *mà* *àru-k* 13. *mà* *mertu* - *à* *maa-k*

Once more let see us thee as well as what belongs to thee. as love I to see thee.

14. 
15. 

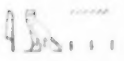
nuk *senāt-k* *Ȧuset* *mertu* *ȧb - k* *ḥer - sa* *mertu-k*

I am sister thy Isis the darling of heart thy, because of love for thee


16. 
17. 

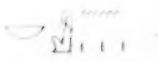
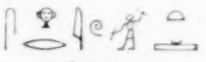
ḥer-tu *meḥ - ȧ* *ta* *pen* *em* *ḥru* *pen* *seḥ-k* *ḥes - tu*

when departest thou. Inundate I earth this on day this. Travellest thou, hymned (art) thou


18. 
19. 

ȧm-n *un-n* *ȧnχ* *em* *ḳa-k* *iu-k* *em* *ḥetep*

by us, springs up to us life out of nothingness thy. Come thou in peace


20. 
21. 

neb-n *maa-n-tu* *ȧ* *ser* *māȧ* *em* *ḥetep* *seḥerȧut*

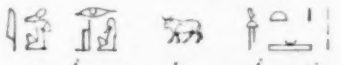
lord our, let see us thee. O prince coming in peace, drive away the


22. 

χet *χent* *ḥet-n* *sam-k* *ȧm-n* *mȧ* *sam*

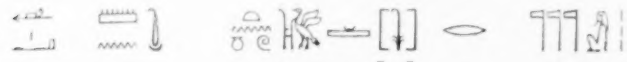
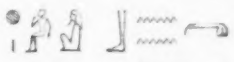
flame which is upon temple our, may phallus thy be among us like the phallus of (Tebha)."

---

23. 
42. 

s-āśt *t'eṭtu* *ȯn* *ḥenksti* *a* *Ȧusar* *ka* *Ȧmentiu*

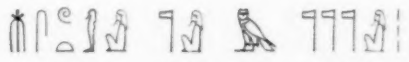
Repetition of words by the women with flowing hair. "O Osiris, bull of the Amentiu,

25. 
26. 

uā *men* *temnu* [*su*] *er* *neteru* *χi* *benen*

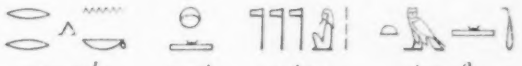
ONE, established, how great is [he] more than the gods! Baby, virile,

Column IV.

1. 
2. 

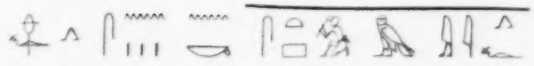
ȧuāā *ur* *en* *Sebu* *mestu* *neter* *em* *neteru*

heir mighty of Seb, born god of gods,

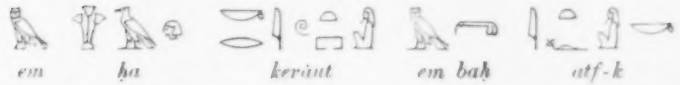
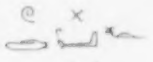
3. 
4. 

iu-k *en* *χart* *rer-nek* *paut* *neteru* *tem-θ*

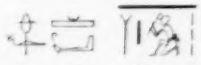
come thou to the two widows. Go round thee the cycle of the gods entire,

5. 
6. 

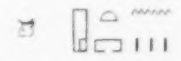
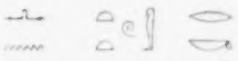
χesef - sen nek Sut em ī-f *aha ren-f*
meet they thee. Sut in coming his cursed (be) cursed name his


7. 

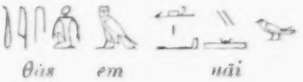
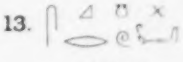
em ḥa kerȧt em baḳ atf-k Rā ut-f
behind the shrine before father thy Rā, [who] darts out


8. 
9. 

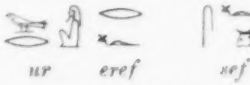
χesef Sebȧu māȧ ṭi en χennu-k χesef mehi
repulsing the fiend. Come, wait relatives thy, drive away sorrow


10. 
11. 

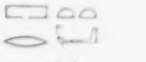
χent ḥet-n māȧ ṭi en χennu-k ȧn tut erek
from temple our, come, wait relatives thy. Not (is there) like unto thee


12. 
13. 

θȧs em nāi neb-u em ḥetep ȧuset-f seqernu
sitting in solitude. Lord our in peace (is) seat his. Victor,


14. 

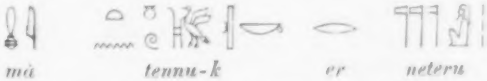
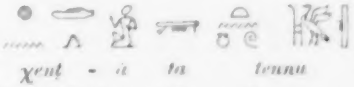
ur eref sef ḥrȧ-f t'er seχennu neḥt ḥer
greater than he [is] long-suffering his, when hovers the Lock upon


15. 
16. 

χerui-f ḥut-f ta em seχeru-f pertet
enemies his. Moulds he the earth according to designs his. Mighty comer forth,


17. 

ȧat emmā neteru paut neteru nek em ḥetep maȧuset
great one among the gods, the cycle of the gods (are) to thee upon shanks (their),

18. 
19. 

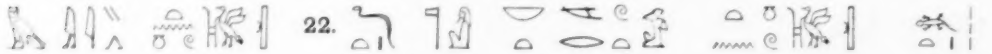
mā tennu-k er neteru χent - ā ta tennu
inasmuch as greater (art) thou than the gods. Tread I the earth, O very



20. 21.

ur enti χat *χut em ṭep-f* *mes-su em baḳ* *àb-f*

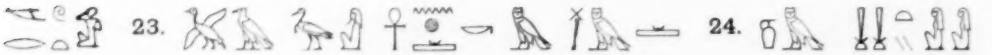
great one of the womb! The crown (is) upon head his, born (is) he before heart his,



22.

em i tennu *t'et neter nebt mertu* *tennu* *āāt*

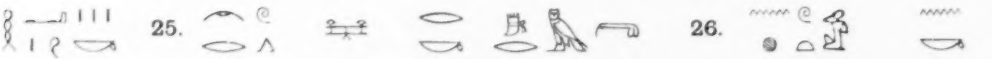
in coming, how great! Body divine, lord of love, how exceedingly manifold



23. 24.

mertu *pa ba ānχ-k em nem* *χnem senti*

of love! O soul livest thou a second time, unite the two sisters



25. 26.

ḥāu-k *speru ṭi erek t'er em-baḳ* *neχtu - nek*

limbs thy, approaching waiting for thee long time. Proclaimed mighty art thou

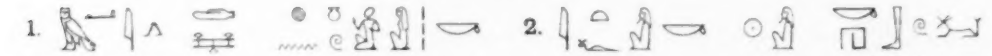


27.

em śen-[k] *mà* ..... *neteru nebt*

in circuit thy, as ..... the gods all.

Column V.



1. 2.

māà ṭi *χennu-k* *àtf-k* *Rā* *kahabu*

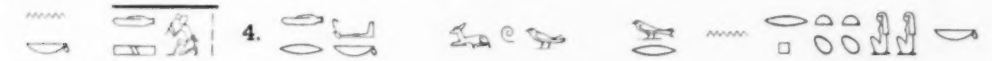
Come wait relatives thy. Father thy Rā butts



3.

àu nebt *rer-nek* *paut* *neteru em śen-k* *χesef-sen*

against the Lock. Go round thee the cycle of the gods in circuit thy, repulse they



4.

nek *Ṭèṣu* *ṭer-k* *āu* *ur en* *erpetet-k*

for thee the fiends. Remove thou the unpleasantness great of images thy.



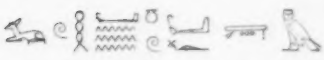
5.

pa-k em ḥeb ṭu àu nemmat-f *Sebàu em ṭu em*

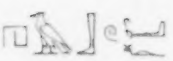
Temple thy (is) in festival, the evil one (is) at block his, the fiend (is) in evil case by what



ârî-nef
done has he.

6. 

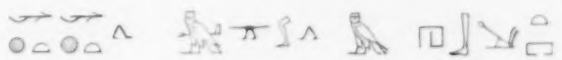
âuḥenu-f *ta* *em* *seχeru-f* *qesn*
Drowns he the earth with schemes his empty.

7. 

habu-f
Drives off him



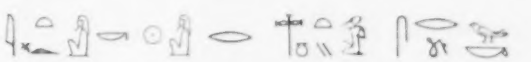
Nut *er* *se-taiu*
Nut from Setaiu,

8. 

χetχet *mâs* *em* *hebt*
turning back bringing into the storehouse,

9. 

mâs *er* *nemmat* *Sebâu*
bringing to the block Sebâu.

10. 

âtf-k *Râ* *er* *net'* *ser-k*
Father thy Râ (is) for avenging constraint thy,

11. 

se-k *Ḥeru* *er* *uśeḥt* *ḥer-k*
son thy Horus (is) for answering for thee.

12. 

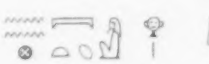
seḥ-k *ta* *mâtet*
Traversest thou earth as



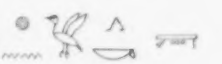
χeper-k
turnest thou,

13. 

nemmetau-k
stridest thou



Nut *ḥer* *âṯ-s*
Nut over four quarters its.

14. 

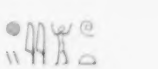
χen-k *ta*
Restest thou on earth



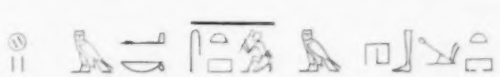
ḥer *neterui* *het-ât*
upon the divine dwellings,

15. 

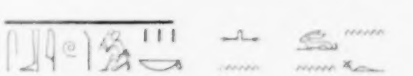
reḥti *ḥer* *rer* *nek*
the two *reḥti* are for going round thee.

16. 

χi-tu
Exalted (art) thou,



sep sen *mâk* *Sut* *em* *hebt*
twice, verily Sut is in the storehouse.

17. 

Sebâu-k *ân* *un-nef*
Sebâu thy not may rise up he.

18. 

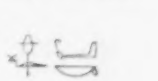
iu-k *er* *pa-k* *Âusar* *âuset-k* *ḥeḥ* *maa-k*
Come thou to house thy Osiris, seat thy (is) seeking to see thee.

19. 

setem-k
Hearest thou



semâu *ent* *Ḥeru* *ḥer* *ââiu* *mut-f* *Âuset*
the report of Horus at the two hands of mother his Isis.

20. 

χesef-k
Keepest off thou



erṭāt em tauí neb āb t'et-k sesep-f àm pa
placed in lands all what comes against body thy, receives he what is in the house



ḳāt-k 21. *neter āā ḥetem-tu em àru-k* 22. *em ḥeru*
of books thy. O god, great, shut up art thou in attributes thy, not go away



er pa-k Áusar 23. *iu-k em ḥetep er àuset-k nebt neràu*
from house thy Osiris. Come thou in peace to place thy every, victorious one



ànnu em χeperu-f 24. *pa ka ur nebt nt'emt'em*
beautiful in becoming his, the bull, great, lord of love.



25. *apt-k senà-k Áuset* 26. *χersek sati àri*
Duck thy (is) sister thy Isis removing the impurity which (is)



àm-k 27. *ḥapt-s-tu àn ḥeru-k er-n neb-n*
in thee. Embraces she thee, not depart thou from us lord our.

Column VI.



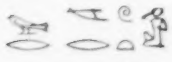
1. *Ṭā-k ànχ em ḥāt em śeb* (?) 2. *àhai χau-k*
Gavest thou life from the beginning . . . . . Hail, protectest thou



meḥ em sept Ṭes 3. *ṭu mà enti àn χeper-f*
(what) flows from the nome of Aphroditopolis, evil as if never became it.

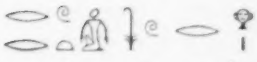


4. *iu-nek senàt-k χersek-s ḥāu-k* 5. *neter āā ànχ*
Comes to thee sister thy, cleanses she limbs thy. God, great, living one,



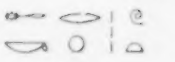
ur mertu

great of love,

6. 

rertu su er ḥer en ḥetep ǵemā meḥit

dandled (is) he in the presence of Qemā Mehit

7. 

χaker-tu

Decorated art thou



nebt χakeru

the lord of decorated things,

8. 

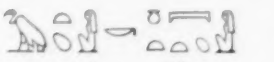
t'a ur ḥer neferu

male, mighty one, chief of beauties.

9. 

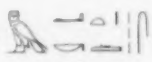
iu-k en

Comes to thee



mut-k Nut peś-s ḥer-k em iu-k nes

mother thy Nut, spreads out she herself over thee in coming thy to her.

10. 

māket-s

Protects she



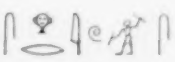
ḥāu-k er ṭu nebt

limbs thy against evil all,

11. 

śem-s ten (sic) *em χennu-s*

advances she ..... within her,

12. 

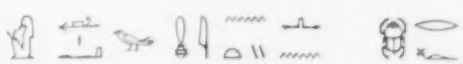
seḫerāu-s

drives away she



ṭu nebt āri ḥāu-k

evil all which is in limbs thy,

13. 

āri uā mā enti ān

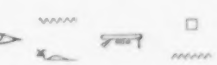
the guardian solitary, as if never had happened it,

χeper-f

14. 

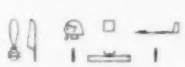
set χⁱ neb per em Nut

clothing the baby, the lord, coming forth from Nut.

15. 

āri nef ta pen

Makes he land this



mā ḥetep-ā

as in olden time,

16. 

neb χⁱ per em kaut ten āuur en

the lord, the baby, coming forth from womb this, heir, mighty one of



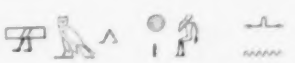
neteru

the gods,

17. 

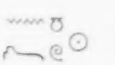
āp Ámentet er trā-f

opener of Amenti at season his.

18. 

ās śem χⁱ ān

Behold, advances the baby not



ennu

seeing.

19. 

ātf - k Rā er net' ḥrā - k

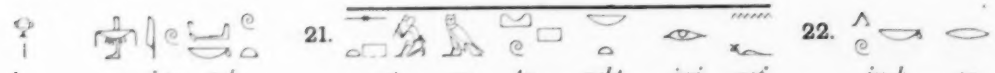
Father thy Rā is for avenging thee,

20. 

se - k Ḥeru

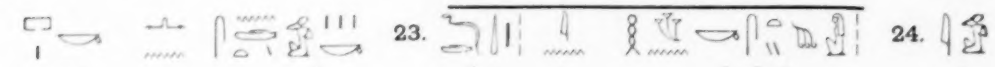
son thy Horus is

(2)•



ḥer nubàu - tuk 21. *sut em ṭu nebt àri nef* 22. *iu-k er*

for protecting thee (against) Sut in evil all (which) done has he. Come thou to



pa-k àn senṭ - k 23. *t'eṭtu àn ḥenksti* 24. *à*

house thy without fear thou." Say the women with flowing hair: "O



àḳi nefer màà er pa-k 25. *qa sep sen sa-k er*

boy, beautiful, come to house thy. Exalted twice, let side thy be to



pa-k àu neteru ḥer àuset - sen 26. *nuk set χut en*

house thy, towards the gods upon seat their. I am a person the defender of



senà-s ḥemt-k senà en mut-k 28.

brother her, wife thy, the sister of mother thy,

Column VII.



1. *iu-k nà em χ'χ* 2. *t'er-àb maa ḥrà-k àu sa àn maa-à*

come thou to me running. Firm of heart, let be seen face thy, because (?) not see I



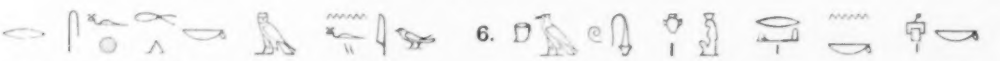
ḥrà-k sam-tu uat en - n em ḥrà-à àu Rā em pet

face thy. Make clear thou the way for us before face my to Rā in heaven.



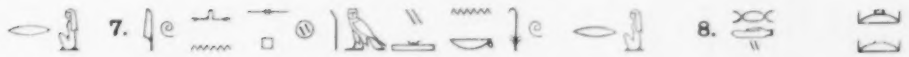
4. *sam pet ta àri χebit em ta màn* 5. *tau àb - à*

Unites heaven (with) earth making shade on the earth daily. Burns heart my



er sefeχ-k em nefiù 6. *tau àb-à erṭā - nek sa-k*

at escape thy from the evil one. Burns heart my, give thou side thy



er-à *àu* *àn* *sep* *qem* *nek* *su* *er-à* *āṭi* *àat*

to me, for not ever remove thou it from me. Making firm the two domains



tenemem *uat* *àu-à* *ḥeḥ* *en* *mertu* *maa-k* *un-à*

turning back the roads, am I seeking of love to see thee. Am I



em *nut* *āat* *nehat - s* *meḥt - à* *en* *mertu-k*

in the town mighty (are) fortifications its. Overcome am I by love thy



er-à *māà* *em* *uā* *em* *ḥeru* *māk* *se-k*

for me, come alone do not depart. Verily son thy (is)



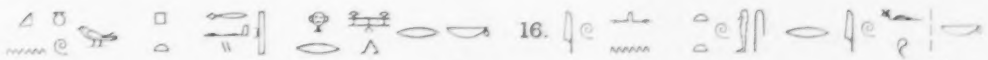
er *seχetχet* *Tebha* *er* *nemmat* *àmen - uà* *em*

for repulsing Tebha at the block. Concealed have I myself in



bàa *er* *sehapu* *se-k* *er* *uśebt-k* *ḥer* *sep*

the bushes to hide son thy for answering thee, for the time



qennu *pu* *āāi* *ḥer* *er-k* *àu* *àn* *tut-s* *er* *àuf - k*

of distress to wit great departing from thee. Is not gathering she for limbs thy?



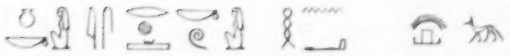
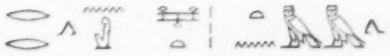
ḥem-à *em* *uā* *rer-à* *em* *bàa* *àu* *tennu* *em*

Advance I alone, go round I among the bushes. Is a very great



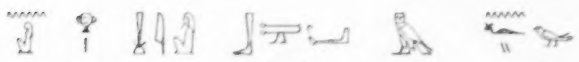
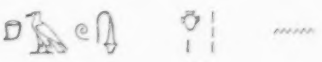
at *er* *se - k* *set* *em* *ḥràu* *àu* *t'a* *pu*

crocodile after son thy, a female with faces(?) against the male to wit.

20. 
21. 

nuk ȧs reχ-kuȧ ḥnā Ȧnpu rer-nȧ uat tenemem

I but know I in conjunction with Anubis. Go round I the ways, turn back


22. 

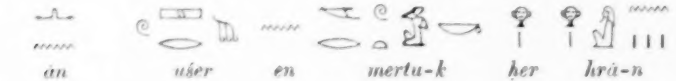
nȧ ḥer senȧ bati em nefi tau ȧbu en

I after brother [my] leaping from the evil one. Burning (are) the hearts of


23. 
24. 

ḥefnu ḥrȧu maut ȧȧi em neteru bef - n neb

myriads of faces. Splendour great among the gods, may see (?) we the lord.

25. 
26. 

ȧn uśer en mertu-k ḥer ḥrȧ-n pa sam

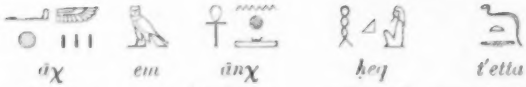
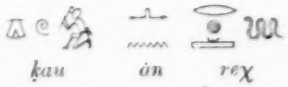
Not may there be lack of love thy upon faces our, the phallus,


27. 

nebt net'emt'em net nebt ḥeḥ

lord of love, king, lord of eternity.

Column VIII.

1. 
2. 

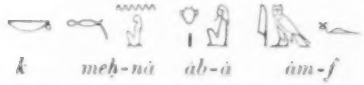
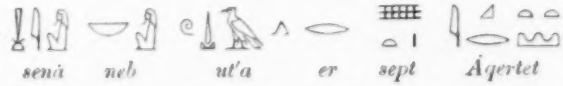
ȧχ em ȧnχ ḥeq t'etta ḳau ȧn reχ

flying as he lives, ruler of everlasting, destroyer of Ȧn-reχ

3. 

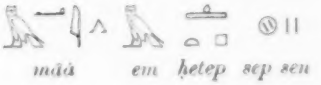
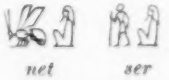
suten net neb ut'a er Tasertet ȧu ȧn sep-

king of north and south, the lord going forth from Tasertet. May there never be a time


4. 

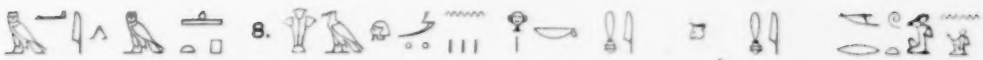
k meḥ-nȧ ȧb-ȧ ȧm-f senȧ neb ut'a er sept Ȧqertet

to thee fill I heart my with it. Brother, lord, going forth from the nome of Aqertet.

5. 
6. 
7. 

in-k nȧ em ȧrn - k māȧ em ḥetep sep sen net ser

Come thou to me in attribute thy, come in peace twice. King, great one,



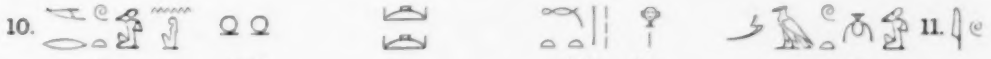
māā em ḥetep 8. *ḥa maa-n ḥrū-k mā χent mā mertu - nà*

come in peace. Again may see we face thy as before according as love I



maa-k 9. *āāui-à ḳa er χau - tuk mertu - nà*

to see thee. Two hands my (are) exalted to protect thee, love I,



10. *mertu - nà ḥenti àat meḥtiu ḥer maatu* 11. *àn*

love I the circuits of the two regions, the northern ones (are) in recollection. Is



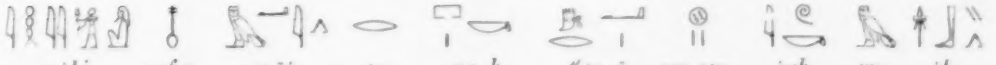
sebep - nek ṭep art àm sen 12. *χemu-k em ānti*

received by thee a head of hair (?) from them, breezes thy (are) of incense.



13. *hai senà nebt mertu iu-k em ḥetep er àuset-k* 14. *à*

Husband, brother, lord of love, come thou in peace to seat thy. O



àḥi nefer māā er pa-k t'er-ā sep sen àuk em àb

boy, beautiful, come to house thy at once, twice. Art thou coming.



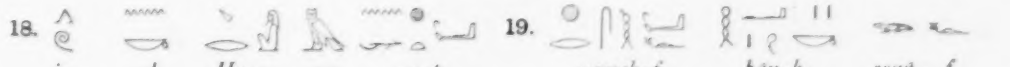
15. *ḥeta χet-k em ka Àmentiu* 16. *àuset ḥeta àuf-k χent*

Secret (are) things thy as bull of the Amentiu, place of secrecy (is) flesh thy in



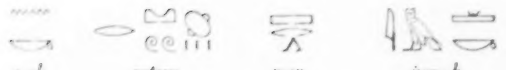
pa ḥennu 17. *hai em ren-k en ḥeq t'etta*

the house of Ḥennu. Hail in name thy of prince of eternity.



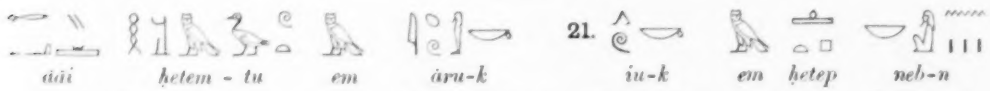
18. *iu - nek Ḥeru em neχt* 19. *χerṯek-f ḥāu-k seqā - f*

Comes to thee Horus with strength, delivers he limbs thy, collects he



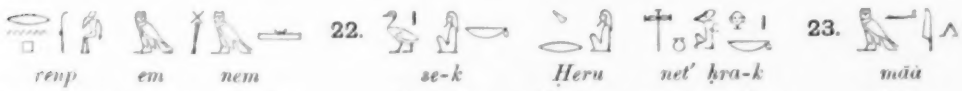
nek *erṭuu* *per* *ám-k* 20. *áb* *t'et-k* *neter*

for thee emanations coming forth from thee. Approaches body thy the god



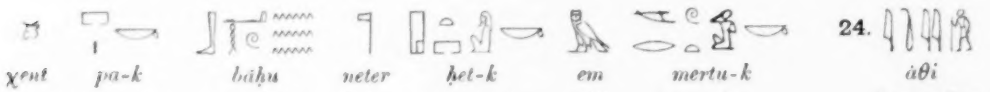
áái *ḥetem - tu* *em* *áru-k* 21. *iu-k* *em* *ḥetep* *neb-n*

great. O closed up thou in attribute thy. Come thou in peace lord our



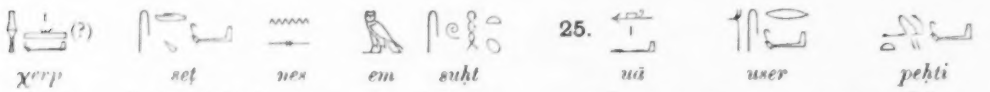
renp *em* *nem* 22. *se-k* *Ḥeru* *net' ḥra-k* 23. *máá*

rejuvenescent a second time. Son thy Horus avenges thee. Come



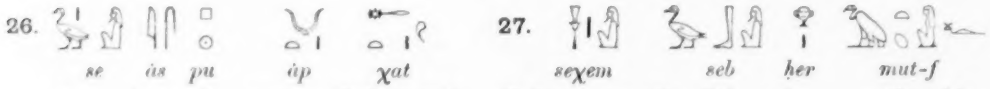
χent *pa-k* *báḥu* *neter* *ḥet-k* *em* *mertu-k* 24. *áθi*

to house thy, inundate divine house thy with love thy. Sovereign,



χerp *set* *nes* *em* *suḫt* 25. *uá* *user* *peḥti*

chief. distinguished was it in the egg, only one, strong one, powerful one,



se *ás* *pu* *áp* *χat* 27. *seχem* *seb* *ḥer* *mut-f*

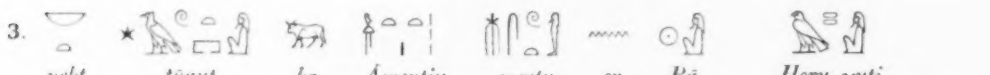
son, in sooth, opener of the womb, divine power of Seb by mother his.

Column IX.



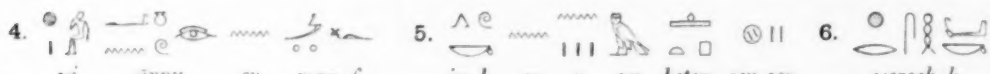
χaker *áái* *mertu* *ári* *er* *Ámentiu* *qennu-f* *aṭi*

Decorated one, great of love, working for the Amentiu, overthows he disaster.



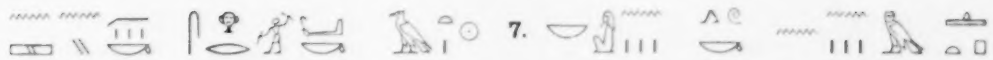
neḥt *ṭúaut* *ka* *Ámentiu* *mestu* *en* *Rá* *Ḥeru-χuti*

Lord of the underworld, bull of the Amentiu, image of Rā and Horus of the double horizon.



χi *ánnu* *en* *maa-f* *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *ḥetep* *sep sen* *χersek-k*

Baby, beautiful in sight his, come thou to us in peace, twice. Repellest thou



7.

neseni-k *seḫer-k* *at* *neb-n* *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *ḥetep*

disasters thy, drivest away thou hap. Lord our, come thou to us in peace



8. 9.

sep sen *hai* *renp* *māā* *em* *ḥetep* *hai* *senà*

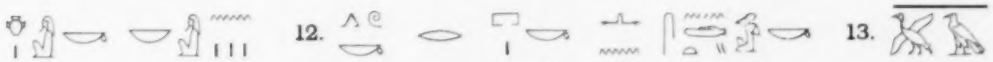
twice. Hail, rejuvenescent, come in peace. Hail brother,



10. 11.

māā *maa-tu-à* *net* *ḥeq* *t'etta* *em* *urtu* *em* *urtu*

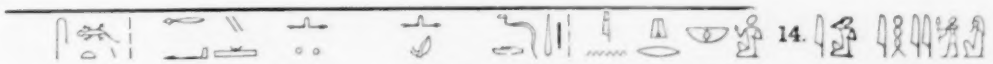
come, let see thee me, king, prince of eternity. Not let stop, not let stop



12. 13.

àb-k *neb-n* *iu-k* *er* *pa-k* *àn* *senṭti-k* *pa*

heart thy lord our. Come thou to house thy not fear thou, O



14.

s-āšt *āā* *àn maa* *àn setem* *t'eṭtu* *àn* *χer-ḥeb* *à* *àḥi*

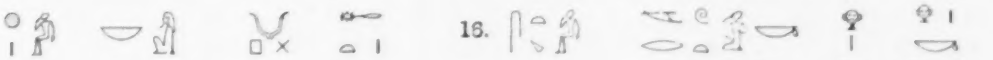
multiplying one, great, not seeing, not hearing. Says the precentor, "O boy,



15.

neferi *māā* *er* *pa-k* *paut* *neteru* *ḥer* *ḥeḥ* *er* *maa-k*

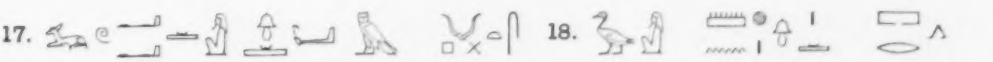
beautiful, come to house thy, the cycle of the gods (are) seeking to see thee.



16.

χi *neb* *àp* *χat* *set* *mertu-k* *ḥer* *ḥrà-k*

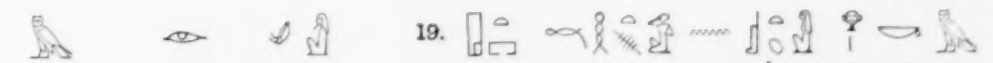
Child, lord, opener of the womb, baby, beloved (art) thou for face thy,



17. 18.

àuāā *menχet* *em* *àpt-s* *se* *menχet* *per*

heir perfect, in opening it. Son perfect, coming forth



19.

em *maa* *setem* *ḥet* *meḥt* *en* *Áuset* *ḥer-k* *em*

from the god of hearing and seeing. O house, grieves Isis over thee, not



20.

ḥeru er âuset-k nehem ṭep-sen en mertu-k
go away from place thy. May be delivered head their by love thy,



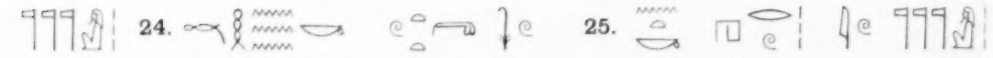
21. 22.

âkebu - sen nek em âar mâs ṭep Un-nefer
lament they for thee tying up the curls of the head. Un-nefer,



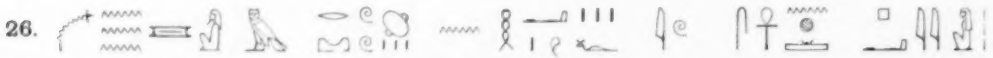
23.

nebt t'efau ser ur em śefi-f neter ḥer
lord of food, chief, mighty by terrors his, god, president



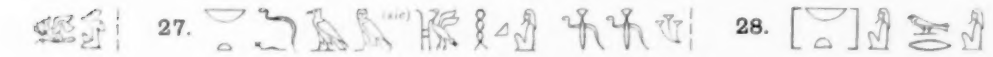
24. 25.

neteru meḥ-k utet su entek heru âu neteru
of the gods; inundatest thou, engendered are they. Art thou gentler than the gods.



26.

. . . . . *em erṭuu en ḫâu-f âu seânχ pâi*
The liquid of the emanations of limbs his (is) for making live the dead



27. 28.

reχiu nebt t'efau ḥeq nat'nat' nebt ur
and the living. Lord of food, prince of vegetables, the lord, great,



χet en ânχ ṭâṭâ ḥetepu neteru
staff of life giving offerings (to) the gods and

Column X.



1. 2.

per χeru en χu Seśeta nebt nemmât
sepulchral meals to the beatified dead. Seśeta lord of the couch,



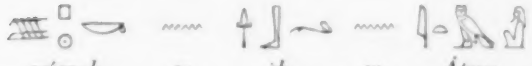
3. 4.

nebt ut'au seśeta em χut seśep er trâ-f
lord of the eyes hidden in the horizon, shining at time his.

5. 

uben *er* *ennu-f* *entek* *χu* *āper* *mau*

rising at period his. Thou art χu provided with splendour.

7. 

8. 

seśep-k *en* *àb* *en* *Átmu* *maa-k* *em* *ànset* *Rā*

Shinest thou at the left hand of Átmu, lookest thou from the seat of Rā

9. 

10. 

sam *maaui - tuf* *sāḥu - k* *āpi* *ba-k*

collecting splendours his (in) form thy. Flies soul thy

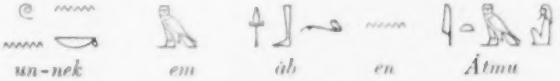


11. 

emχet *Rā* *pesṯ-k* *em* *ṭūau* *ḥetep-k* *em* *māṣer*

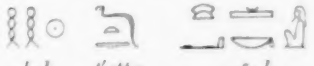
after Rā, shinest thou at dawn, settest thou at twilight.

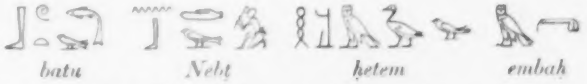
12. 

13. 

ḥru *neb* *pu* *un-nek* *un-nek* *em* *àb* *en* *Átmu*

day every to wit risest thou. Risest(?) thou from the left hand of Átmu

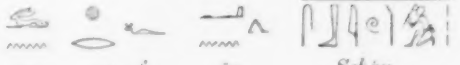


14. 

ḥeḥ *t'etta* *χā-k* *batu* *Nebṯ* *ḥetem* *embaḥ*

for ever and ever, risest thou. Accursed (is the) Lock, destroyed before

15. 

16. 

āpi-tuf *ḥer-baḥ* *qennu-f* *un* *χer-f* *ān* *Sebāu*

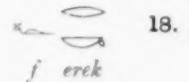
doom his, before failure his, is he turning back Sebau



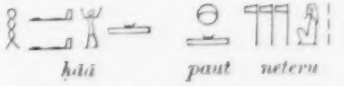
17. 

neken *tui* *i* *er - f* *Ámseḥti* *āuāā -*

attacker that coming against him. Ámseḥti heir

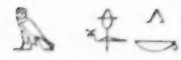


18. 

19. 

f *erek* *suaś* *- f* *neteru* *nebt* *ḥāā* *paut* *neteru*

is he to thee. Worship him gods all, rejoices the cycle of the gods



em *χesef-k*
in meeting thee.

20. 

urśu-k *χer* *Rā* *hru* *neb*
Occupation thy (is) with Rā day every,

21. 

tut *maa-k*
steadily lookest thou



em *ābt*
from the left,

22. 

tut *maa-k* *en* *ānχiu*
steadily lookest thou at the living.

23. 

entek *χu*
Thou art *χu*,



ātennu *en* *Rā*
the vicar of Rā,

24. 

iu *nek* *paut* *neteru* *temθ*
comes to thee the cycle of the gods all

25. 

ḥer
at



ṭep-k *ḥen* *em* *ḥrā-k*
head thy invoking at face thy.

26. 

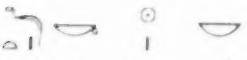
peḥ *nesert - s* *er* *χeft-k*
Reaches flame its (*sic*) unto enemies thy.

27. 

ḥāā *erek* *en* *n* *ānq* - *nek* *qesu-k*
Rejoicing therefore (is) to us (when) collected hast thou bones thy,

28. 

āpi-tu
reckoned up (is)



t'et-k *hru* *neb*
body thy day every.

Column XI.

1. 

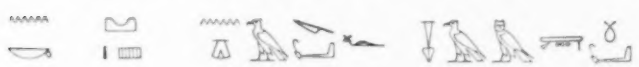
āq - k *mā* *Átmu* *er* *ennu - f* *ān* *ḫephep*
Enterest thou like Átmu at hour his, without turning,

2. 

t'art - nek *āaχeχ-k*
strengthened (are) for thee bones thy.

3. 

āp uat *āba - f*
Ap-uat presents he



nek *ṭu* *neḳa - f* *sam-ta*
to thee a mountain, hews out he a burial place.

4. 

iu-nek *nebt*
Comes to thee the lord of



Tasertet 5. *in-nek* *sentiti* 6. *seχem* *nek* *en-n* *mani*

Tasert, come to thee the two sisters. Obtained hast thou for us splendours,



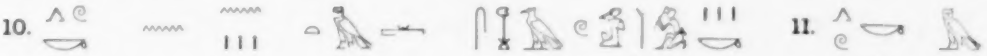
7. *tut-sen* *ḥâu-k* *nek* *em* *kemtu* 8. *ḥeḳ* *er*

collect they limbs thy for thee from the mutilations, seeking to



ennu *χa-k* 9. *enen* *âu* *ḥer-sen* *seχent-k* *er* *ḫennu-n*

put together body thy. Those impurities (which are) upon them set thou upon hair our,



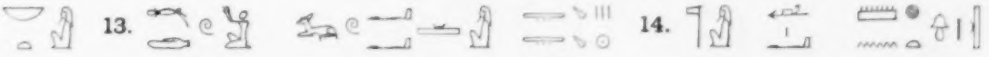
10. *iu-k* *en-n* *tem* *seχau-k* 11. *iu-k* *em*

come thou to us without unpleasant recollection thy. Come thou in



âru-k *ḥer* *ḥetep* *ta* 12. *ruâa* *tenten-k* *ḥetep-k* *en-n*

attribute thy as prince of the earth, lay aside impetuosity thy, rest thou upon us



nebt 13. *ḳenu* *ânâā* *tani* 14. *neter* *uā* *menχet*

O lord. Be proclaimed heir of the two earths, god, only one, completing



seχeru *en* *neteru* 15. *ḥen-nek* *neteru* *nebu* 16. *iu-k* *âu*

the designs of the gods. Invoke thee the gods all, come thou to



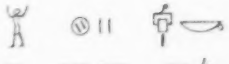
pa-k *ân* *senṯ-k* 17. *mertu-tu* *Rā* *mertu-tu* *erpati-k*

house thy, not fear thou. Beloved art thou Rā, beloved art thou of Likenesses thy.



18. *ḥetep-tu* *em* *âuset-k* *t'etta* 19. *t'eṯtu* *ân* *ḥenḳsti*

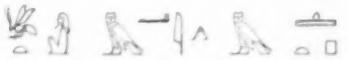
Restest thou on seat thy for ever." Say the women with flowing hair,

20. 
21. 

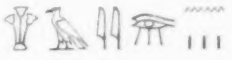
à *àḥi* *nefer* *màà* *er* *pa-k* *qa* *sep sen* *su-k*
O boy, beautiful, come to house thy, exalted, twice, back thy


22. 

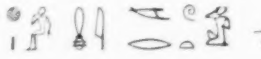
er *pa-k* *àu* *neteru* *ḥer* *àuset-sen* *ḥai* *màà* *em* *ḥetep*
(is) to house thy. Are the gods upon seat their. Hail, come in peace,

23. 
24. 

net *màà* *em* *ḥetep* *se-k* *Ḥeru* *er* *net'* *ḥrà-k*
king, come in peace. Son thy Horus (is) for avenging thee.

25. 
26. 

tà-k *àu* *ur* *er* *erpati-k* *ḥai-n*
Give thou unpleasantness great to two Likenesses thy. Weep we

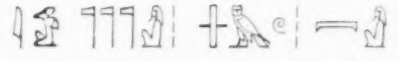

27. 
28. 

ḥer-k *em* *χentàu-k* *χi* *mà* *mertu* *maa-k* *màà*
for thee at sepulchres thy. Baby how lovely to see thee! Come,

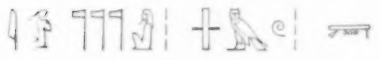


màà *en-n* *ur* *χau-k* *mertu-n*
come to us great one, protect thou love our.

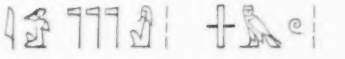
Column XII.

1. 
2. 

iu-k *er* *pa-k* *àn* *senṭti-k* *à* *neteru* *àmu* *pet*
Come thou to house thy, not fear thou. O gods in heaven,

3. 
4. 

à *neteru* *àmu* *ta* *à* *neteru* *àmu* *ṭuaut*
O gods on earth, O gods in the underworld,

5. 
6. 

à *neteru* *àmu* . . . . . *à* *neteru* *àmu*
O gods in the watery deep, O gods who are among



śexu . . . . . *śex-n* *χer* *neḥt* *neḥt* *mertu* 8. *senà*

the followers of the deep, follow we after the lord, the lord of love. O Brother,



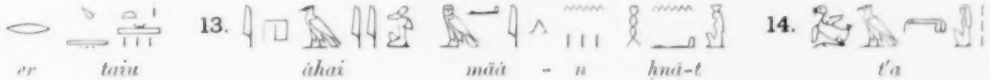
[*sam*] *neb* *net'emt'em* *âhai* *mâà* *nà* (sic) *sam*

phallus, lord of love, hail! come to me, uniting



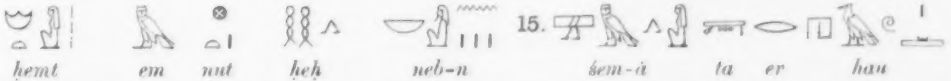
pet *er* *ta* *χeper* *χebit* *em* *ta* *mâu* *ḥab* *pet*

heaven to the earth, becoming shadow on the earth daily. Messenger of heaven



er *taiu* *âhai* *mâà* - *n* *ḫnà-t* *t'a*

to earth, hail, come we with thee (?), the impregnator



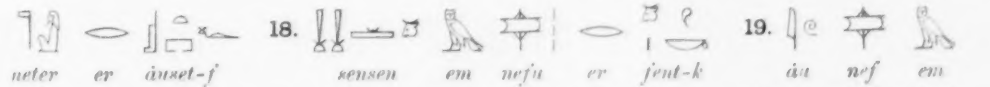
ḥemt *em* *nut* *ḥeḥ* *neb-n* *śem-à* *ta* *er* *hau*

of the women in the town (who) seek lord our. Traverse I the earth towards



neb-n *mâà* - *nà* *ḥab* *pet* *er* *taiu* *erṭâ* *iu*

lord our. Come to me messenger of heaven to the earth. Is given to come



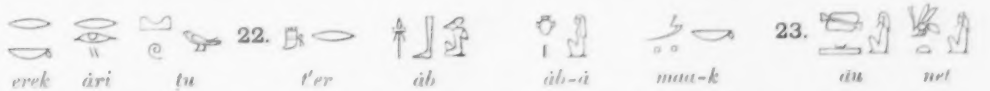
neter *er* *âuset-f* *sensen* *em* *nefu* *er* *fent-k* *âu* *nef* *em*

the god to seat his. Is breathing of winds to nose thy. Is the wind with the



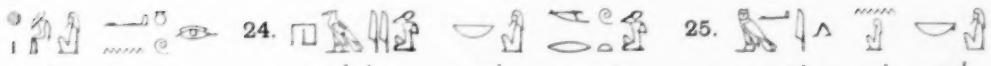
neḥt *em* *ḥet* - *ât-f* *hai* *Rā* *net'* *su* *ân* *bu-k*

lord in palace his. Hail, Rā avenged is he. (are) not disasters thy



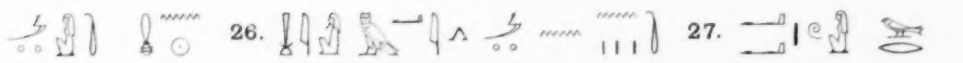
erek *âri* *ṭu* *t'er* *âb* *âb-à* *mau-k* *âu* *net*

to thee making evil. The limit of the desire of heart my is to see thee, heir, king,



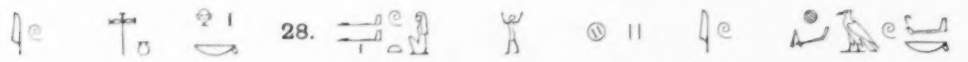
χⁱ *ânnu* 24. *hai* *neb* *mertu* 25. *mâà* - *nà* *neb*

babe, beautiful! Hail, lord of love, come to me, O lord,



maa-à-θ *mân* 26. *senà* *mâà* *maa* - *en* - *n* *θ* 27. *âûui-à* *ur*

may see I thee daily! Brother, come, may see we thee! Two hands my mighty



ân *net'* *ḥrà-k* 28. *âûni-à* *qa* *sep sen* *ân* *χau-k*

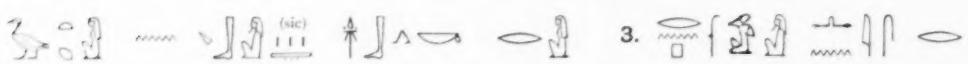
(are) for avenging thee, two hands my exalted, twice, (are) for protecting thee,

Column XIII.



1. *t'a* *nebt* *neχen* *χⁱ* *ân* *net'* *neb-n* 2. *nuk*

male, lord, babe, child, to avenge lord our. I am



set *en* *Seb* (sic) *âb-k* *er-à* 3. *renp* *ânâs* *er*

the daughter of Seb [not] depart thou from me, increasing except at



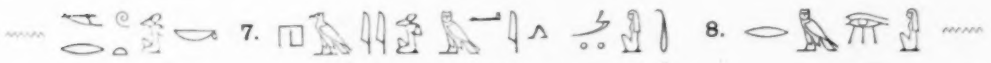
trà-f 4. *ḫem-à* *uat* *t'er* *iu* *mertu-k* *er-à*

time his. Traverse I the ways because comes love thy to me.



5. *χenmu-à* *ta* *ân* *urṭu-à* *em* *ḥeḥ-k* 6. *âu* *nebât* *er-à*

Fly over I earth, not rest I from seeking thee. Is a flame to me



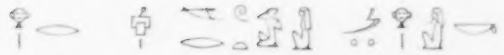
en *mertu-k* 7. *hai* *mâà* *maa-à-θ* 8. *rem-à* *en*

of love thy. Hail, come let see me thee. Weep I at



nâ-k *iu-k* *nà* *em* *χeχ* *t'er* *âb-à* *en* *maa-k*

loneliness thy. Come thou to me in haste for the limit of desire my is to see thee,

10. 

ḥer - sa mertu-â maa ḥrâ-k

in consequence of desire my to see face thy.

11. 

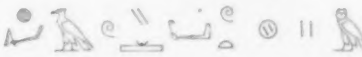
âhai hen er

Hail, invocation at the



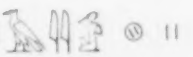
re ḥet-k

door of temple thy.

12. 

χuau - tu sep sen em ḥetep

Protected art thou, twice, in peace.

13. 

hai sep sen

Hail, twice,



in neb-n er pa-f

comes lord our to house his.

14. 

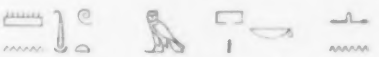
ââui sen sau ḥa ḥet-f

Two hands their (are) protectors behind temple his.

15. 

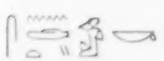
in neb-n em ḥetep ḥer âuset-f

Comes lord our in peace upon seat his.

16. 

men-tu em pa-k ân

Established (art) thou in house thy, not



sentti-k

fearest thou.

17. 

â qa-θ sep sen neb - n

O exalted (art) thou, twice, lord our.

18. 

em ka

Do not cry,



ḥer neter âti

departing god great.

19. 

iu-k em ḥetep mâât

Come thou in peace veritable.

20. 

per-k χer

Comest forth thou to



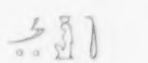
Rā seχem em neteru

Rā victorious among the gods.

21. 

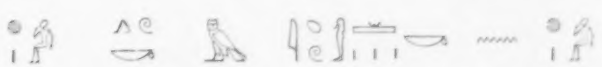
heni mââ em ḥetep

O gracious one come in peace.

22. 

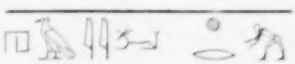
maa-â-θ

May see I thee,



χi iu-k em âru-k en χi

child, come thou in attributes thy of Baby.

23. 

hai χer

Hai falls down.

24. 

âu Heru em ḥeq

Is Horus as a prince,

25. 

âu ur erek ân âri erek

is the great one to thee, not is there work for thee.

26. 

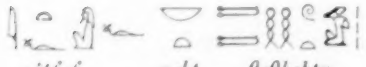
θen-tu *em* *uben* *iu* *senâti*

Exalted (art) thou in circling, come (?) the two sisters.

27. 

pa *mertu*

The beloved of



âtf-f *nebt* *θeθheḥtu*

father his, lord of rejoicings.

28. 

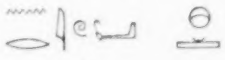
śa - *nek* *âbu* *paut* *neteru*

Delightest thou the hearts of the cycle of the gods;

29. 

âpeś *neter* *ḥet-k* *em* *neferu-k*

illuminating divine house thy with beauties thy.

30. 

nerâu *paut*

Fear the cycle of



neteru *em* *śefi-k*

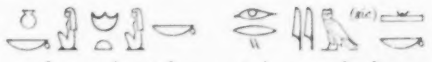
the gods before might thy.

Column XIV.

1. 

ta *setet* *en* *ḥeri-k*

The earth trembles at fear thy.

2. 

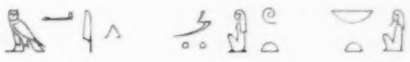
nuk *ḥemt-k* *âri* *iu-k*

I am wife thy making progress (?) thy,

3. 

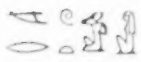
senât *χut* *en* *senâ-s*

the sister protector of brother her,

4. 

mâà *maa-â-tu* *nebt*

come may see I thee lord



mertu-â

of love my.

5. 

qa *sep sen* *ââ* *âru* *mâà* *maa-â-tu*

Exalted twice great of attribute, come may see I thee.

6. 

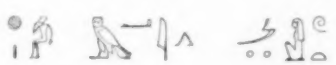
nu

Baby



śem

advancing,



χi *mâà* *maa-â-tu*

child, come, may see I thee.

7. 

rerem-nek *taiu* *taiu*

Weep for thee districts and lands,

8. 

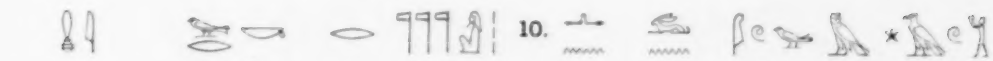
ḥeteb *nek* *âat* *mâ* *entuk* *Seśeta*

lament for thee the zones inasmuch as thou art Seśeta

9. 

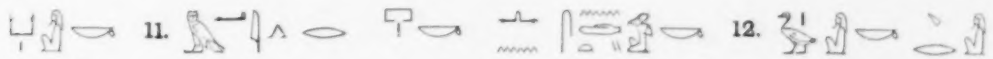
rerem - *nek* *pet* *ta*

Weep for thee heaven and earth



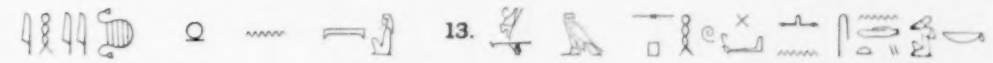
mȧ *ur-k* *er* *neteru* 10. *ȧn* *un* *ḫu* *em* *ṭuau*

inasmuch as greater art thou than the gods. Not is there cessation in glorifying



ka-k 11. *mȧȧ* *er* *pa-k* *ȧn* *senṭti-k* 12. *se-k* *Heru*

ka thy. Come to house thy not fear thou. Son thy Horus



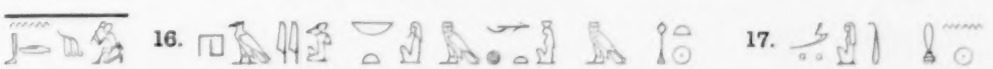
ȧḥi *ḫen* *en* *pet* 13. *seχet* *em* *sepeḥu* *ȧn* *senṭti-k*

embraces the circuit of heaven. Sovereign, repulsing not fear thou.



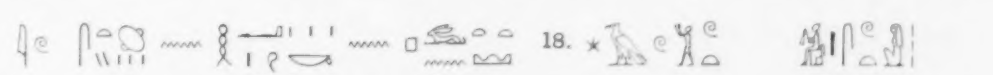
14. *se-k* *Heru* *er* *net'* *ḥrȧ-k* 15. *seχer-f* *nek* *Semi*

Son thy Horus (is) for avenging thee. Overthrows he for thee the *Semi*



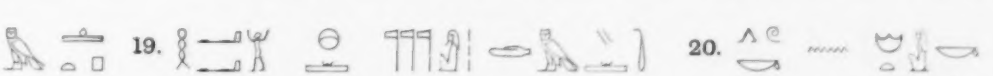
nebṭ 16. *ḥai* *nebt* *emχet-ȧ* *em* *ḥet'* 17. *mau-ȧ-θ* *mȧn*

and the Lock. Hail, lord after me illuminating, let see me thee daily.



ȧu *seti* *en* *ḥȧu-k* *en* *Puntet* 18. *ṭȧau-tu* *ḫeps-tu*

Is the smell of limbs thy of Punt. Adored art thou by the venerable women



em *ḥetep* 19. *ḥȧȧ* *paut* *neteru* *ṭemθ* 20. *iu-k* *en* *ḥemt-k*

in peace. Rejoices the cycle of the gods entire. Come thou to wife thy



em *ḥetep* 21. *apṭ* *ȧb-s* *en* *mertu-k* 22. *ḥept-s-tu* *ȧn*

in peace Flutters heart her at love thy, embraces she thee, not



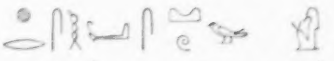
ḥeru-k *er-s* 23. *χenteś* *ȧb-s* *er* *maa-k* *neferu-k*

depart thou from her. Straitened (is) heart her to see thee and beauties thy.

24. 

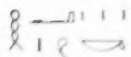
ḥeru - nek - s em pa ḥeta

Finished for thee has she in the house secret,

25. 

χersek-s ṯu ȧri

destroyed has she the evil which is



ḥāu-k

in limbs thy

26. 

ȧuset-ā mȧ enti ȧn χeper-f

and the sickness as if never existed it.

27. 

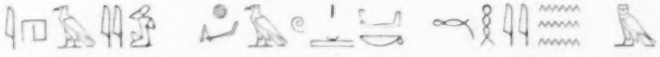
ṭā-k ānχ

Art given thou life



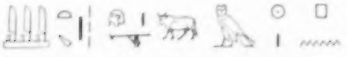
em ḥetep ḥemt

by the best of a wife.

28. 

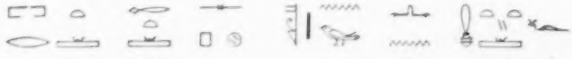
ȧhai χnau-k meḥi em

Hail protectest thou the inundation in the



seχet Ṭep-ȧḥet em ḥru pen

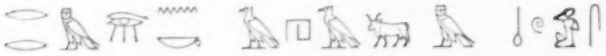
fields of Tepahet on day this,

29. 

pert ȧat sep qesn ȧn mȧtet-f

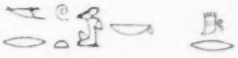
corn much disaster lacking without like its.

Column XV.

1. 

rerem-nek aha em χeru-s

Weeps aloud for thee the cow with voice her,

2. 

mertu-k t'er

love thy (is) the limit of



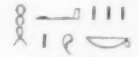
ȧb-s

desire her.

3. 

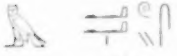
apṭ ȧb-s χent-k eres

Flutters heart her, shut up art thou from her.

4. 

ḥapt-s ḥāu-k

Embraces she limbs thy



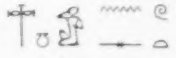
em āāiu-s

with two hands her.

5. 

iu - nek em χeχ ki t'eṭ em ḥetep

coming to thee in haste, otherwise said in peace.

6. 

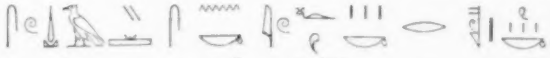
net' - nes - tu

Avenges she thee



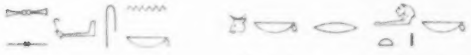
mā ȧri er - ek

on account of what is done to thee.

7. 

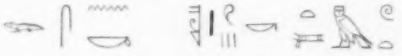
sut'a - s - nek ȧuf-k er qesu-k

Makes healthy she for thee flesh thy upon bones thy.

8. 

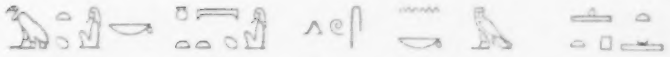
ṭes - s - nek fent-k er ḥāt-k

Attaches she for thee nose thy to face thy.

9. 

seqā - s nek qesu-k tem-tu

Collects she for thee bones thy all.

10. 

mut-k *Nut* *iu-s* *nek* *em* *ḥetepet*

Mother thy Nut comes she to thee with peace offerings.

11. 

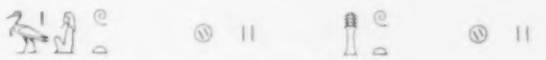
qeṭâu *-s-tu*

Builds up she thee



em *ânχ* *en* *χut-s*

with the life of body her.

12. 

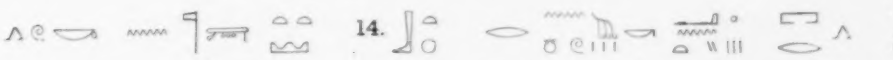
ba-tu *sep sen* *ṭettu* *sep sen*

Endowed with soul art thou, twice, established art thou, twice.

13. 

ba *nek* *sam* *t'a* *nebt* *ḥemt* *beti* *er* *śennu-k* *em*

A soul is to thee, phallus, impregnator, lord of women. (There is) unguent upon hair thy in



iu-k *en* *Neter* *tatet* *beti* *er* *śennu-k* *ânti* *per* *t'esef*

coming thy to the Divine land. The unguent upon hair thy is *ânti* coming forth of itself

15. 

per *mââ* *em* *ḥetep* *sep sen*

O coming one, proceeding in peace, twice!

16. 

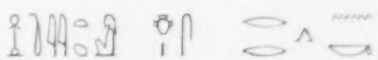
net *âθi* *mâi* *em* *ḥetep*

King, sovereign, come in peace.

17. 

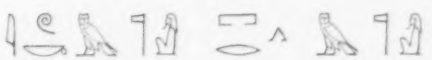
nebt *Sau* *ârâiu-s* *erek*

lord of Sais, two hands her (are) to thee,

18. 

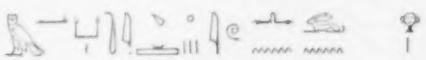
Śenθit *âb-s* *rer* *nek*

Senthit, heart her turns to thee.

19. 

âuk *em* *neter* *per* *em* *neter*

Art thou like a god coming forth like a god

20. 

mâkaθâ *âu* *ân* *un* *ḥrâ*

. . . . . never has been to the face of



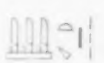
χi-f

baby his.

21. 

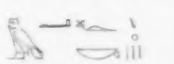
śennu-k *em* *mâfek* *em* *t'et-f* *em* *iu-k* *em*

Hair thy (is) of emerald upon body his (*sic*) in coming thy into



sexet

the fields



mâfek

of emerald.

22. 

śennu-k *em* *χesbet* *nes* *χesbet*

Hair thy (is) of blue appertaining to lapis lazuli,

23.

âs-k

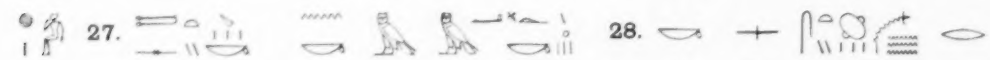
for thou art



24. *χesbet* *àu* *ḥer* *ḥennu-k* *ànememu-k* *ḥāu-k* *nek*
blue above hair thy. Skin thy and limbs thy (are) to thee



25. *em* *bâa* *qemāt* *qesu-k* *nubàu* *em* *ḥet'*
of steel southern. Bones thy (are) moulded of silver,



26. *mà* *nuk* *em*
as I am from

27. *χi* *θesti-k* *nek* *em* *māfek*
a babe. Teeth thy (are) to thee of emerald,

28. *ki* *t'et* *sti* *er*
otherwise said, the unguent from



ḥennu-k *em* *ānti* *per* *t'esef*
hair thy (is) of *ānti* coming forth of itself.

Column XVI.

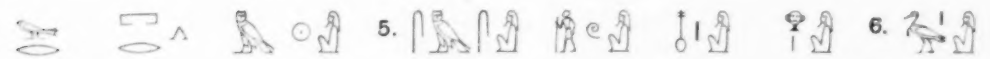


1. *ḥeru* *ṭep-k* *em* *χesbet*
The top of head thy (is) of lapis lazuli.

2. *Seb* *fa - f* *nek* *em*
Seb loaded (is) he for thee with



ḥetepu 3. *seχenti-f* *neter* *per* *em* *fent-f* 4. *āuāā*
peace offerings. Conveys he the god coming forth from nose his. Heir



ur *per* *em* *Rā* 5. *sems* *seru* *nefer* *ḥrà* 6. *ba*
mighty coming forth from Rā. Eldest one, prince, beautiful of face. Soul



ānχ *enti* *Ástennu* 7. *χi* *per* *em* *maa* *setem*
living of Ástennu. Babe coming forth from the god of seeing and hearing.



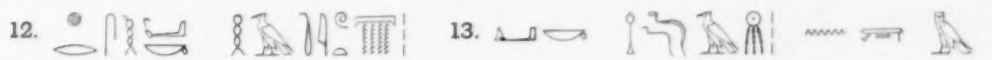
8. *sems* *seru* *àturti* *āu* *en* *Seb* 9. *ṭā-f* *nek*
Eldest one, prince of the two regions, heir of Seb. Gives he to thee



10. *śen nebt en āten māā er pa-k Ausar āp*
circuiting, O lord of the disk. Come to house thy Osiris messenger of



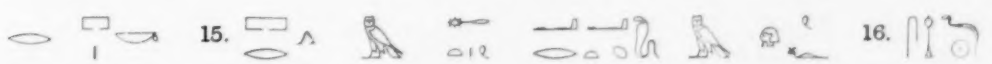
11. *neteru un - nek maa-k maa-k ām-sen*
the gods. Are opened for thee two eyes thy (that) mayest see thou with them.



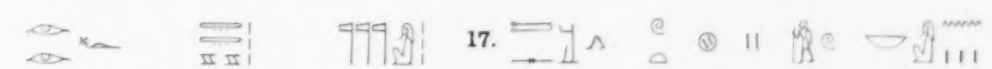
12. *χersek-k ḥaθātu* 13. *ṭā-k ḥet't'au en ta em*
Drivest off thou rain storms, grantest thou to be lightened the earth by the



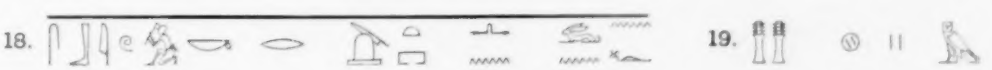
sati ḳerḥ 14. *māā er pa-k Ausar χent Amentiu māā*
radiance of night. Come to house thy Osiris at the head of the Amentiu, come



15. *er pa-k per em χat ārāt em ṭep-f* 16. *seḥet'*
to house thy, coming forth from the belly of the uræus upon head his. Light up



maa-f tain neteru 17. *θes- tu sep sen seru neb-n*
two eyes his the two earths and the gods. Exalted art thou, twice, prince lord our.



18. *sebāu-k er nemmāt ān un-nef* 19. *ṭettet sep sen em*
Sebau thy (is) upon the block, not may rise up he. Established twice in



ren-k Ṭeṭ 20. *ḥāu-k nek Un-nefer ānχ ut'a senb*
name thy Tat. Limbs thy (are) to thee Un-nefer, life, strength, health!



21. *āuf-k nek urṭu - āb* 22. *Ausar nefer tu per*
Flesh thy (is) to thee, O still heart. Osiris, beautiful is that coming forth



àm-k 23. *Ḥu* *pu* *ṯep-re-k* 24. *Tatanen* *àtf-k*

from thee. Hu to wit (is) utterance thy. Tatanen father thy (is)



her *uθes* *pet* *er* *χenṯ-k* *ḥer* *fṯu-s* 26. *āpi*

for bearing up heaven for walking thy over four (quarters) its. Flies



ba-k *em* *àbt* 27. *un-nek* *em* *senen* *en* *Rā*

soul thy on the left hand, risest thou in the image of Rā.



28. *seśep-tu* *àmu* *ṭuaut* *em* *ḥāā* 29. *neḳa-nek*

Receive thee those who are in the underworld with exultation. Opens a passage for thee



Seb *àm-f* 30. *iu-sen* *nek* *em* *ḥetep* 31. *māi - nek*

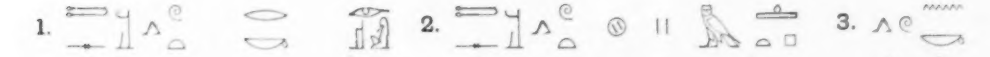
Seb through it. Come they to thee in peace, comest thou



em *ḥetep* *er* *Ṭeṭṭu*

in peace to Tattu.

Column XVII.



1. *θes - tu* *erek* *Ausar* 2. *θes - tu* *sep sen* *em* *ḥetep* 3. *iu-nek*

Exalted art thou therefore Osiris. Exalted art thou, twice, in peace. Comes to thee



Auset *nebt* *χut* *mà* *utet-s* *nā* *sem* *neteru* 4. *àu-s*

Isis lady of the horizon as engendered has she the ONE, the guide of the gods. Is she



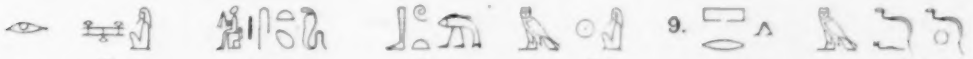
àu *net'ti-k* 5. *àu-s* *àu* *net'* *ḥrà-k* 6. *net'ti-s* *ḥrà* *en* *Ḥeru*

for avenging thee, is she for avenging thee. Avenges she Horus,

7. 
8. 

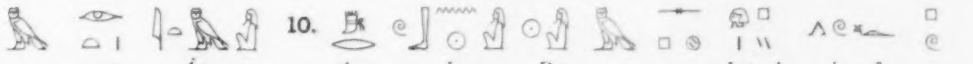
set *ári* *t'a* *en* *átf-s* *Nebert'er* *per* *em*

the woman acting as engenderer of father her, Nebert'er coming forth from



ua *Ḥeru* *śepset* *betu* *em* *Rā* *per* *em* *t'efet'*

the eye of Horus. The venerable one advancing like Rā, coming forth from the pupil



em *mat* *Átmu* *t'er* *uben* *Rā* *em* *sep* *ḥetepi* *iu-f* *pu*

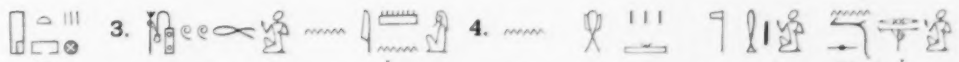
of the eye of Átmu when rose Rā for time first. Gone out has it.

COLOPHON.

1. 
2. 

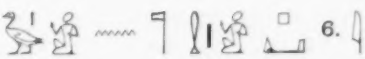
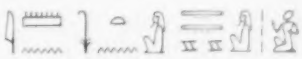
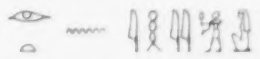
. . . . . *áu* *em* . . . . . *m* . . . . . *u* *neter* *ḥen* *en* *neter* *ḥet* *en*

. . . . . prophet of the temple of



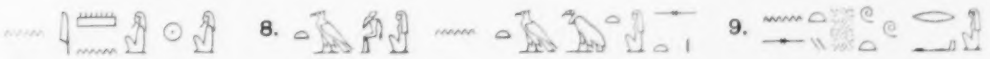
Ḥet *nāuu* *en* *Ámen* *en* *sa* *χemt* *neter* *ḥen* *Nesi-Ámsu*

Het, the scribe of Ámen of the order third, prophet Nesi-Ámsu

5. 
6. 
7. 

se *en* *neter* *ḥen* *Pe-tā* - *Ámen* - *suten* - *tain* *árit* *en* *áḥi*

son of the prophet Pe-ta - Ámen - suten - tain, born of the sistrum bearer



en *Ámen* - *Rā* *Ta* - *śere* *en* *ta* *mut* - *set* *Nesti* - *tuurā*

of Ámen - Rā, Ta - śere, mother her was Nesti - tuurā.

10. 

nāuu *en* *renpit* *met'* *sen* *ábet* *ftu* *śe* *en* *P* - *āa* *ánχ* *ut'a*

Written in year twelve month four of the sowing season of the King, life, [strength,



senb *Árksantrs* *se* *en* *Árksantrs* *ḥā* *neter* *átf*

health.] Alexander the son of Alexander. First divine father,

[a] The transcription of this line is very doubtful.



neter ḥen en Ámen-Rā suten neteru neter ḥen 13. *en Ḥeru p Rā*
prophet of Ámen-Rā king of the gods, prophet of Horus the Sun,



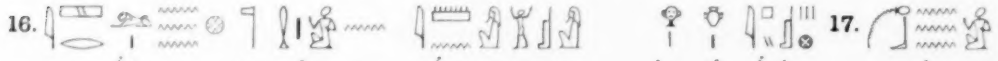
pa śere āaā ur ḥetep en Ámen neter ḥen 14. *en Ámen*
the child great very first of Ámen, prophet of Ámen



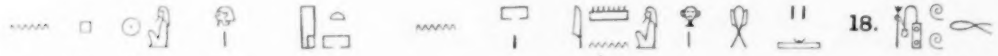
sept ābu neter ḥen en χensu ḥer âb Benent 15. *neter ḥen*
provided with two horns, prophet of Chonsu within Benenet, prophet



en Áusar ur pa âśta neter ḥen en Áusar ḥer âb
of Osiris, great one of the persea trees, prophet of Osiris within



16. *Áśer neter ḥen en Ámen-ḳa-âuset ḥer âb Ápi* 17. *āb*
Áśer, prophet of Amen exalted of throne within the Apts, priest



en p Rā ḥetep ḥet en pa Ámen ḥer sa sen 18. *nāuu*
of the Sun, first one of the temple of the house of Amen in order two, scribe,



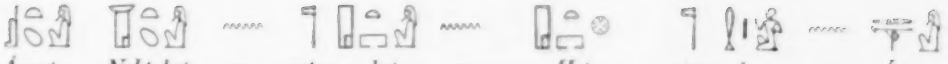
neter net en Ámen ḥer sa sen âtennu 19. *en Ámen en*
inspector of Ámen of order two, vicar of Ámen in



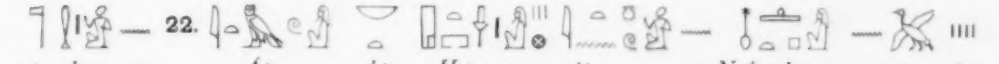
sa sen sa fṭu neter ḥen en Nefer-ḥetep pa neter āaā
order two and order four, prophet of Nefer-ḥetep the god great, 20.



neter ḥen en Nefer-ḥetep pa śere neter ḥen en Áusar Ḥeru
prophet of Nefer-ḥetep the child, prophet of Osiris, Horus,

21. 

Áuset Nebt-ḥet en neter ḥet en Ḥet neter ḥen en Ámsu
Isis, Nephthys of the temple of Het, prophet of Amsu,



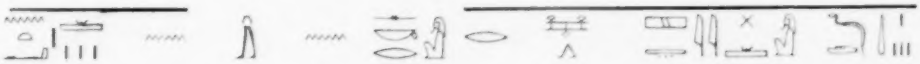
neter ḥen en Átmu nebt Ḥet-seχem átennu en Nefer-ḥetep en pa ftu
prophet of Atmu, lord of Het-sechem, vicar of Nefer-ḥetep of the four

23. 

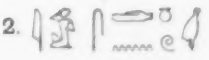
sa neter ḥen en ḥetep en Nefer-ḥetep neter ḥen en na netcru
orders, prophet first of Nefer-ḥetep, prophet of the gods.

THE LITANIES OF SEKER.

Column XVIII.

1. 

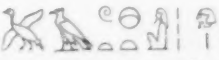
entāu en án en Seker er ḥer śetai t'ettu
The litanies which brought in Seker in addition to the mysteries recited.

2. 

á seṭennu per em χat
Hail prince coming forth from the womb.

3. 

á se semsu nu
Hail son eldest of the



paut ḥetepi
cycles first.

4. 

á nebt ḥrāu āšt χeperu
Hail lord of faces many and becomings.

5. 

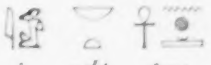
á rer
Hail circle



en nub em er - pau
of gold in the temples.

6. 

á neḥt āḥā ṭāt renpit
Hail lord of time, giver of years.

7. 

á nebt ānχ
Hail lord of life



er *neḥeḥ* 8. *â* *nebt* *ḥeḥ* *āśt* *ḥefnu* 9. *â* *pesṯ*

for ever. Hail lord of millions many and myriads. Hail shining



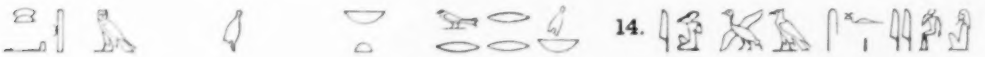
ḥer *uben* *ḥetep* 10. *â* *senet'em* *nef* *âḥeti* 11. *â* *ṯa*

in rising and setting. Hail makes pleasant he throats. Hail the



nebt *senṯet* *āāi* *setet* 12. *â* *nebt* *ḥrâu* *āśt* *ārāt* 13. *â*

lord of terror, great of trembling. Hail lord of faces many and uraei. Hail



χā *em* *ḥet'* *nebt* *urerer* 14. *â* *pa* *seṯi*

crowned with the white crown, lord of the *urerer* crown. Hail the baby



śeps *nu* *Ḥeru* *ḥekennu* 15. *â* *se* *en* *Rā* *em* *uâa*

venerable of Horus, praise. Hail son of Rā in the boat



ḥeḥ 16. *â* *semi* *ḳaḥu* *māâ* *er* *śetatet-k*

of millions. Hail guide of rest, come to secret places thy.



17. *â* *pa* *nebt* *senṯeti* *χeper* *t'esef* 18. *â* *urṯu - âb*

Hail the lord of fear self - produced. Hail still heart,



māâ *er* *nut-k* 19. *â* *âri* *ḥai* *māâ* *er* *nut-k*

come to town thy, Hail making acclamation, come to town thy.



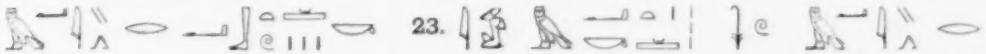
20. *â* *pa* *meriti* *en* *na* *neteru* *neterit* 21. *â* *s-*

O the Loved One of the gods and goddesses, O making



meḥ - f *māà* *er* *ḥet-k* 22. *à* *àm* *ṭuaut*

to plunge himself, come to temple thy. Hail thou who art in the under world,



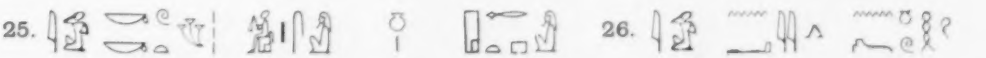
māà *er* *ābtu - k* 23. *à* *māket* *su* *māi* *er*

come to offerings thy. O protector of them come to



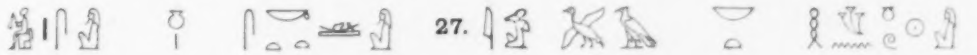
ḥet-k 24. *à* *ruṭ* *kenkenememti* *er* *seśep* *àten*

temple thy. Hail growing moon-god for illuminating the disc.



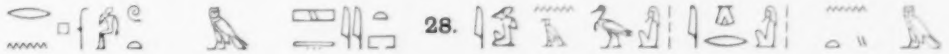
25. *à* *kektu* *śeps* *nu* *ḥet* *āat* 26. *à* *nāi* *ennuḥ*

Hail flowers venerable of the temple great. Hail bringing the cordage



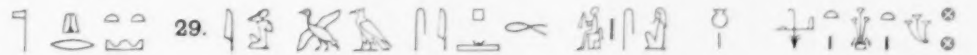
śeps *nu* *sektet* 27. *à* *pa* *nebt* *ḥennu*

venerable of the Sekti boat. Hail the lord of the *ḥennu* boat,



renp - tu *em* *śetait* 28. *à* *na* *bau* *àḳer* *enti* *em*

becomest young thou in the secret place. Hail the souls perfect who are in



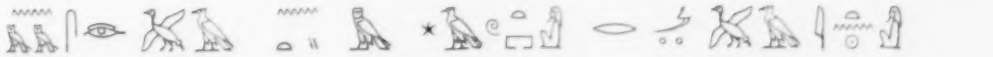
neter χertet 29. *à* *pa* *sàp* *śeps* *nu* *ḳemāt* *meḥit*

Neter-χert. Hail the visitor venerable of the south and north.



30. *à* *pa* *àmen* *àn* *reχ* *su* *reχit* 31. *à*

Hail the hidden one, not known (is) he to mankind. Hail



nememes *pa* *enti* *em* *ṭuaut* *er* *maa* *pa* *àten*

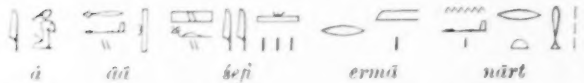
lightener of him who is in the under world to see the disc.

Column XIX.

1. 

á *pa* *nebt* *atf* *ur* *em* *Ḥet - suten - ḥenen*

Hail the lord of the *atf* crown, great one in Ḥet - suten - ḥenen.

2. 

á *āā* *śeḏi* *ermā* *nārt*

Hail great of might near Nārt.

3. 

á *un* *em* *Uast*

Hail rising in Thebes,



aχaχ *er* *neḥeḥ*

flourishing for ever.

4. 

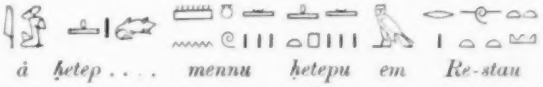
á *Ámen Rā* *suten* *neteru* *srut*

Hail Àmen - Rā king of the gods, making



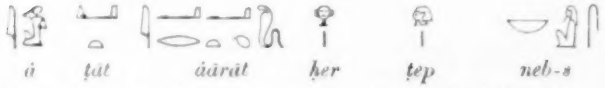
ḥau-f *em* *uben* *ḥetep*

to grow limbs his in rising and setting.

5. 

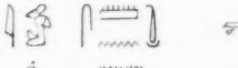
á ḥetep . . . . mennu ḥetepu em Re-stau

Hail . . . . . oblations offerings in Ru-stau.

6. 

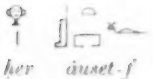
á ṭāt āārāt ḥer ṭep neb-s

Hail placing the uræus upon the head of lord its.

7. 

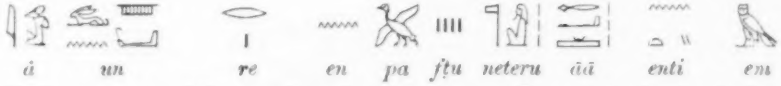
á smen ta

Hail stablisher of the earth



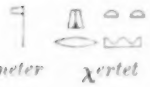
ḥer *āuset-f*

upon seat its.

8. 

á un re en pa �fṭu neteru āā enti em

Hail opener of the mouth of the four gods great who (are) in



neter *χertet*

Neter - χert.

9. 

á *ba* *ānχ* *en* *Ámsar* *χā - f* *en* *Āāḥ*

Hail soul living of Osiris, crowner (is) he of the moon.

10. 

á *āmen* *t'et-f* *em* *śetait* *āat* *em* *Ánnu*

Hail hiding body his in the coffin great in Heliopolis.

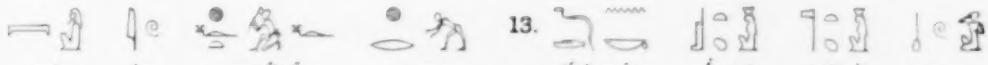
11. 

á

Hail



netrâ *âmen* *Âusar* *em* *neter χertet* 12. *â* *ḥetep* *ḥa - f* *en*
powerful one, hidden one, Osiris in Neter-χert. Hail uniting soul his to



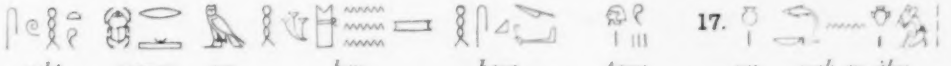
pet *âu* *χeft-f* *χer* 13. *t'et-nek* *Âuset* *neterit* *χeru*
heaven, is enemy his fallen. Says to thee Isis goddess crying,



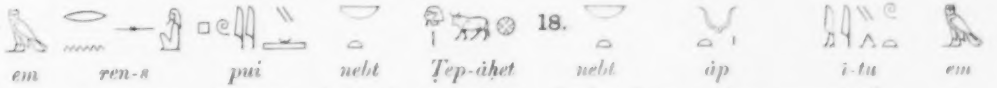
ḥai *em* *âtur* 14. *peχχa* *âbṭ* *âb* *em* *ḥât*
"Hail from the river separating the *âbṭu* fish pure from the front



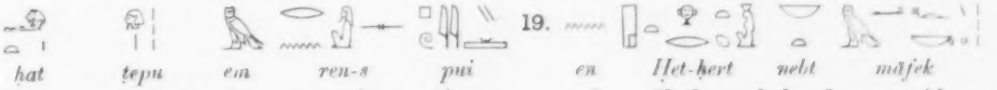
15. *uâa* *en* *Rā* *nebt* *âp* *χeper* *em* *θeḫḥutu*
of the boat of Rā, lord of excretion turning into the rejoicing gods.



16. *suḫt* *χeper* *em* *ḥen* *ḥesq* *ṭepu* 17. *nu* *χak-en-âbu*
The egg becoming Ḥen, cutting off the heads of the rebels



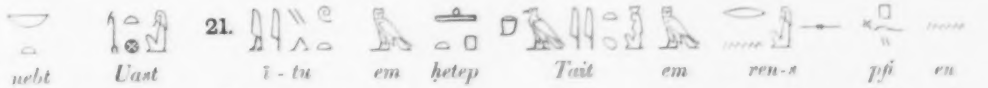
em *ren-s* *pui* *nebt* *Ṭep-âḥet* *nebt* *âp* *i-tu* *em*
in name her that of lady of Tep-âḥet Lady of excretion, comest thou in



ḥat *ṭepu* *em* *ren-s* *pui* 19. *en* *Ḥet-ḥert* *nebt* *mâfek*
front of the heads in name her that of Hathor lady of emerald,



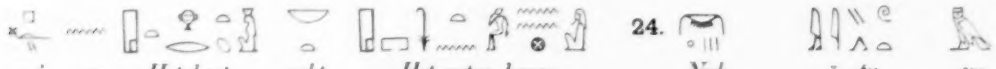
nebt *Uast* 20. *i-tu* *em* *ḥetep* *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *Ḥet-ḥert*
lady of Thebes. Comest thou in peace in name her that of Hathor



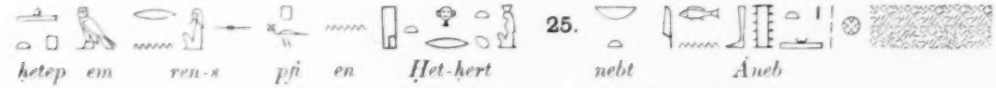
nebt *Uast* 21. *i - tu* *em* *ḥetep* *Tait* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en*
lady of Thebes. Comest thou in peace Tait in name her that of

22. 
23. 

nebt ḥetep i-tu em ḥāt er seχer χeft-s em ren-s
lady of peace. Comest thou in front to overthrow enemy her in name her



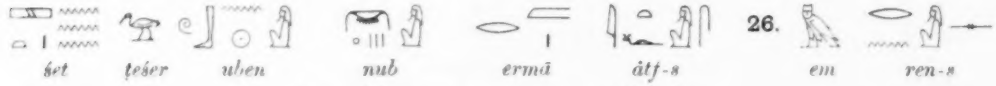
pfi en Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ḥet-suten-ḥenen Nub i-tu em
that of Hathor lady of Ḥet-suten-ḥenen. Golden one, comest thou in



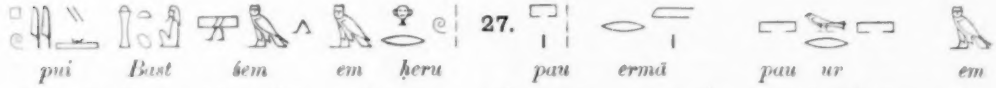
ḥetep em ren-s pfi en Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ȧneb . . . . . .
peace in name her that of Hathor lady of Memphis.



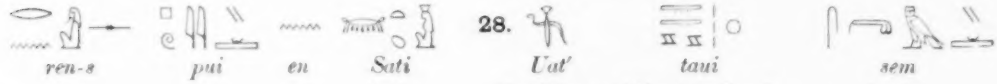
ḥetep-tu ermā Neb-er-t'er em rent pui en Ḥet-ḥert nebt
restest thou near Neb-er-t'er in name thy that of Hathor lady of



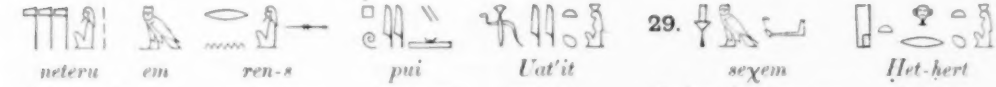
śet teśer uben nub ermā ȧtf-s em ren-s
water red. Rises the golden one near father her, in name her



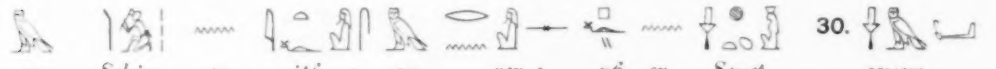
pui Bast śem em ḥeru pau ermā pau ur em
that of Bast, advancing above the houses near the great double house in



ren-s pui en Sati Uat' taui sem
name her that of Sati. Verdifier of the two lands, leader



neteru em ren-s pui Uat'it seχem Ḥet-ḥert
of the gods in name her that of Uat'it. Gains the mastery Hathor



em Sebȧu en ȧtf-s em ren-s pfi en Seχet seχem
over the Sebau of father her in name her that of Seχet. Gains the mastery



Uat'it *em* *neferi* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *nebt* *Ámmu*
Uat'it over the fire in name her that of lady of Ammu.

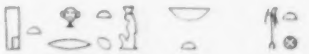
31. 

ánti *em* *ṭep* *samu-s* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *Nit*
Perfume (is) upon head and hair her in name her that of Neith.

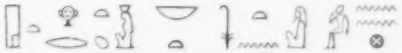
Column XX.

1. 

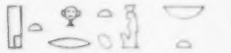
Ánet' ḥrâ *netern* *ḥer* *mâket - f*
Hail gods on account of virtues his!

2. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Uast*
Hathor lady of Thebes.

3. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Suten-ḥenen*
Hathor lady of Suten-ḥenen.

4. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Ṭep-âḥet*
Hathor lady of Ṭep-âḥet.

5. 

Ḥet-ḥert
Hathor



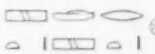
nebt *Nehâu*
lady of Nehau.

6. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Reḥsau*
Hathor lady of Reḥsau.

7. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt*
Hathor lady of



Śet-ṭeśert
Śet-Ṭeśert.

8. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Máfek*
Hathor lady of Emerald.

9. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Áneb*
Hathor lady of Memphis.

10. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Uaua*
Hathor lady of Uaua.

11. 

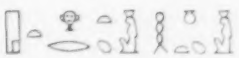
Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Ámmu*
Hathor lady of Ammu.

12. 

Ḥet-ḥert
Hathor



nebt *Ámem*
lady of Amem.

13. 

Ḥet-ḥert *ḥent*
Hathor lady of



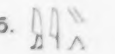
XVI
Sixteen (Lycopolis).

14. 

pa *paut*
O ye nine



smeri *mâi - [t]en* *ââui - ten* *χer* *âtef - ten* *Ásar*
smeri come ye two hands your bearing father your Osiris,

15. 

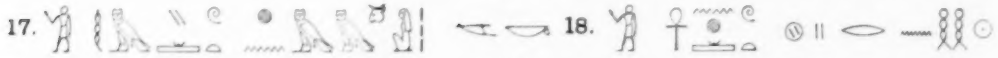
i
come with



16.

neter sa - ta sep ftu à seχet ḥeb sep sen àθi

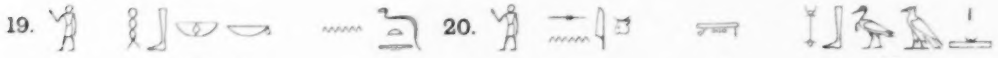
divine adorations. Times four. Hail crown of the festival, twice, sovereign.



17. 18.

à net'em-tu χenemem mer-k à ànχ tu sep sen er neḥeḥ

Hail rejoicest thou the nurses whom lovest thou. Hail livest thou, twice, for ever.



19. 20.

à ḥeb - k en t'etta à senà ta ābba

Hail makest festival thou for ever. Hail smeller of the earth advancing along



21. 22.

uat à ṭeṭṭeṭ-θ em Ṭeṭṭeṭ ḥert à neter setem-k

the ways. Hail established art thou in Tattu upper. Hail god hearest thou



sa-ta hai setem-k sa-ta em re en neter septu

adoration, hail hearest thou adoration from the mouth of the divine nomes.



23. 24.

à bes em maatu-f se neter ḥen à setep

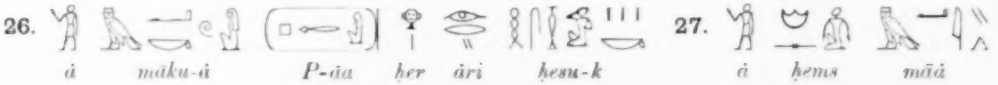
Hail coming forth from two eyes his, son of the prophet. Hail protected



25.

sa χeft t'eṭ-k à māku - à P-āa ḥer àri mer-k

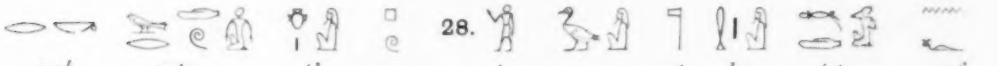
by amulets when speakest thou. Hail protect me O king to do pleasure thy.



26. 27.

à māku-à P-āa ḥer àri ḥesu-k à ḥems māà

Hail protect me O king to do will thy. Hail rester comes



28.

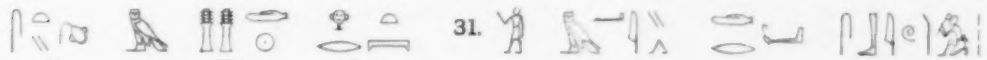
erek urṭu - àb pu à se neter ḥen śeṭ nef

to thee the resting of heart to wit. Hail son of the prophet, recited is for him


29. 30.

ḥeb *à* *ṭeṭṭeṭ ren* *em* *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* *à* *net'emi*

the festal ritual. Hail established is (thy) name in Tattu upper. Hail pleasant


31.

sti *em* *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* *à* *mâà* *ṭer* *sebâu*

of odour in Tattu upper. Hail coming to destroy Sebau.


32.

à *mâà* *ṭâau* *neχen*

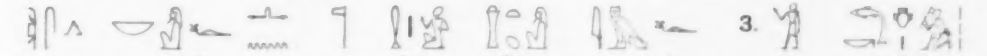
Hail coming to extol the Baby.

Column XXI.


1. 2.

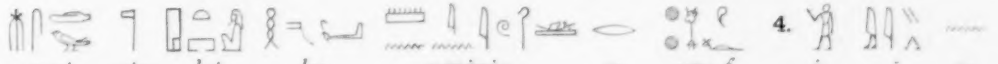
à *ṭât* *senṭet - f* *em* *χakâbu* *à* *âr* *bakâu*

Hail giving of terror his in the evil-minded Hail (thou) who art at work


3.

ḥes *neb-f* *ân* *neter ḥen* *Bast* *âm-f* *à* *χakâbu*

following lord his, not a prophet of Bast in him (*sic*). Hail evil-minded


4.

meṣṭ *neter* *ḥet* *ḥu* *menânân* *er* *χ^e χ-f* *à* *i* *en*

hating the temple striking death from throat his. Hail cometh the


5.

nebt *Ṭeṭṭet* *ḥert* *ḥu - nef* *χakâbu* *t'eṭṭu* *sep* *met' sas*

lord of Tattu upper, repulsed has he the evil-minded. Said times sixteen


seśep *ṭeχenu*

(by) players on tambourines.


6.

in-f *ṗu*

Gone out (is) it to wit.

COLOPHON (*continued from page* 491).

The following fifteen lines are written in the same hand as the part of the colophon which gives the date, and appear to have been added some time after the other parts of the work were written.



áu ren - sen men uaḥ án sek er neḥeḥ embaḥ

Are names their established and increased, not destroyed for ever before



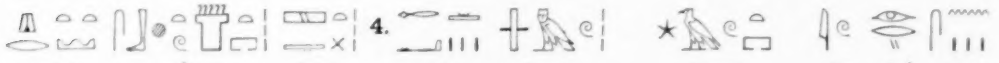
Áusar Ḥeru Áuset Nebt-ḥet neteru neterit ápu enti ḥer śāt

Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, the gods and goddesses these who are upon book



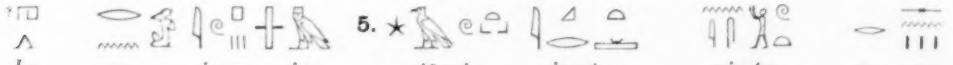
pen embaḥ neteru neterit er āu sen enti em neter

this in presence of the gods and goddesses whosoever are they who are in Neter



χertet, sebχetu śetet āā ámu ṭūaut áu ári sen

χert, and the pylons secret great which are in the Nether-world. Are made they



ha ren ápu ám ṭūaut áqert nás-tu er sen

to come forth names these in the Nether-world mighty. Proclaimed art thou by them



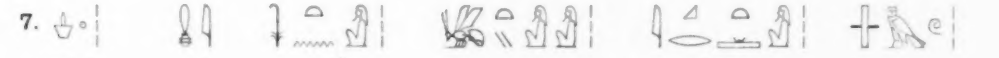
em uáa en Rā áu erṭā en sen per χeru ḥer āb en

in the boat of Rā, are given by them sacrificial meals upon the table of the



neter āā em χertu ent ḥru neb áu erṭā en sen qebḥ

god great in the course of day every. Are given by them fresh water



sentrà mà suteniu net áqert ámu

and incense as to the kings of north and south mighty who are in the



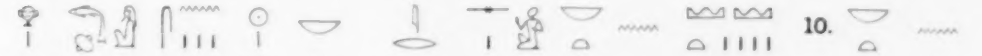
neter χertet ȧu erṭā sen per ḥi em χer ḫesiu

Neter χert. Is given by them coming forth and advancing among the obedient ones



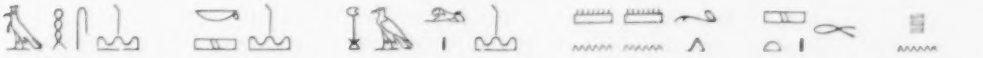
ent Ȧusar χent Ȧmentiu ȧu erṭā sen ḥi sati ȧten

of Osiris at the head of the Ȧmentiu. Is given by them the falling of the rays of the disc



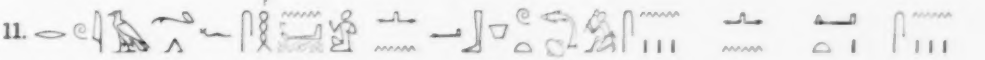
ḥer χat - sen hru neb ȧr se nebt en set nebt en

upon body their day every. Should person any of foreign land any whether



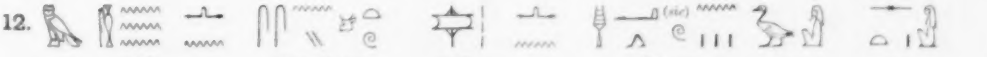
Neḥes Kaś χar menmen śāt pen

Black, Ethiopian, Syrian, remove book this, (or)



ruȧa - f seḥen ȧn āb - tu χat - sen ȧn ṭāt - sen

carry off it a thief, not may approach body their, not may they give themselves



em qebḥ ȧn seseni-tu nefu ȧn āḥā-un (sic) se set

in the cool, not may breathe they breezes, not may arise for them a son or a daughter



er sati - un ȧn seχau-tu ren-sen ḥetep ta

for seed their, not may be remembered for them name their upon earth



ȧu mesu ȧn maa-u sati ȧten ȧr se nebt maa

for children, not may see they beams of the disc! Should person any see



śāt pen ȧri nef men ka ren - ȧ χer

book this, and should work he that may be established *ka* my and name my among



15. *ḥesiu* *âri* – *nef* *mâtet* *emχet* *menânâu* (sic) - *f* *em*

the favoured ones, may there be done for him likewise after death his in

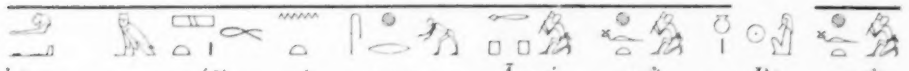


ṭebu *âru* *âri* - *nef* *nâ*

retribution for what done has he for me.

THE OVERTHROWING OF ĀPEPI.

Column XXII.

1. 

ḥâ *em* *ḳâṭ* *ent* *seχer* *Âpepi* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *χeft*

Beginning of the book of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā, the enemy



nu *Un-nefer* *ânχ* *uṭ'a* *senb* *mât-χeru* *âriṭ* *en* (sic) *pa* *Âmen - Rā*

of Un-nefer, life strength, health, triumphant, made for the temple of Amen-Rā



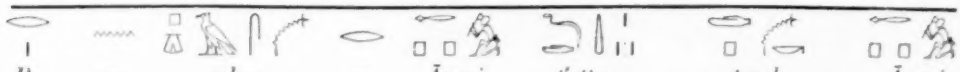
neb *nest* *taiu* *χent* *Âpit* *em* *χert*

lord of the thrones of the two lands, at the head of the Apts in the course



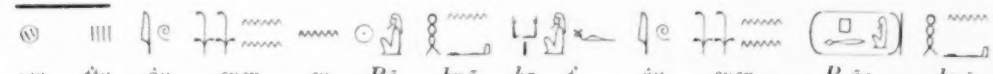
ent *hru* *neb*

of day every.

2. 

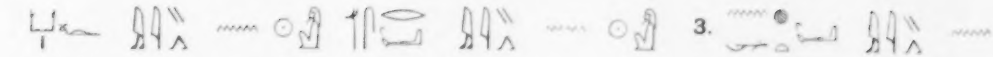
Re *en* *peḳas* *er* *Āpepi* *ṭ'eṭṭu* *ṭep-k* *Āpepi*

Chapter of spitting upon Apepi. Say, "Be spit upon thou Apepi.



sep *fṭu* *âu* *enen* *en* *Rā* *ḥnā* *ka* - *f* *âu* *enen* *P-āa* *ḥnā*

Times four. Is resting Rā with *ka* his, is resting P-aa with



ka-f *ī* *en* *Rā* *user* *ī* *en* *Rā* 3. *neχt* *ī* *en*

ka his. Cometh Rā mighty, cometh Rā victorious, cometh



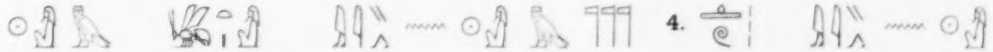
Rā *qa* *ī* *en* *Rā* *sept* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *hāā*

Rā exalted, cometh Rā dowered, cometh Rā with acclamation,



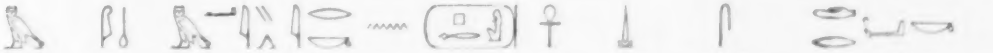
ī *en* *Rā* *em* *nefer* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *suten* *ī* *en*

cometh Rā in beauty, cometh Rā as king of the north, cometh



Rā *em* *net* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *neteru* 4. *ḥetepu* *ī* *en* *Rā*

Rā as king of the south, cometh Rā with divine oblations, cometh Rā



em *mātχeru* *māā* *árek* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *uṭ'a* *senb* *ṭer-k*

with triumph, cometh then P-āa life, strength, health. Destroyed hast thou



nef *χefti-f* *neb* *mā* *seχer-f* *nek* *Āpepi* *beḥen-f* *nek*

for him enemies his all as overthrows he for thee Apepi, slays he for thee



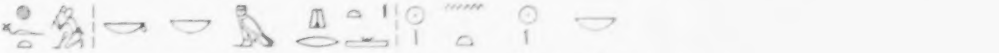
Qeṭṭu *ṭā-f* *áau* *en* *peḥti-k* 5. *suś-tu-f* *em*

Qettu, gives he adoration to might thy. Adores thee he at



χāu-k *neb* *uben-k* *nef* *ám-sen* *mā* *seχer-f* *nek*

risings thy all, risest thou for him in them as overthrows he for thee



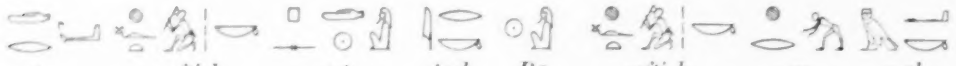
χefti-k *neb* *em* *χert* *ent* *hru* *neb*

enemies thy all in the course of day every."



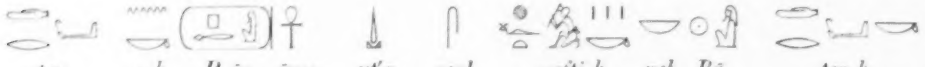
Re en sân Ȧpepi em ret ȧb t'eṭṭu θes - tu ȧrek Rā

Chapter of defiling Apepi with the foot left. Say, "Exalted art thou therefore Rā,

6. 

ṭer χefti-k pesṭ ȧrek Rā χefti-k χer māk

destroyed are enemies thy, shine therefore Rā, enemies thy (are) fallen. Verily has



ṭer nek P-āa ānχ ut'a senb χefti-k neb Rā ṭer-k

destroyed for thee P-āa, life, strength, health, enemies thy all Rā, destroyed for thee are



χefti-k nebt em mit em ānχ māk Rā seχem-f ȧm-k Ȧpepi

enemies thy all in death in life. Verily Rā prevails he over thee Apepi,

7. 

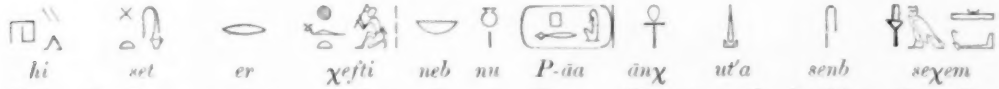
neṧeni nesert - f erek seχem-s ȧm-k sept

bristles flame his against thee, prevails it over thee turning



heḥ-s erek ḥi set-s er χefti nu Rā sep ftu

flame its against thee; falls flame its against the enemies of Rā. Times four.



ḥi set er χefti neb nu P-āa ānχ ut'a senb seχem

Falls the flame against enemies all of P-aa life, strength, health! Prevails

8. 

erek Rā ȧu χefti-k stutu er-k Rā em χut-k

then Rā, is enemy thy trampled upon by thee, O Rā, in horizon thy.



ṭāau-tu ȧmu sekti ver - nek ȧḥiti uȧa - k

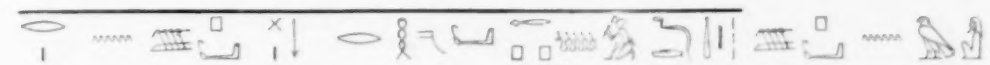
Adore thee those who are in the *sekti* boat, go round thee the *ȧḥiti* and boat thy



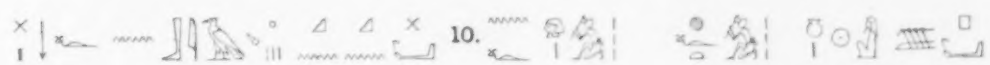
em *ḥāī* *nem-k* *χā* *em* *neteru* - *ābu* *em* *χennu*
with acclamation, renewest thou festival in the valiant hearted within the



mātī
māāt boat. Adoration to thee Rā Ḥeru-χuti sep ftu
Harmachis"! Times four.



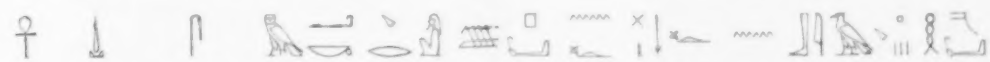
Re *en* *seśep* *māb* *er* *ḥu* *Āpepi* *ťettu* *seśep* *en* *Ḥeru*
Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi. Say, "Receives Horus



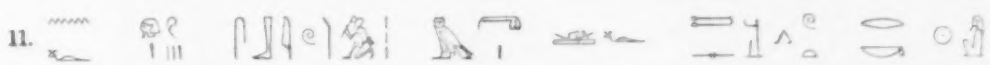
māb-f *en* *bâa* *qenqen* – *nef* *ṭepu* *χefti* *nu* *Rā* *seśep*
lance his of steel, shatters he the heads of the enemies of Rā. Receives



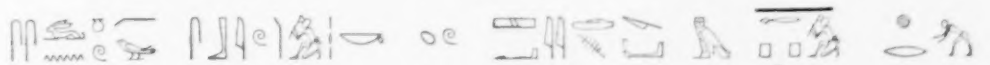
en *Ḥeru* *māb-f* *en* *bâa* *qenqen-nef* *ṭepu* *χefti* *nu* *P-âa*
Horus lance his of steel, shatters he the heads of enemies of P-āa



ânχ *uťa* *senb* *māk* *Ḥeru* *seśep* *nef* *māb-f* *en* *bâa* *ḥu* -
life, strength, health. Verily Horus takes he lance his of steel, smites



nef *ṭepu* *Sebâu* *em-baḥ* *uâa-f* *θen-tu* *erek* *Rā*
he the heads of Sebâu in front of boat his. Exalted art thou then, Rā,



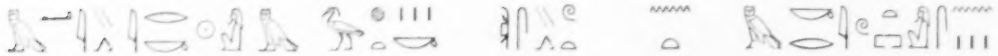
sesunnu *Sebâu - k* *âru* *ḥāit* *em* *Āpepi* *χer*
hooked is Sebâu thy; is made a slaughter of Apepi, fallen has



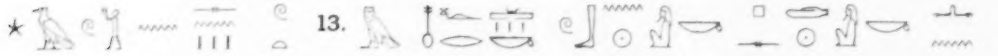
sami *ent* *Qettu* *θen - tu* *P-āa* *sesunnu*
the devil of the Fiend. Exalted art thou P-āa, hooked is



Sebâu-k *âri* *ḥāṭ* *em* *χefti-k* *χer* *Semi - f*
Sebau thy, is made a slaughter of foes thy, fallen has Fiend his.



mââ *ârek* *Rā* *em* *χut-k* *ḥex-tu* *ent* *em* *kerâut - sen*
Come then Rā in splendours thy, follow thee those who are in shrines their,



ṭuau *en* *sen* *tu* 13. *em* *neferu - k* *uben - k* *pesṭ - k* *ân*
adore they thee in beauties thy, risest thou, shinest thou without



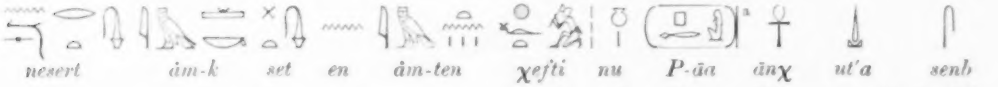
χefti-k *ḥekau-k* *em* *sa* *ḥâu-k* *P-āa* *ṭuau-f*
foes thy; words of power thy are as protectors of limbs thy. P-aa adores he



Rā *ṭit-f* *mâb-f* *er* *Āpepi* *seḥep-f* *ḥesu* *ṭā-f* *set*
Rā, gives he lance his against Apepi, takes he flame, gives he flame



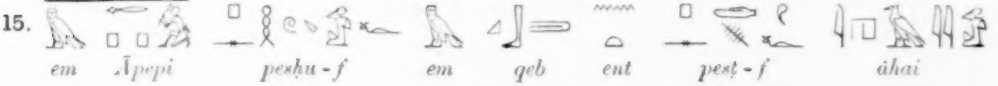
âm-f 14. *sesunnu - f* *χat* *ent* *χefti-k* *set* *âm-k*
upon him, hooks he the accursed body of enemies thy; fire upon thee,



neserṭ *âm-k* *set* *en* *âm-ten* *χefti* *nu* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb*
flame upon thee, fire upon you enemies of P-aa life, strength, health,

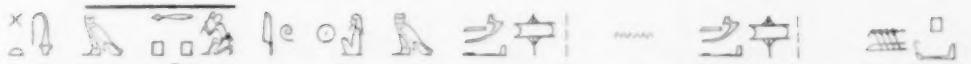


âm - s - ten *ḥes - tu* *ârek* *Rā* *sesunnu* *Sebâu-k* *erṭā* *set*
devours it you. Exalted art thou then Rā, hooked are *Sebau* thy, given is fire

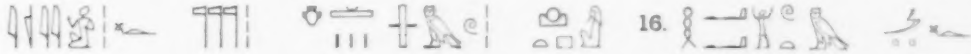


15. *em* *Āpepi* *peshu - f* *em* *qeb* *ent* *pesṭ - f* *âhai*
upon Apepi, bites it into the bend of backbone his. Hail

[a] The signs in the cartouche are omitted on the papyrus.



set em Āpepi àu Rā em māu en māu sešep
fire upon Apepi! Is Rā in the breezes of the north winds, receive them



àqṭiu - f neteru àbu àmu χut 16. *ḥāā - tu em maa - f*
punters his the valiant hearted who are in the horizon and who exult at the sight of him.



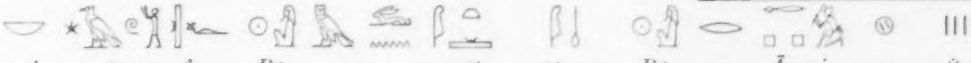
seχer nef Sebàu seχem set em Āpepi hemhemti
Overthrows he Sebau, prevails the flame over Apepi, roars



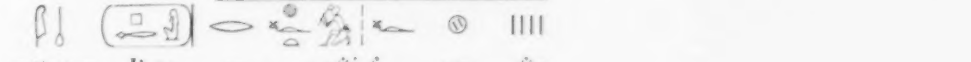
Qeṭṭu ben set em ḥetep sep sen Rā Ḥeru-χuti àmmā ḥrā-k
Qettu, not are they in peace. Twice. O Rā - Harmachis give face thy



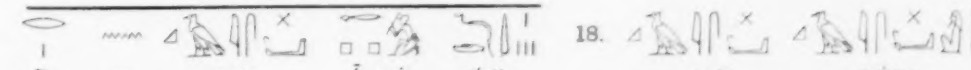
nefer en P-āa ānχ uṭ'a senb 17. *ṭer-k nef χefti-f*
beautiful to P-aa life, strength, health! Destroy thou for him enemies his



neb ṭīau - f Rā em un māt mātχeru Rā er Āpepi sep fṭu
all, adores he Rā in very truth. Triumphs Rā over Apepi, times four,



mātχeru P-āa er χefti-f sep fṭu
triumphs P-aa over enemies his, times four."



Re en qaàs Āpepi t'eṭṭu 18. *qaàs qaàsu*
Chapter of binding Apepi. Say, "Fetter O fetterers,



qaàs Āpepi χeft pfi en Rā àm-k reχ àri nek Āpepi
fetter Apepi enemy that of Rā, not do thou know what is done to thee Apepi,



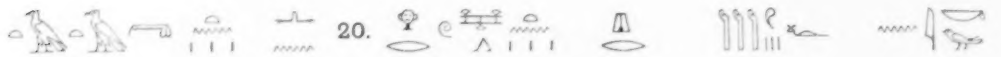
χesef *ârek* *meter* *âm-k* *â* *ḥem* *em* *at-f* *neken-*
meets therefore justice thee. O going back at season his, destroys

19. 

f *su* *t'esef* *serq* *âḥetit - f* *sau* *qaâs* *qaâs*
he him himself opening throat his holding firm the fetter. Fettering



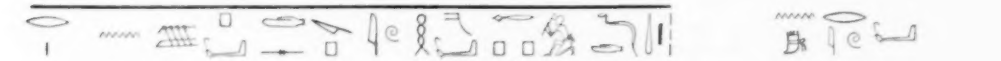
ten *ân* *Heru* *netet* - *ten* *ân* *Rā* *ân* *benben* - *ten* *ân*
to you cries Horus, tying to you cries Rā, not emission to you, not



tata - *ten* *ân* *ḥeru-ten* *χer* *t'ebāu-f* *nâk-*
erection to you, not depart ye from under fingers his; be damned



ten *ân* *Rā* *netet* - *ten* *ân* *Heru* *âm* *χent ân maa*
to you cries Rā, tying to you cries Horus in invisibility."



Re *en* *seśep* *ṭes* *âu* *ḥu* *Āpepi* *t'eṭṭu* *net'erâu*
Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi. Say, "May have the mastery



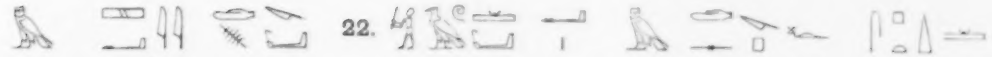
sep sen *menḥu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *em* *ṭes-k*
twice the slaughterer and the overthrowing of the enemy of Rā with knife thy;



net'erâu *sep sen* *menḥu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *P-āa* *em*
may have the mastery twice the slaughterer and the overthrowing of the enemy of P-āa with

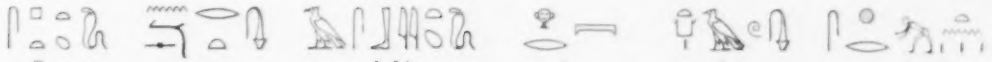


ṭes - *k* *ṭepu* - *ten* *enen* *Sebâu* *t'at'anut* - *k* *pfi* *enen* *Āpepi*
knife thy, heads of yours those O Sebau, and head thy that that - of Apepi



em *śāiṭ* 22. *ābau* *ā* *em* *ṭes - f* *sept*

with slaughtering and fighting the hand with knife his. O providing



Septet *nesert* *Asbit* *ḥer* *tekau* *seχer - ten*

Septet flame; and Asbit presiding over the spark, overthrow ye



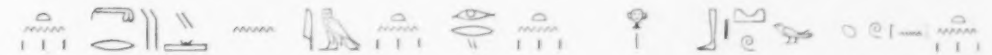
Qettu *em* *ṭen - ten* *beḥen - ten* *Unuti* 23. *em* *ṭen - ten*

Qettu with knife your, slay ye Unuti with knife your,



śāiṭ - ten *ḥer* *ṭu - ten* *beḥen - ten* *ḥer* *ārit* *en*

slay ye because of injury your, slay ye because of what has been done



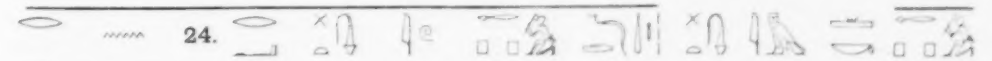
ten *meter* *en* *ām - ten* *āri - ten* *ḥer* *buṭu* *āru - en - ten*

to you; be there justice from you, do ye (it) because of the evil done to you.



mātχeru - Rā *er - ten* *Ḥeru* *beḥen - f - ten*

Triumphs Rā over you, Horus hacks in pieces he you."



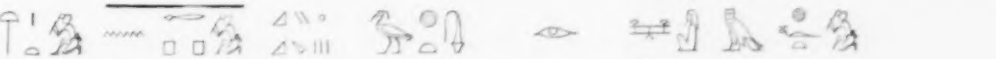
Rē *en* 24. *erṭā* *set* *āu* *Āpepi* *ṭ'eṭṭu* *set* *ām - k* *Āpepi*

Chapter of placing fire against Apepi. Say, "Fire upon thee Apepi



χeft *pfi* *en* *Rā* *seχem* *āref* *mau* *Ḥeru* *em* *ba* *em*

enemy that of Rā, prevails then the eye of Horus over the accursed soul and



χebit *en* *Āpepi* *qaqa* *χut* *mau* *Ḥeru* *em* *χeft*

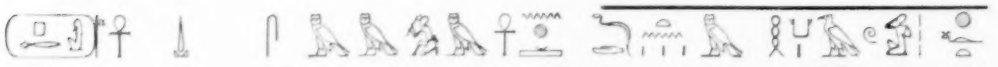
shade of Apepi, gnaws the flame of the eye of Horus into enemy

Column XXIII.

1. 

pfi en Rā ȧm χut maa Ḥeru em χefti neḥt nu

that of Rā, eats the flame of the eye of Horus into enemies all of



P-āa ānχ nt'a senb em mit em ānχ t'eṭ-ten em ḥekau χeft

P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life." Speak ye with [these] words of power when



ertā Āpepi ȧu set t'ettu tep-k tem-tu Āpepi

is given Apepi to the flame, and say, "Be tasted thou, death to thee Apepi, going back,

2.

χet



ḥem χeft en Rā χer senb ḥem ḥa-k

retreating, enemy of Rā falling down, being repulsed, going back retreatest thou;



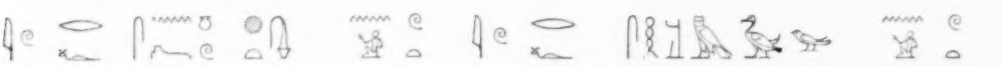
ȧu χet-nà-tu ȧu beḥen-nà-tu mātχeru Rā erek Āpepi sep fṭu

driven back have I thee, cut asunder have I thee, triumphs Rā over thee Apepi. Times four.



tep-k Āpepi sep fṭu ḥa-k Sebȧu tem erek

Be tasted thou Apepi. Times four. Back thou Sebȧu, an end to thee



ȧu eref senmu-χet-nà-tu ȧu eref seḥetem-nà-tu

is therefore, driven flame have I at thee therefore, made to be destroyed have I thee,



sȧpi-nà-tu ṭu tem tem-k tep-k tem-tu ȧn

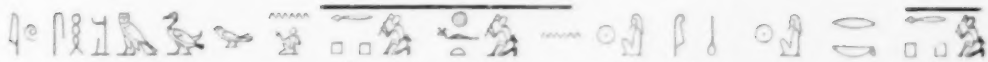
reckoned up have I thee for evil; an end, an end to thee, be tasted thou, an end to thee, not



un-nek tem tem-k tem erek tep-k tem

rise thou. An end, an end to thee, an end to thee, be tasted thou, come to an end.

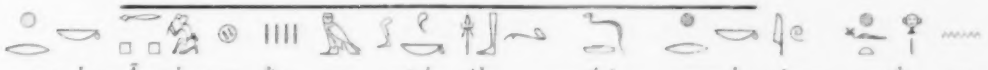
[a] The signs in the cartouche are omitted on the papyrus.



ân sehetem - nâ Âpepi χeft en Rā mātχeru Rā erek Âpepi
Destroyed have I Apepi the enemy of Rā. Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi.



sep ftu mātχeru P-āa er χefti - f sep ftu 5. âr emχet sân
Times four. Triumphs P-āa over enemies his. Times four." And afterwards shall be defiled



χer-k Âpepi sep ftu em ret-k âb t'et χer-k âu χeft en
by thee Apepi times four with foot thy left. Shall be said by thee when the countenance of



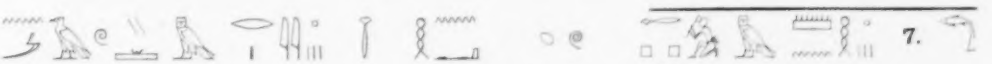
Rā er âāiu-k χabu emχet uben - f mātχeru Rā erek
Rā is upon both sides thy bending after rises he, "Triumphs Rā over thee



Âpepi sep ftu 6. s - mātχeru Rā erek Âpepi em un māt
Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi in very truth."



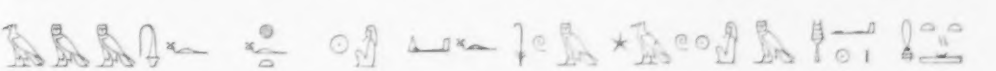
sehetem Âpepi t'ettu re pen her Âpepi nâuu her ḥuu
To cause the destruction of Apepi, say chapter this over Apepi written upon papyrus



nemau em rei uat' ḥnā âru Âpepi em menḫ 7. χat
new with colour green, together with figure of Apepi in wax cut



mātennu ren - f her - f em rei uat' ertat âu set
and inscribed accursed name his upon it in colour green, lay it upon the fire (that)



amem - f χeft Rā ṭā - f su em ṭuau em âḥā mātet
may devour him the enemy of Rā. Puts one it at dawn, at noon, likewise



8.

em *māšer* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep - f* *em* *ānχtet* *àu* *unnut* *sas*
at eventide when Rā sets he in the land of life, at hour six

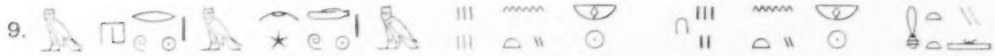


ent *ḳerḥ* *àu* *unnut* *χemennu* *ent* *hru* *er* *peḥ* *ruhau*
of the night, at hour eight of the day, at the arrival of evening



neferit *er* *unnut* *nebt* *ent* *hru* *ent* *ḳerḥ* *em* *hru* *enti* *ḥeb*
up to hour every of the day and of the night, on the day of festival,

9.



em *ḥru* *em* *àbṭu* *em* *sas* *enti* *ḥeb* *met' ṭua* *enti* *ḥeb* *màtet*
by day by month, by sixth day of festival, fifteenth day of festival likewise



ḥru *neb* *seχer* *Āpepi* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *em* *χat-pet* *χer* *pest*
day every. Overthrown is Apepi the enemy of Rā in the shower, for shines



Rā *seχer* *Āpepi* *em* *un* *māt*
Rā and overthrown is Apepi in very truth,

10.

sennu-χet *pu* *em* *χet* *ent*
burnt to wit in a fire of



χessau *erṭāt* *sepu-f* *er* *χāā* *χer* *useś* *smen* *em*
dried grass. (?) Are placed remains its to be mixed with excrement and set in

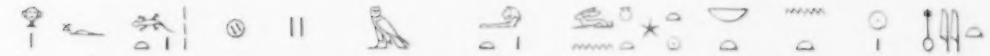


χet *uā* *àru* *χer - k* *màtet* *enen* *àu* *unnut* *sas* *ent* *ḳerḥ*
fire one. Is to be done by thee the like of this at hour six of the night,

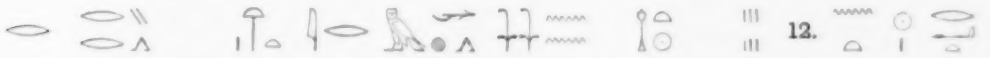
11.



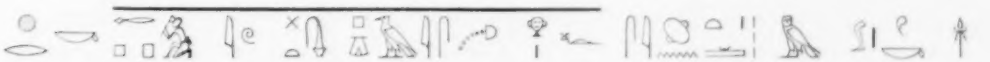
àu *ḥet'* *met' ṭua* *ent* *hru* *erṭāt* *Āpepi* *er* *set* *peḳaàs*
at daybreak of fifteen of day, is given Apepi to the flame, spits (one)



ḥer - f *āšt* *sep* *sen* *em* *ḥāt* *unnut* *nebt* *ent* *ḥru* *neferit*
upon him many times, twice, at the beginning of hour every of the day until



er *rer* *χebit* *ȧr* *emχet* *enen* *ḥet'* *sas* 12. *ent* *ḥru* *erṭāt*
turns round the shadow. After this at daybreak of six of day is given



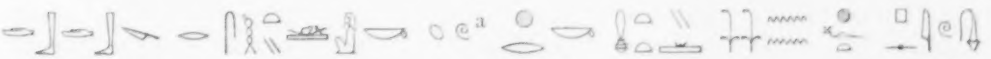
χer - k *Āpepi* *ȧu* *set* *peḳàs* *ḥer - f* *sànt* *em* *ret - k* *ȧb*
by thee Apepi to the fire, spit upon him defiling with foot thy left,



χesef *hemhemti* *ent* *ḥau - ḥrȧ* *ȧrit* *en* *χer - k*
repulsed are the roarings of the 'backward face.' Done is by thee



mȧtet *enen* 13. *ȧu* *ḥet'* *met'-ṯuau* *ent* *ḥru* *χesef* *Āpepi* *ȧm - f*
the like of this at daybreak fifteen of day, repulsed is Apepi by it



ṯebteb *er* *sekti - k* *ȧru* *χer - k* *mȧtet* *enen* *χeft* *pesȧu*
and slain before *sekti* boat thy. Is done by thee the like of this when boil



ḳenreā *em* *ȧbtet* *ent* *pet* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep-f* 14. *em*
tempests in the eastern parts of the sky when Rā sets he in the



ȧnχtet *er* *tem* *erṭāt* *χeper* *ṭeṣertu* *em* *ȧbtet* *ent*
land of life, so as not to let become threatening red in the eastern parts of the

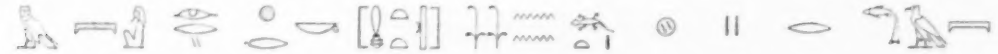
[a] *erṭāt* is written in the text, and ○ @ *ȧru* just above it.



pet *ârî* *χer-k* *mâtet* *enen* *âśt* *sep* *sen* *âu* *tem* *erṭât*
sky. Is done by thee the like of this many times, twice, so as neither to let



χeper *χaθ* *em* *pet* *tem* *erṭât* *χeper* 15. *qerâu*
become a shower in the sky, nor to let become a rain storm



em *pet* *ârî* *χer-k* *mâtet* *enen* *âśt* *sep* *sen* *er* *χa-pet*
in the sky. Is done by thee the like of this many times, twice, against the shower



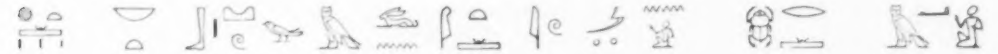
er *pesṭ* *âtennu* *seχer* *Âpepi* *em* *un* *mât* *χut* *en*
for the shining of the sun's disk. Overthrown is Apepi in very truth. Good is it to



ârî-s *ḥer ḥetep* *ta* *χut* 16. *nef* *em* *neter* *χertet* *erṭât* *peḥti* *en*
do it upon earth, good for one in the nether world, is given power to



se *pen* *er* *âaut* *ent* *ḥer-f* *neḥem-f* *pu* *mâ*
person this for dignities which are above him, delivered is he to wit from



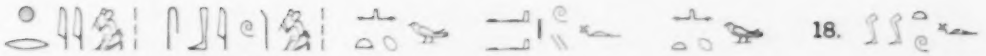
χet *neḥt* *bu-ṭu* *em* *un* *mât* *âu* *mau-nâ* *χeper* *mâ-â*
things all evil in very truth. "May see I it happen to me."



śât *ḥetep* *ent* *seχer* *Âpepi* *χeft* *nu* *Râ*
Book first of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā.



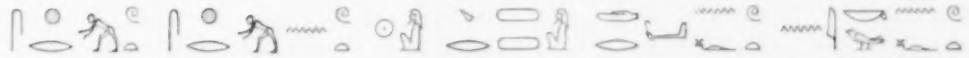
t'eṭṭu *χer* *ḥer* *ḥrâ-k* *Âpepi* *χeft* *pfi* *en* *Râ* *ḥem* *ḥa-k*
Say, "Down upon face thy Apepi enemy that of Rā, go back, retreat thou



χeri *Sebâu* *ât* *ââiu - f* *ât* 18. *reṭṭu - f*
enemy, Sebau without arms his and without legs his,



ṯâiṭ *χenti - k* *âu* *χet* *ḥer - k* *âuk* *χer - tu*
split up is snout thy, are things upon thee. Art thou fallen thou,



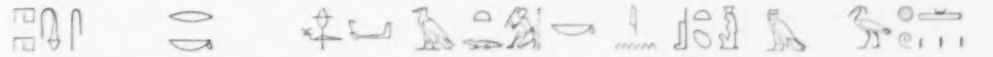
seχer-tu *seχer en tu* *Rā Heru - χuti* *ṭer-nef-tu* *nâk-nef-tu*
overthrown thou, overthrows thee Rā - Harmachis, destroys he thee, damns he thee,



seaunnu - tu *ârit - f* *en* 19. *t'et - f* *âuk* *χer - tu* *en* *set*
hook thee does he body his. Art thou thrown down thou by the flame,



per *âm - s* *nesert* *per* *em* *heh - s* *per* *em* *at - s*
comes forth from it fire proceeding from flame its, comes forth at moment its



heh - s *erek* *χesef* *at - k* *ân* *Âuset* *em* *χu*
flame its against thee. Repulsed is crocodile thy, says Isis with the strength of



ṭep - re - s *beḥen* *ba - k* 20. *âu* *θest - k* *uṭ* *en*
utterance her, is cut in pieces soul thy, severed are vertebræ thy, inflicts



Ḥeru *set'ebu - k* *Ḥeru* *menu* *ḥer* *sau - k* *schetem - tu*
Horus blows thy, the Horus children are for smashing thee, destroyed art thou



en *at - sen* *ḥem* *ḥem - k* *χet* *χet - k* *χer - tu*
at season their. Back, back thou, retreat, retreat thou, fallen art thou,



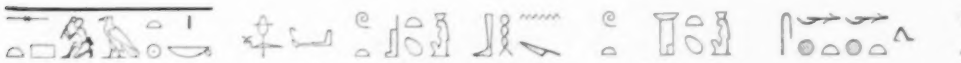
χet ḥem - tu Ā́pepi 21. *seχetχet - tu paut neteru āat*

retreating, going back thou Apepi. Makes to turn back thee the cycle of the gods great



ȧmu Ánnu seḥem en Ḥeru at - k sȧaṭ en

who are in Heliopolis, makes to go back Horus crocodile thy, paralyses



Sut at - k χesef - tu Áuset beḥen - tu Nebt - ḥet seχetχet - tu

Sut moment thy. Repulses thee Isis, cuts asunder thee Nephthys, makes to go back thee



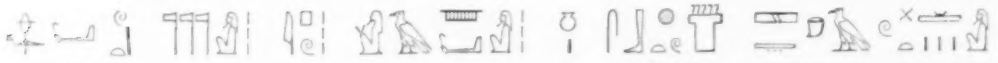
paut neteru āat 22. *ȧmu ḥāt uȧa en Rā māta*

the cycle of the gods great who are in the front of the boat of Rā. The chain



en Sut ḥer neḥbt - k ṭāt Ḥeru mesu māb - sen ȧm - k

of Sut is upon neck thy, give the Horus children spears their into thee,



χesef - tu neteru ȧpu saa nu sebeχtu ḳetaut

repulse thee gods those the guardians of the portals secret.



23. *per heh - sen er - ek em set ȧ χet ḥem en*

Comes forth flame their against thee from the fire. O going back, retreating from



heh - sen em nesert per em re - sen ȧ χer senb

flames their of fire coming forth from mouths their! O falling one, wriggler,



Ā́pepi ȧ χet

Apepi, O going back,

Column XXIV.

1. 

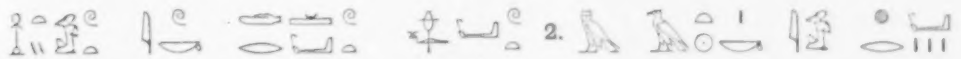
ḥem *χeft* *en* *Rā* *ȧuk* *χer - tu* *en* *at - f* *tui*

retreating, enemy of Rā, art thou fallen thou at moment his this!



seχer - tu *ȧmu* *uȧa - f* *ḥa - k* *er - ek* *ȧuk*

Have overthrown thee those who are in boat his, back thou for thee. Art thou



ḥenti - tu *ȧuk* *ṭer - tu* *χesef - tu* 2. *em* *at - k* *ȧ* *χer*

cursed thou, art thou destroyed thou, repulsed thou at moment thy. O trippings up



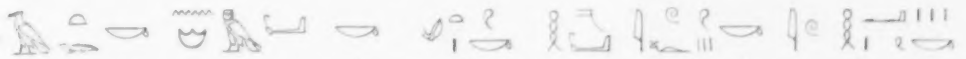
erek *ȧuk* *ḥem - tu* *ba - k* *ḥem - tu* *ṭeṭ* *ȧuf - k*

to thee! Art thou turned back thou and soul thy, turned back art thou, carried off is flesh thy,



uṯ *set'ebu - k* *ȧru* *ȧṯ - k* *ȧȧiṯ - k* *ṭer*

inflicted are blows thy, is made cutting thy and slaughter thy, destroyed is

3. 

at - k *neḥem - k* *mest'er-k* *ḥu* *ȧuf - k* *ȧu* *ḳȧu - k*

crocodile thy, deprived art thou of ear thy, struck is flesh thy from limbs thy.



setenemem *ba - k* *er* *χebit - k* *sek* *ren - k* *ṭer*

turned back is soul thy from shade thy, destroyed is name thy, made nothing



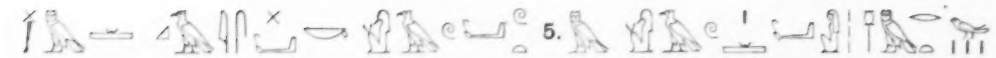
ḥekau - k 4. *seḥetem - tu* *χer* *seχer - tu* *an*

are enchantments thy, destroyed art thou, pierced, overthrown art thou, not



per - k *em* *χebt - k* *tui* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnū t'etta* *ṭāt* *set'ebu - k*

mayest come forth thou from cavern thy that for ever and ever. Given are blows thy



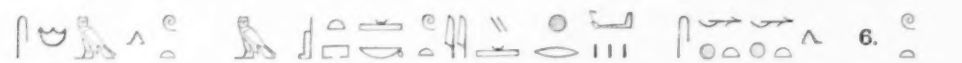
nem *qaàs - k* *sau - tu* *em* *sau* *mertu*

a second time, fettered art thou and beaten by the beaters cruel,



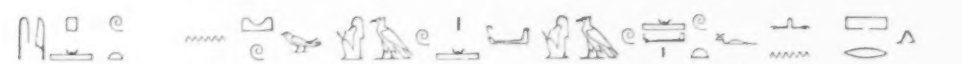
χesef *at - k* *neḥem* *at - k* *neḥem* *Rā* *mest'er-k*

is repulsed moment thy, is turned back crocodile thy, seizes Rā ear thy,



seḥem - tu *em* *àuset - k* *tui* *χer* *seχetχet - tu*

making to go back thee upon seat thy that, upset and made to go back art thou,



sâp - tu *en* *ṭu* *sau* *sau - tu - f* *àn* *per*

condemned art thou for crime, beating, beats thee he, not coming forth



sep - f *tem* *ba - k* *seḥetem* *χebit - k* *sâp - tu* *en*

luck his. Damned is soul thy, destroyed is shade thy, condemned thee has



mua *Ḥeru* *seχem - s* *àm - k* *àm - s* *àm - k* *er* *t'er*

the eye of Horus, prevails it over thee, eats it into thee to the fulness



en *ḥrâ - s* *à* *tem* *erek* *Āpepi* *sati - nes-tu* *ḥem - nes-tu*

of face its. O an end to thee Apepi, shoots it thee, turns back it thee,



seḥetem - nes-tu *tem - nes - tu* *t'ettu* *ṭetṭeṭ* *em* *re*

destroys it thee, makes an end it of thee." Say firmly with the mouth,



χer *ḥer* *ḥrâ - k* *Āpepi* *χeft* *en* *Rā* *per* *set* *er - ek*

"Down upon face thy Apepi enemy of Rā! Comes forth the flame against thee



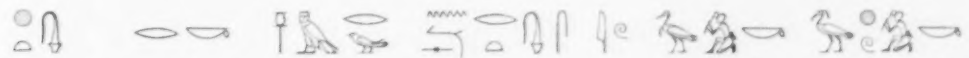
per em maa Ḥeru per nebāt ur 9. *er - ek per em*

coming forth from the eye of Horus, comes forth fire great against thee, coming forth from



maa Ḥeru māt'eṭ - en - tu em ḥeḥ en nesert per

the eye of Horus. Thrust down art thou into the flame of fire, comes forth



χet erek mer nesert - s ȧu ba - k χu - k

the flame against thee, deadly is flame its to soul thy, χu thy,



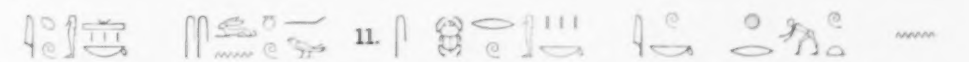
10. *ḥekau - k χat - k χebit - k nebt amem*

words of power thy, body thy, shade thy. The mistress of fire



seχem - s ȧm - k sesunnu ḥeḥ - s em ba - k tem - s

prevails it over thee, hooks flame it into soul thy, makes an end it



ȧru-k sesunnu - s 11. *χeperu - k ȧuk χer - tu en*

of what is to thee, hooks it forms thy. Art thou fallen through



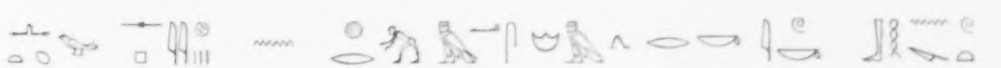
maa Ḥeru tenten - tu ȧu χeft - s ent bu - nes - tu ȧp - s

the eye of Horus, powerful against enemy its, which devours thee, leads it



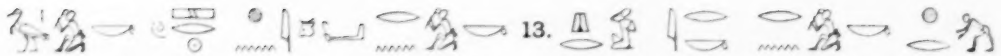
set ur seχem maa Rā 12. *ȧm - k ȧm - tu ȧmi*

the fire mighty, prevails the eye of Rā over thee, devours thee the flame,



ȧt sepi en χer mā - s ḥem erek ȧuk beḥen - tu

not remains what falls from it. Back to thee, art thou cut asunder,



ba - k *user* *χenà* *ren - k* 13. *χer* *àrek* *ren - k* *χer*

soul thy is parched, buried is name thy, silence therefore is to name thy, fallen



àrek *ren - k* *χem - tu* *χesef - tu* *χem - k*

therefore is name thy, finished art thou, repulsed art thou, forgotten, forgotten, forgotten art thou.



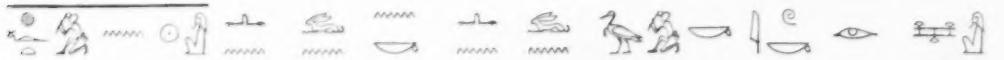
χet *erek* *ḥem* *erek* *àuk* *beḥen-tu* *ḥeràu* - *tu* *àu* 14.

Retreat to thee, back to thee, art thou cut in pieces, removed art thou from



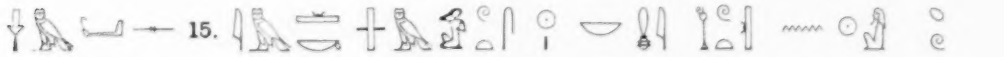
àmu *keràut - f* *à* *sek* *sek* *tem* *tem - k* *Ā pepi*

those in shrine his. O ground up, ground up, end, end to thee, Apepi,



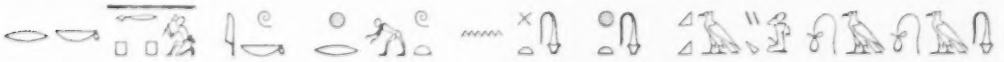
χeft *en* *Rā* *àn* *un - nek* *àn* *un* *ba - k* *àuk* *maa* *Ḥeru*

enemy of Rā! Not rising to thee, not rising to soul thy, thou the eye of Horus



seχem - s *àm - k* *àm - tu-s* *hru* *neb* *mà* *utu* *en* *Rā* *àru* 15.

prevails it over thee, eats thee it day every as decreed Rā to be done



erek *Ā pepi* *àuk* *χer - tu* *en* *set* *χet* *qeqa* *uaua*

to thee Apepi. Art thou fallen thou into fire and flame, feeds the flame



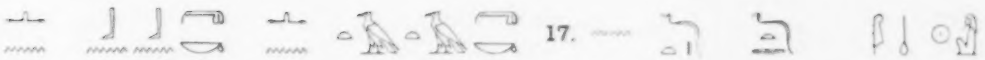
àm - k *sàp - tu* *ent* *àmit* *maa* *Ḥeru* *χut* *ent* 16.

upon thee, condemned art thou to the fire of the eye of Horus, the fire which



bunes - nes-tu *àm - s* *ba - k* *χut - k* *χat - k* *χebit - k*

eats it thee, eats it soul thy, *χu* thy, body thy, shade thy:



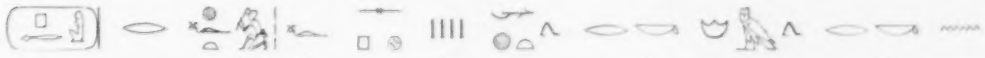
àn *benben* - *k* *àn* *tata* - *k* 17. *en* *t'et* *t'etta* *mātχeru* *Rā*

not erections to thee, not emissions to thee of body for ever and ever. Triumphs Rā



erek *Āpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Ḥeru* *er* *χefti* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru*

against thee Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Horus over the Enemy. Times four. Triumphs



P-āa *er* *χefti* - *f* *sep* *fṭu* *χet* *erek* *ḥem* *erek* *en*

P-āa over enemies his. Times four. Back to thee, retreat to thee at



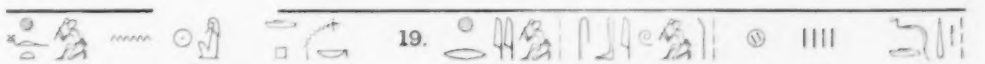
18. *ḥekau* *pen* *per* *em* *re-à* *ḥer* *P-āa* *t'etta*

word of power this coming forth from mouth my on behalf of P-āa for ever.



ṭer - *k* *ḥekau* *pen* *àn* *ì* - *k* *sep* - *f* *t'etta* *Āpepi*

Destroys thee word of power this, not comes to thee fate his for ever. O Apepi



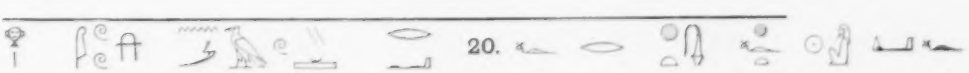
χeft *en* *Rā* *ṭep* - *k* 19. *χeri* *Sebàu* *sep* *fṭu* *t'eṭṭu*

enemy of Rā, taste thou enemy, Sebau. Times four. To be said



àu *sa* *āb* *tur* *às* *aru* *nek* *ren* *en* *Āpepi* *nāu*

by a person clean, purified. Now may be made by thee the name of Apepi written



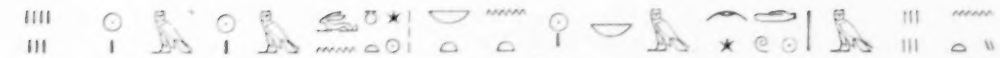
ḥer *śuu* *nemau* *erṭā* - *f* *er* *χet* *χeft* *Rā* *ṭā* - *f*

upon papyrus new, and place it upon the fire when Rā gives he



su *χeft* *Rā* *em* *āḥā* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep* - *f* *em* *ānχ* - *tet* *em*

himself, when Rā is in culmination, when Rā sets he in the land of life, on



sexef hru em hru em unnut nebt ent hru neb em ābṭu em sus enti
seven of day, by day, at hour every of day every, by month, on sixth day



ḥeb em 21. *met' ṭua enti ḥeb mâtet hru nebt en sexer χeft*
festival, on fifteenth day festival, likewise day every for overthrowing enemies



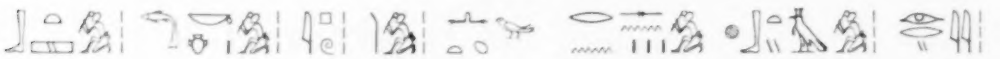
nu Rā Heru-χuti
of Rā - Harmachis.



ḥet meḥt sen ent sexer Āpepi χeft nu Rā
Book second of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā.



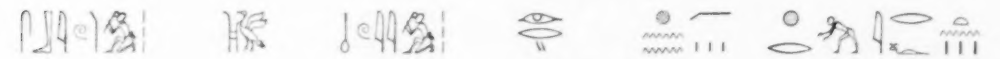
χer ḥer ḥrā-ten χeft nu Rā Sebāu 22. *nebt χeft mesu*
Fall upon faces your, enemies of Rā, Sebau every, enemies, children



beteṧ χak-ābu āpu Sebāu āt ren-sen χebti āri
of inertness, rebels these, Sebau, without name (are) they, sinners. Are made



χebti - sen utut āru āṭi χak - ābu 23. *kauti*
caverns their as decreed to be made, tied fast are the rebels, the katui,



Sebāu tennu χeriu āri χenen χer āref-ten
and the Sebau; how many are the enemies! Is made your overthrowing, fall therefore ye,



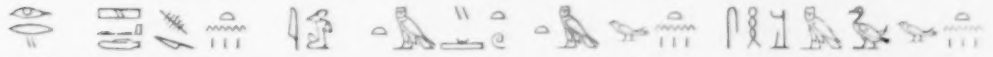
χer-ten em at ent Rā tem - ten χer-f-ten
fall ye at the moment of Rā, an end to you, throws down he you.

Column XXV.

1. 

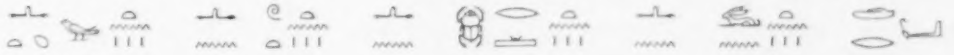
χer - f *ṭepu - ten* *ḥer ḥrà - ten* *às pu* *ḥetem - f* *ten nu*

Casts down he heads your upon faces your, and so destroys he you, is he



àri *ḥāṭ - ten* *à* *tem - tu* *tem - ten* *sehetem - ten*

making slaughter your. Oh destruction an end to you. Be destroyed you,



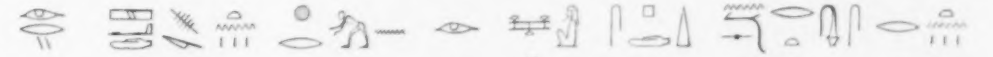
àt - ten *àntu - ten* *àn* *χeper - ten* *àn* *un-ten* *ṭer*

annihilated you, eclipsed you. Not may become you, not may exist you, be destroyed



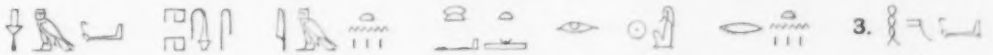
ṭepu-ten 2. *senàt* *ḥāt - ten* *ḥeaq* *θesu - ten* *uṭ* *set'ebu*

heads your, be cut throats your, be severed vertebræ your, be inflicted blows



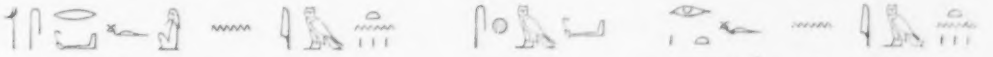
àri *ḥāṭ - ten* *χer en maa Ḥeru* *sepṭ* *nesert - s* *er-ten*

making slaughter your. Falls the eye of Horus dowered with flame its against you,



seχem *heh - s* *àm-ten* *χàt* *maa* *Rā* *er ten* 3. *ḥu*

obtains the mastery flame its over you. Rises the eye of Rā against you, smites



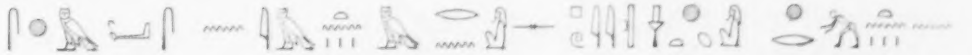
user - f *en* *àm - ten* *seχem* *maat - f* *en* *àm - ten*

power his at you, obtains the mastery eye his over you,



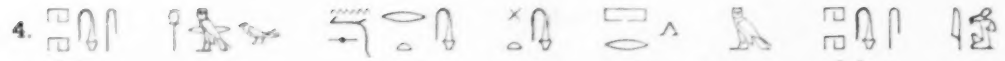
àm - s - ten *sesunnu - s - ten* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Àmi*

eats it you, hooks it you in name its that of Àmi (eater),



seχem - s *en* *àm - ten* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *Seχet* *χer - ten en*

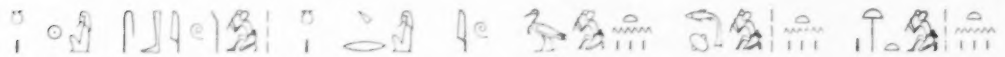
obtains the mastery it over you in name its that of Seχet. Overthrow you



4. *heḥ-s* *mer* *nesert* *set* *per* *em* *heḥ-s* *á*
flame its cruel, and the flame and burning coming forth from fire its. O



sekaek-s - ten *á* *sek* *sep sen* *per* *set* *er* *ten* *χeft*
destroys it you, O destroying, comes forth the fire against you enemy



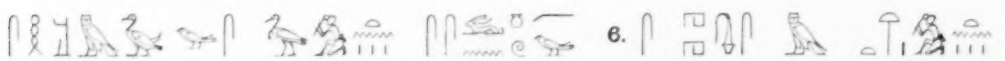
nu *Rā* *Sebàu* *nu* *Ḥeru* *àu* *ba-ten* *χat-ten* *χebit-ten*
of Rā and Sebau of Horus, against souls your, bodies your and shades your.



5. *per* *set* *peses-ten* *χenfi* *χenfi-s-ten* *ubti*
Comes forth fire roasting you, frizzling frizzles it you, scorching



ubti-s-ten *Ápi-s-ur* *àp-s-ten* *àm-s-ten* ..... *nesbu-s-ten*
scorches it you. Ap-s-ur judges she you, devours she you, consumes she you,



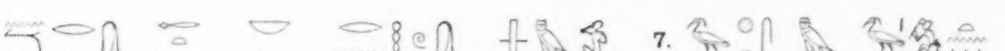
sehetem-s *ba-ten* *sesunnu-* *s* *heḥ-s* *em* *χebit-ten*
destroys she souls your, hooks 6. she fire her into shades your.



á *tem* *tem-ten* *àu-ten* *ṭer-tu* *sep sen* *useḥ-ten*
O an end, an end to you. Are ye destroyed, twice, cut asunder are you,



mātes-ten *àri* *āṭi-ten* *sàpi-ten* *en* *uaua*
hacked in pieces are you, is made slaughter your, judged are you by the fire and



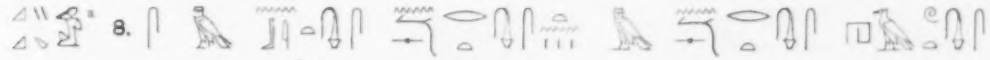
nesert *āat* *nebt* *rekeḥu* *àm* 7. *χut-s* *em* *ba-ten*
the flame great lord of blazing. Eats fire its into souls your,



sexunnu *heḥ-s* *em* *χat-ten* *mâ'eṭ-s - ten* *em* *nebâṭ-s*
hooks flame its into bodies your, binds it you with fire its,



ur *ṭes-s-ten* *em* *ṭes-s* *ṭenṭennu-s-ten* *em* *ṭenṭennu-s*
the fire cuts it you with cutting its, pierces it you with piercing its,



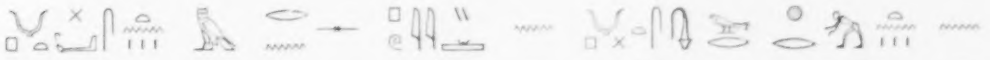
8. *qaqa-s* *em* *nebâṭ-s* *nesert-s-ten* *em* *nesert-s* *haut-s-*
consumes it with fire its, burns up it you with burning its, parches it



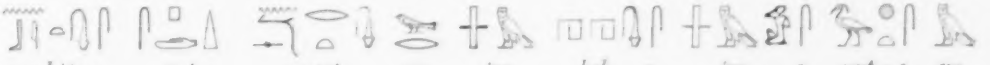
ten *em* *haut-s* *rekeḥu-s-ten* *em* *rekeḥu-s* *amem-s-ten*
you with heat its, consumes it you with burning its, devours it you



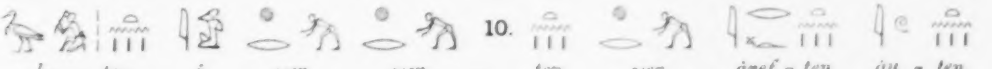
em *amem-s* *set-s-ten* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *set*
with devouring flame its, bites it into you in name its that of "Set" (Fire),



âpṭ-s-ten *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *âpṭ-s-ur* *χer-ten* *en*
judges it you in name its that of 'Âpṭ-s-ur.' Overthrows you



nebâṭ-s *sepṭ* *nesert* *ur* *âm* *heḥ-s* *âm - s* *χut-s* *em*
fire its provided with flame great in fire its, eats it fire its into



ba - ten *â* *χer* *χer - ten* *χer* *âref - ten* *âu - ten*
souls your. O fall, fall ye, fall therefore ye! Are ye



χer-tu *seχertu* *χer - ten* *en* *Rā* *χer - ten* *en* *ṭenten* *en*
fallen, overthrown. Overthrows you Rā, fall ye by the impact of

* This word is written twice in the papyrus.



at - f *tem - ten - nef* *tem - ten* *sehetem - f - ten*

moment his. Makes an end to you he, come to nought ye, destroys he you,



sekher - f - ten *behen - f - ten* *nâk - f - ten* *sâken - f - ten*

overthrows he you, cuts asunder he you, annihilates he you, ruins he you.



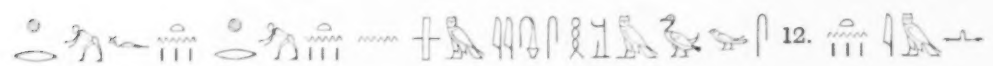
sek - f *ren - ten* *behen - f* *ba - ten* *khenfâ - f - ten*

Destroys he name your, hacks in pieces he souls your, roasts he you,



ḥetem - f - ten *reṯhu - f - ten* *sesunnu - f - ten*

finishes he you, hooks he you, hooks he you,



khr - f - ten *khr - ten* *en* *âmi - s* *ḥetem - s - ten* *âm*

overthrows he you. Fall ye by flame its, destroys it you, be not



ten *un* *â* *tem* *tem - ten* *sep sen* *tem* *âref - ten*

to you existence. O an end, an end to you, twice! An end therefore to you,



tem - ten *tem* *ba - ten* *tem - ten* *tem* *khat - ten*

an end to you. An end to soul your, an end to you. An end to body your,



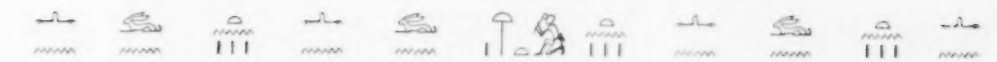
tem - ten *tem* *khebit - ten* *tem - ten* *ân* *un - ten* *ân*

an end to you. An end to shade your an end to you. Be not existence to you, be not



un *ba - ten* *ân* *un - ten* *ân* *un* *khat - ten*

existence to soul your. Be not existence to you, be not existence to body your.



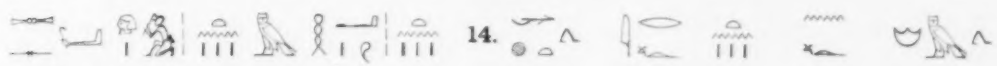
ân un - ten ân un χebit - ten ân un - ten ân

Be not existence to you, be not existence to shades your. Be not existence to you, be not



un ânχ - ten ân un ten ân un nehep - ten ân

existence to life your. Be not existence to you, be not existence to defence your. Be not



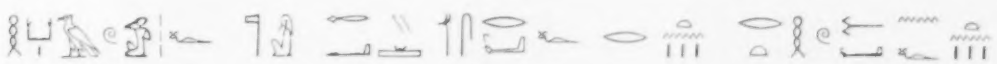
θes ṯep - ten em ḥâu - ten 14. *χet âref - ten nef ḥem*

fastened heads your upon limbs your. Retreat therefore ye before him, go back



âref - ten Sebâu âm - ten un-un en Ṯeḥuti âref - ten em

therefore ye Sebau. Be not ye waking up Thoth therefore ye with



ḥekau - f neter âa user - f er ten reṯu - nef - ten

magic words his. The god great victorious is he over you, hooks he you,



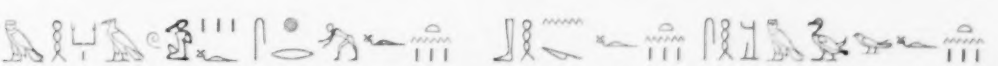
ṯâ - f âritu mest - ten per set ṯep - re - f er - ten

gives he to be done to you what hate ye. Comes forth the fire of utterance his against you,



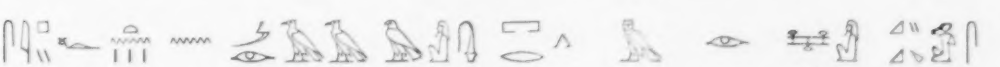
amem âref - ten Sebâu âm unun en Ṯeḥuti âref - ten

be consumed therefore ye Sebau; be not waking up Thoth therefore ye



em ḥekau - f seχer - f - ten beḥen - f - ten seḥetem - f - ten

with magic words his. Overthrows he you, hacks in pieces he you, destroys he you,



sâpi-f - ten en maa Ḥeru per em maa Ḥeru qaqa - s -

judges it you the Horus fire coming forth from the eye of Ḥorus, devours it

16. 

ten er t'er en ḥrâ-s seḥetem - s-ten em âā

you to the whole of face its (*i.e.*, entirely). Destroys it you with the might



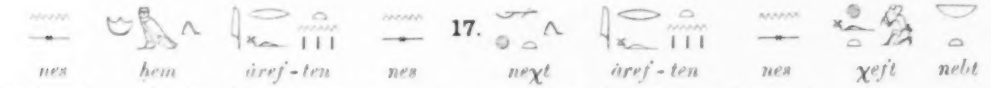
afit - s ân χesef - tu-s em at mertu âb-s em

of flame its, not repulsed is it at the moment wished by heart its in



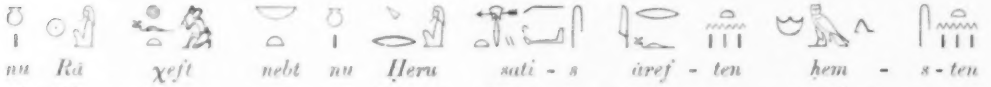
ren - s pfi en Mert tem âref - ten nes ḥem âref - ten

name its that of Mert. An end therefore to you before it, retreat therefore ye



nes ḥem âref - ten nes 17. *neχt âref - ten nes χeft nebt*

before it, go back therefore ye before it, withdraw therefore ye before it, enemy every



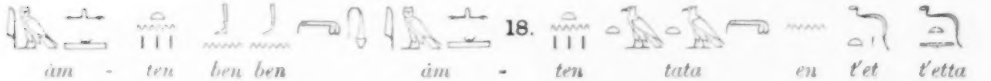
nu Rā χeft nebt nu Ḥeru sati - s âref - ten ḥem - s - ten

of Rā, and enemy every of Horus. Shoots it therefore you, drives back it you,



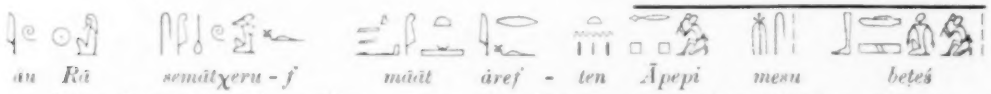
seḥetem - s - ten tem âref - ten - nes sek âref - ten nes

destroys it you, an end therefore to you before it; destruction therefore to you before it



âm - ten ben ben âm - ten tata en t'et t'etta

be not to you erections, be not to you emissions of body for ever!



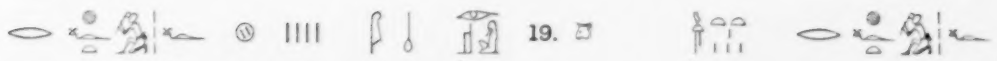
an Rā semāt χeru - f māāt âref - ten Āpepi mesu beteś

Rā makes to triumph over him justice, therefore you, O Apepi and children of inertness,



uru beteś māt χeru Rā er χefti - f sep fṭu māt χeru Ḥeru

great ones of inertness. Triumphs Rā over enemies his. Times four. Triumphs Horus



19.

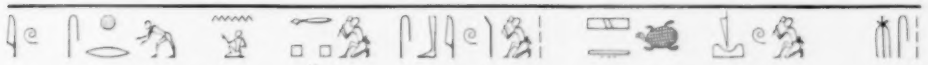
er χefti - f sep fṭu mātχeru Ausar χent Amentiu er χefti - f

over enemies his, times four; triumphs Osiris at the head of the Amentiu over enemies his.



sep fṭu mātχeru P-āa ānχ uṭ'a senb er χefti - f sep fṭu

Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength, health, over enemies his. Times four.



àu seχer - nà Āpepi Sebàu śeta Qeṭṭu mesu

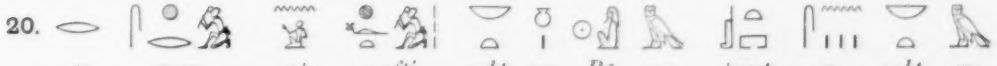
Overthrown have I Apepi, the Sebàu, the Tortoise, Qeṭṭu and the children



beṭeś em àuset - sen nebt em bu nebt enti àu - sen àm

of inertness in station their every, in place every which are they there.

20.



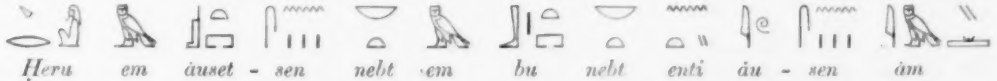
er seχer - nà χefti nebt nu Rā em àuset - sen nebt em

Overthrown have I enemies all of Rā in station their every, in



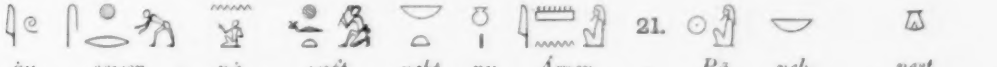
bu nebt enti àu - sen àm er seχer - nà χeft nebt nu

place every which are they there. Overthrown have I enemy every of



Ḥeru em àuset - sen nebt em bu nebt enti àu - sen àm

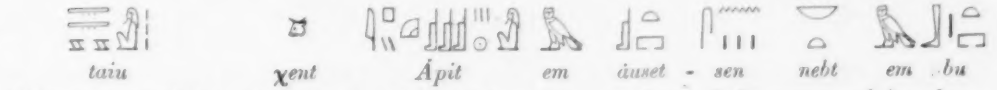
Horus in seat their every in place every which are they there.



21.

àu seχer - nà χeft nebt nu Amen - Rā neb nest

Overthrown have I enemy every of Āmen - Rā lord of the thrones



taiu χent Ápit em àuset - sen nebt em bu

of the two countries at the head of the Apts, in station their every and in place

* In the papyrus the cartouche is empty.



nebt enti àu - sen àm àu seχer - nà χeft nebt nu Ptaḥ
every which are they there. Overthrown have I enemy every of Ptah



Qemà Ànbu-f nebt tàiu em àuset - sen nebt em bu nebt
of Memphis, lord of the two countries, in station their every in place every

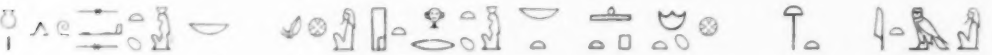


22.

enti àu - sen àm mà enti er hāt χeft nebt nu Àtmu
which are they there: likewise before enemy every of Àtmu,



màtet χeft nebt nu Teḥuti nebt χemennu màtet χeft nebt
likewise enemy every of Thoth lord of Chemennu, likewise enemy every



nu Iusàset neb Ànnu Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ḥetep-Ḥemet χebit Àtmu
of Iusaset lady of Heliopolis, Hathor lady of Ḥetep-Ḥemet and the shade of Atmu;



χeft nebt nu Ḥeru χent χaṯθà nebt Ka-kamit χeft nebt
enemy every of Horus prince of Chatta, lord of Ka-Kamit; enemy every

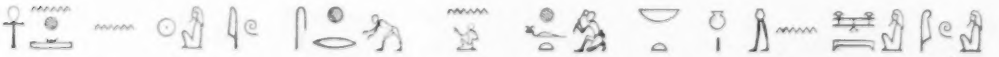
23.



nu χuaut neter ḥeз (?) χeft nebt nu Bast āat nebt Bast χeft
of χuaut ..... enemy every of Bast, great one, lady of Bast; enemy



nebt nu Àusar nebt Ṭeṭṭut χeft nebt nu Ba nebt Ṭeṭṭu neter āa
every of Osiris lord of Tettut; and enemy every of the ram lord of Tettut, god great,



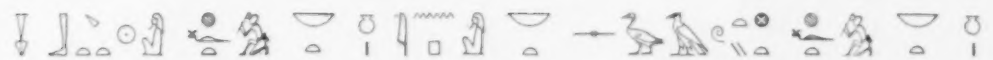
ānχ en Rā àu seχer - nà χeft nebt nu Àn - ḥer - Ṣu
the life of Rā Overthrown have I enemy every of Àn - ḥer - Shu



24.

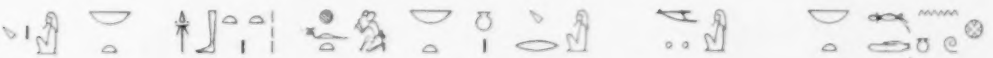
se *Ḥeru* - *Ṭemam* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ámen* - *Rā* *neb*

the son of Horus the concealed; enemy every of Amen - Rā lord of



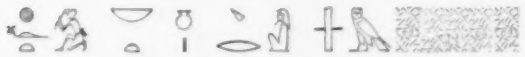
Sam - *beḥutet* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ánpu* *nebt* *Sauti* *χeft* *nebt* *nu*

Sam - beḥutet, enemy every of Ânubis lord of Siut, enemy every of



Ḥeru *nebt* *ábtiu* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *maa* *nebt* *Śetennu*

Horus lord of the easterns; enemy every of "Horus the Double-eyed," lord of Śeṭennu;



χeft *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *ám*

enemy every of Horus in .....

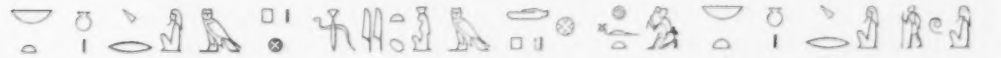
Column XXVI.

1.



χeft *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *Sam* *taiu* *nebt* *χatet* *χeft*

enemy every of Horus the Pilot of the two earths, lord of χatet; enemy



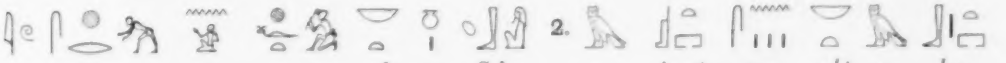
nebt *nu* *Ḥeru* *em* *Pe* *Uat'it* *em* *Ṭep* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *uru*

every of Horus in Pe and Uat'it in Tep; enemy every of Horus, the aged,



nebt *Qemāt* *em* *âuset* - *sen* *nebt* *em* *bu* *nebt* *enti* *âu* - *sen* *âm*

lord of Qemā in station their every, in place every which are they there.



âu *seχer* - *nâ* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Seb* *em* *âuset* - *sen* *nebt* *em* *bu*

Overthrown have I enemy every of Seb in station their every, in place



nebt *enti* *âu* - *sen* *âm* *t'ettu* *ân* *sa* *âb* *tur* *âs* *âru-nek*

every which are they there. Said by a person washed and clean, "Now art done for thou



χeft nebt nu Rā χeft nebt nu P-āa ānχ ut'a senb em mit
enemy every of Rā, enemy every of P-āa life, strength, health, in death



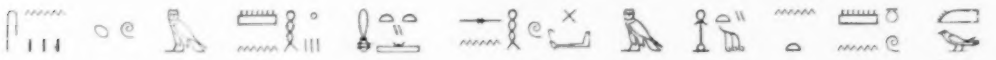
em ānχ ḥnā seχeri nebt enti em âb - f ren en
in life together with designs all which are in heart his. The name of



âtf - sen mut - sen mesu - sen em âbt nebt nāu em
father their, mother their, children their upon (leg) left every shall be written with



vii nat' ḥer śuu neman māṭennu ren - sen her śenbt-
colour green upon papyrus new; inscribed shall be names their upon bodies



sen âru em menḫ mâtet senḫu em śenti ent mennu kam
their made of wax and likewise tied up with hair of colour dark;



peḳaâs ḥer sen sân em ret âbt seχer em mâb
spit upon them and spurn (them) with the foot left; pierce with a lance



em ṭes ertāt ḥer χet em ment ent mābti (?) ḥer sa
of stone; put (them) upon the flame of fire of the burners (?) upon the



ren en Ā pepi sennu χet em χet ent χessau χeft Rā
name of Apepi. Kindle a fire with the flame of *χessau* grass when Rā

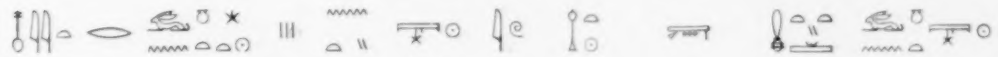


ṭā - f su χeft Rā em āḥā χeft Rā ḥetep - f em
gives he himself; when Rā (is) in culmination; when Rā sets he in



ānχtet *unnut* *ḥetepi* *ent* *ḥru* *ent* *ḳerḥ* *em* *unnut* *sen* *ent* *ḳerḥ*

the land of life; hour first of day of night; at hour (?) second of night



neferit *er* *unnut* *χemet* *enti* *ḳerḥ* *ȧu* *ḥet'* *ta* *mȧtet* *unnut*

until hour three of night until lightens the earth; likewise hour



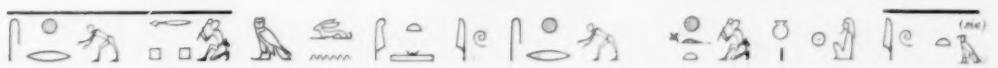
nebt *enti* *ḳerḥ* *unnut* *nebt* *ent* *ḥru* *em* *pautta* *em* *sas* *enti* *ḥeb*

every of the night; hour every of the day of the new moon feast; on sixth of festival;



em *met' ṭua* *enti* *ḥeb* *mȧtet* *ȧbṭu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā*

on fifteenth of festival; likewise of the month. Overthrown is the enemy of Rā,



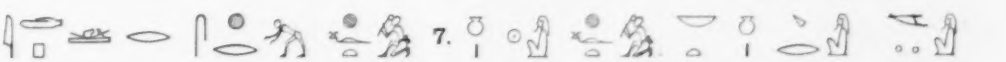
seχer *Ā pepi* *em* *un* *māt* *ȧu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *ȧu* *ta*

overthrown is Apepi in very truth, overthrown is the enemy of Rā." Is



ȧrutu *śāt* *ten* *em* *sem* *pen* *enti* *em* *nāuu* *χeft* *t'at*

made book this after copy this which (is) in writing when goes forth



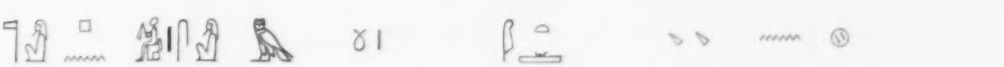
ȧṭep *er* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* - *maa*

the boat to overthrow enemy of Rā, enemy every of Horus of two eyes



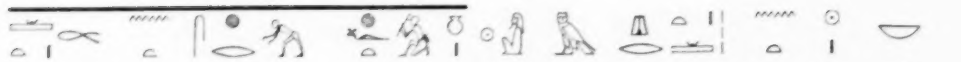
em *Ȧat* - *peḳa* *χut* *en* *se* *śenti* - *nef* *śāt* *ten* *embaḥ*

in Aat - Peḳa. Good (it is) for a person (when) recites he book this before



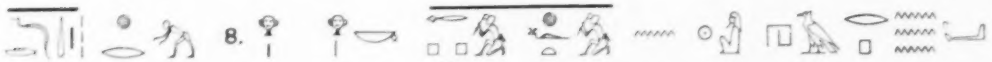
neter *pen* *śeps* *em* *śes* *māāt* *ḥeḥ* *en* *sep*

god this venerable with rope of law, (*i.e.*, regularly,) thousands of times.



śāt ent seχer χeft nu Rā em χerti ent ḥru neb

The book of overthrowing the enemy of Rā in the course of day every.



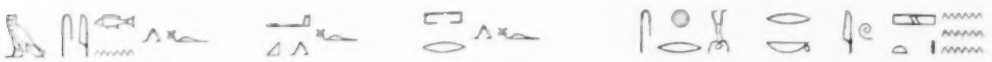
t'ettu χer ḥer ḥrâ - k Ȧpepi χeft en Rā harp

Say, "Down upon face thy Apepi enemy of Rā! plunge,



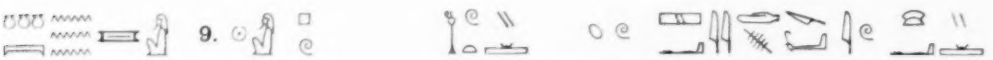
sep sen per em χemt senb sep sen sân - tu sân

twice, coming out from unknown place. Turn back, twice, quickly, quickening



em sân - f âq - f per - f seχer erek âu śet

as hastens he (when) enters he and comes forth he. Overthrowing to thee at the sea



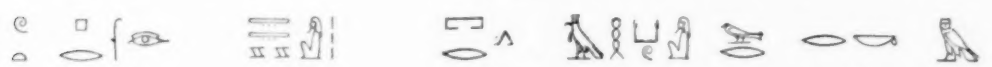
Nu Rā pu utut âru śāiṭ âu χā

of Nu! Rā it is (who) has commanded to perform slaughter. Rises



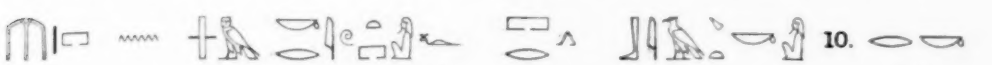
nesert ur erék sepṭ per em Ȧpt-ḥekau um maa

the flame great against thee, provided coming forth from Ȧpt-ḥekau, open of two eyes



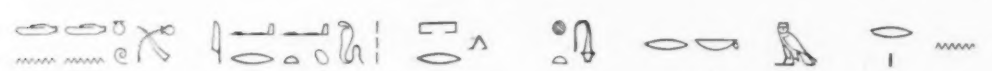
tu petrâ taiu perti ḥekau ur erek em

thou looking upon the two earths, comes forth the spell great against thee from



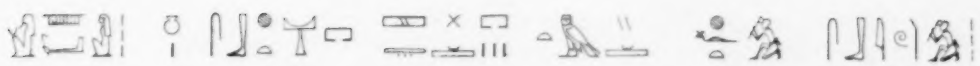
seḥ en âm kerâut - f per bâak erek

the closet which is in shrine his. Comes forth the hawk against thee,



ṭenṭennu âārāt per χet erek em re en

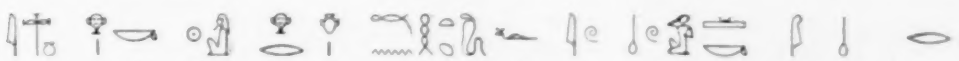
present themselves the uræi, comes forth flame against thee from the mouth of



sau *nu* *sebχet* *śeta* *tem* *χeft* *Sebâu*
the guardians of the pylons secret. An end [to thee] enemy, Sebâu,



taâr *Âpepi* *ḥetep* *Rā* *ḥer* *âa - f* *em* *χennu* *kerâut - f*
be fettered Apepi, rests Rā upon station his within shrine his.

11. 

ânet' *ḥrâ-k* *Rā* *ḥer âb* *meḥenet - f* *âu* *χeru - k* *mātχeru* *er*
Hail to thee Rā within diadem his! Is voice thy triumphant over



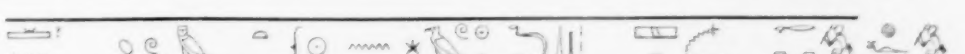
Âpepi *sep* *fṭu* *âu* *χeru - k* *māt* *er* *χefti - k* *sep* *fṭu* *âu*
Apepi. Times four. Is voice thy law against enemies thy. Times four. Is



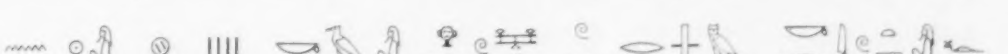
χeru *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *mātχeru* *er* *χefti - f* *sep* *fṭu*
the voice of P-āa, life, strength, health, triumphant over enemies his. Times four.



śep - k *Âpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *śāt* *ent* 12. *seḥem* *Âpepi* *χeft* *ur*
Be spit upon thou Apepi. Times four." The book of turning back Apepi enemy great.



śāt *âru* *em* *trâ* *en* *ṭūau* *t'eṭṭu* *śep - k* *Âpepi* *χeft*
Recitation (?) made at the season of dawn. Say "Be spit upon thou Apepi enemy



en *Rā* *sep* *fṭu* *ka* *ḥeru - tu* *er* *âm* *kerâut - f*
of Rā. Times four! O turned back from (him that is) in shrine his,

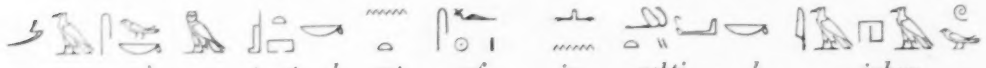


tem - tu *Sebâu* *χer-tu* *ḥer* *ḥrâ - k* *śep-k* *ḥrâ - k* *ḥem*
an end to thee Sebâu, fallen art thou upon face thy. Be spit upon face thy, retreat

13. 

tu em ȧuset - k ṭebu māṭennu - k śerȧu uat - k

thou into place thy, be impeded roads thy, be stopped paths thy,



mas - k em ȧuset - k ent sef ȧn peḥti - k ȧahau

be confined thou in place thy of yesterday. Not strength to thee, feeble



ȧb - k ḥȧu - k em qemtu ȧuk sȧati - tu ȧn un

heart thy, limbs thy in torpidity, art thou annihilated, not be



pert - k ȧuk utut en ȧmu nemmat menḫu sepṭ

exit thy. Art thou decreed to those at the block and the slaughterers provided with



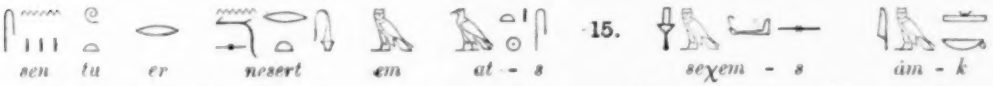
ṭes senȧ - sen ṭep - k ȧu - sen neḫeb - k ȧri - sen tu

knives; cut off they head thy; chop they neck thy, do for they thee



em nem sep sen ḥa - sen - tu ȧu set ṭenṭen - tu ḫerȧu -

a second time, twice; throw they thee to the flame; goading thee terrify



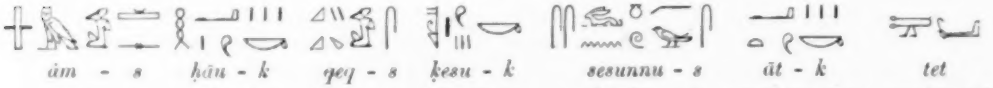
sen tu er nesert em at - s

they thee more than the flame at moment its.

15.

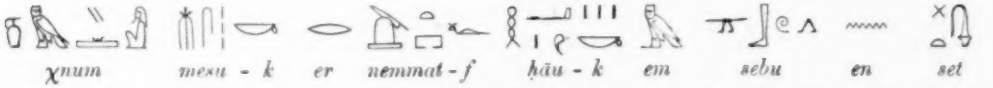
seχem - s ȧm - k

Gains the mastery it over thee;



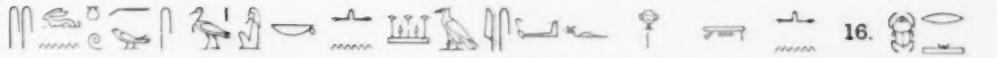
ȧm - s ḫȧu - k qeq - s ḳesu - k sesunnu - s ȧt - k tet

eats it limbs thy; devours it bones thy; hooks it members thy; carries off



χnum mesu - k er nemmat - f ḫȧu - k em sebu en set

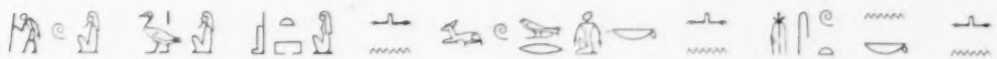
Chnumis children thy to block his. Limbs thy are transferred to the flame;



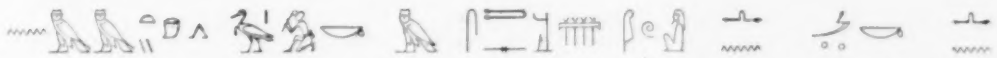
sesunnu - s ba - k ân śaâs - f ḥer ta ân 16. *χeper*
hooks it soul thy; not may pass it over earth; not may become



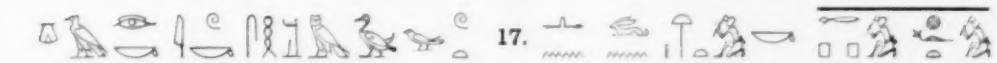
ââu - k em ta pen Âpepi χeft en Rā sehetem - tu Ḥeru
arms thy on earth this, Apepi enemy of Rā. Destroys thee Horus



uru se Âuset ân âuur - k ân mestu - nek ân
the aged son of Isis; not be conception to thee; not birth to thee; not



nementi ba - k em s-θes Śu ân maa - k ân
may reach out soul thy to (what) supports Shu; not mayest see thou; not



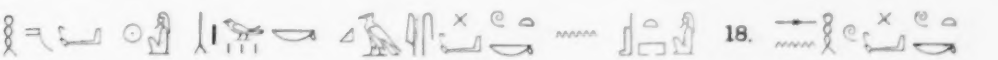
ḳa - k âuk sehetem - tu 17. *ân un χebit - k Âpepi χeft*
mayest look thou; art destroyed thou; not may be shade thy Apepi enemy



en Rā śep-k Sebâu tem ren - k ân seχau - tuk
of Rā. Be spit upon thou Sebâu; an end to name thy; not be remembrance to thee;



âri net'erâu - k peḳas - tu ḥer - k tennu seχau - tuk
be made mastery thy; be sick thou over thyself at each remembrance of thine;



ḥu Rā set'ebu - k qaâs - tuk en Âuset 18. *senḥu - tuk*
inflicts Rā blows thy; tied up art thou by Isis; bound art thou (by)



Nebt - ḥet χut en Teḥuti er ḥetem - tuk ân un ba - k
Nephthys; the virtues of Thoth are for destroying thee. Not may exist soul thy



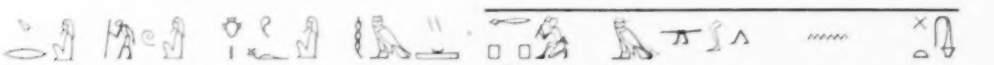
mā baiu ân un χat - k χenti χatu peshu - tuk
among the souls; not may be body thy with carcases; may bite thee



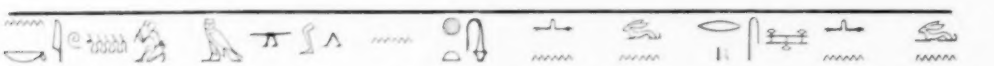
χet ām - tu nesert âri uawa ḳetep-s ḥer - k Āpepi
the fire; may devour thee the flame making burning; may rest it upon thee, Apepi



χeft en Rā âu Rā em ḳāā Átmu em āu âbu
enemy of Rā. Is Rā rejoicing, Is Tmu in heart pulsings of delight,



Ḥeru uru âb-f net'em Āpepi mes en set
Horus the elder heart his (is) glad; Apepi is transferred to the flame



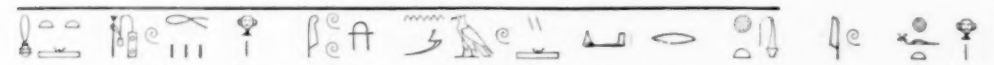
nekâu mes en χet ân un res ân un
and Nekau is transferred to the fire. Not may exist at all, not may exist



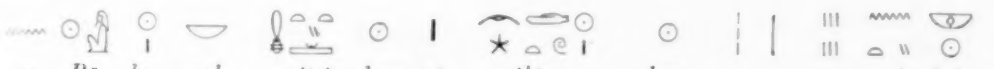
χebit - f em pet em ta Āpepi χeft en Rā ḥep - k
shade his in heaven, or in earth. Apepi enemy of Rā, be spit upon thou,



tem Āpepi sep fṭu t'eṭṭu ḥer Āpepi âra em menḫ χa
an end to Apepi. Times four." Say over Apepi made of wax, inscribed



mâtet nāu ḥer śuu nemau ṭā er χet âu χeft
likewise written upon papyrus new, and put upon the fire in the presence



en Rā ḥru neb mâtet ḥru uā âbṭu ḥru sas enti ḥeb
of Rā day every, likewise day first of the months, and day sixth of festival

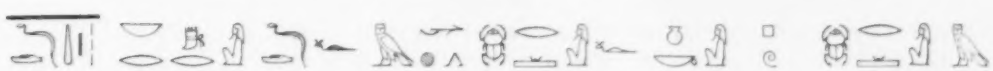


met' ṭua enti ḥeb 21. *seχer Ȧpepi ḥer mâu ḥer ta*
and fifteenth of festival. Overthrown is Apepi by water, by land,

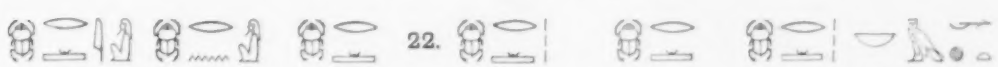
ḥer ȧχemu
by the stars.



ḥâṭ enti reχ χeperu nu Rā seχer Ȧpepi
Book of knowing the evolutions of Rā and overthrowing Apepi.



t'eṭṭu Neb-er-t'er t'eṭ-f emχet χeper-f nuk pu χeper em
Words of Neb-er-t'er. Says he after became he, "I am to wit the becomer as



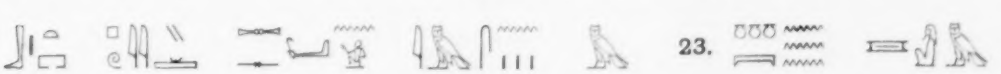
χeperâ χeper-nâ χeper 22. *χeperu χeper χeperu neb emχet*
χeperâ. Became I the becoming of becomings, the becoming of becomings all after



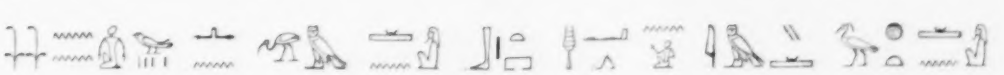
χeper-ȧ āśt χeperu em per em re-ȧ ȧn χeper
becomings my many, and the evolutions coming forth from mouth my. Not had become



pet ȧn χeper ta ȧn qemam seta t'eṭ'et em
heaven, not had become earth, not were created ground objects and reptiles in



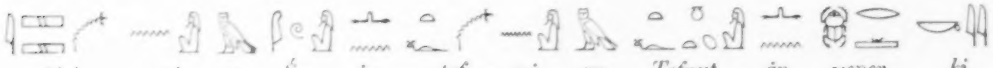
bu pui θes-nâ ȧm-sen em 23. *nu em*
place that. Raised I them out of the watery mass from



enenu ȧn qem-nâ bu ȧḥâ-nâ ȧm χut-nâ
inertness. Not found I a place could stand I there. Strong was I



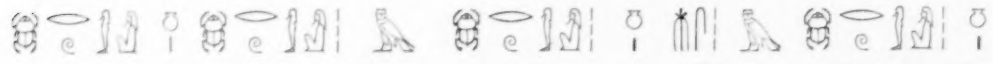
em ȧb - ȧ senti - nȧ em Śu ȧri - nȧ ȧru nebt uȧ - k[uȧ] ȧn
in heart my, founded I Shu, made I attributes all. Alone was I, not



ȧśeś - nȧ em Śu ȧn tef - nȧ em Tefnut ȧn χeper ki
evacuated had I Shu, not had spit up I Tefnut. Not became other

24. 

ȧri - nef ḥnȧ - ȧ senti - nȧ em ȧb - ȧ t'es - ȧ χeper ȧśt
worked he with me. Laid foundation I in heart my own, became many



χeperu nu χeperu em χeperu nu mesu em χeperu nu
the becomings of the becomings out of the becomings of births from the becomings of

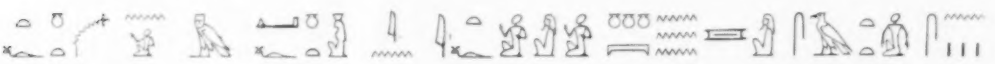


mesu - sen ȧnuk pu ḥat - ȧ em χefȧ - ȧ tataȧt - nȧ
births their. I to wit cohabited I with fist my, copulated I

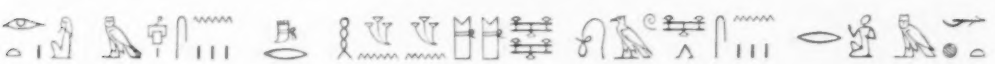
Column XXVII.

1. 

em χebit - ȧ χer - nȧ em re - a t'es - ȧ ȧśeś - nȧ em Śu
with shade my, poured liquid I into mouth my own, evacuated I Shu,



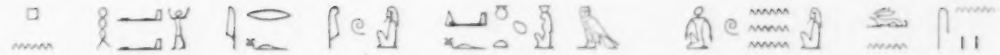
tefnut - nȧ em Tefnut ȧn ȧtf - ȧ Nu s - atet - sen
spit up I Tefnut." Says father my Nu, "Eclipse they



mat - ȧ em sa - sen t'er ḥenḥen uau - sen er - ȧ emχet
eye my behind them, since for centuries proceeded they from me after



χeper - ȧ em neter uȧ neter χemet pu er - ȧ χeper - nȧ em ta
became I from god one gods three to wit from me, became I in land



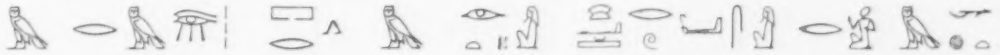
pen *ḥāā* *âref* *Śu* *Tefnut* *em* *enenu* *un - sen*
this. Rejoiced therefore Shu and Tefnut in the inert watery mass were they



âm - f *ân - sen* *nâ* *mat - â* *emχet - sen* *emχet* *âref*
in it, and bring they to me eye my after them. After therefore



sam - nâ *ât - â* *rem - nâ* *ḥer - sen* *χeper* 3. *reθ* *pu*
gather up I limbs my, weep I over them, become men and women to wit



em *remu* *per* *em* *mat - â* *χâru - s* *er - â* *emχet*
from the tears coming out from eye my, growls it at me as



ī - s *qem - s* *âri - nâ* *ket* *em* *âuset - s* *ṭebi - s* *em* *χut*
comes it finds it made have I another in place its restoring it with splendour



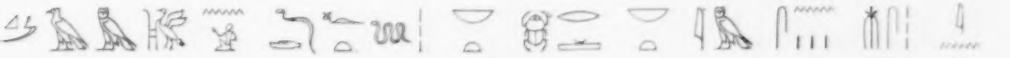
âru - nâ s - χenti *âref* *âuset - s* *em* *ḥrâ - â* *emχet* *âref* *ḥeq - s*
made have I approaching therefore place its in face my, afterwards therefore rules it



4. *ta* *pen* *er* *t'er - f* *χer* *en* *at - sen* *âu* *nabu - sen*
earth this whole of it. Fall destinies their upon plants their,



tebu - nâ *tet - s* *âm - s* *per - nâ* *em* *nabu*
restore I (what) carries away it from it. Come forth I from the plants,



qemam - nâ *t'etfet* *nebt* *χeper* *nebt* *âm - sen* *menu* *âu*
create I reptiles all becomes all from them. Give birth



Śu *Tefnut* 5. *ḥnā* *Nut* *mesu* *ân* *Seb* *Nut* *Ausar* *Ḥeru*
Shu and Tefnut to Nut, giving birth to Seb and Nut Osiris, Horus



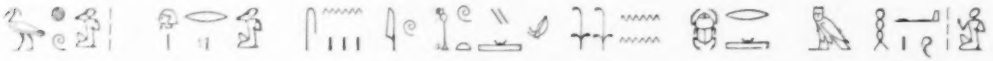
χent-ân-maa *Sut* *Auset* *Nebt-het* *em* *χat* *uā* *em - sa* *uā* *âm - sen*
χent-an-maa, Sut, Isis, Nephthys at birth, one after the other of them,



mesu - sen *âśt - sen* *em* *ta* *pen* *t'eṭṭu* *urt - ḥekau* *ka*
children their multiply they upon earth this. Says *Urt - ḥekau* the genius



pu *ḥekau* 6. *utut - sen* *er* *ḥetem* *χefti* *em*
namely of enchantments, fated are they for destroying the enemies by



χut *ṭep - re - sen* *ân* *utut* *enen* *χeper* *em* *ḥâu - â*
the force of utterance their. Is fated what become has of limbs my.



ân *seχer* *χeft* *pui* *ṭu* *χer* *su* *en* *set* *Âpepi* *ṭes*
Is fallen enemy that evil, fallen has he into flame Apepi, a knife (is)



her *ṭep - f* 7. *beḥen* *mest'er-f* *ân* *un* *ren - f* *em* *ta* *pen* *ân*
on head his, cut off (is) ear his, not exists name his upon earth this. Is



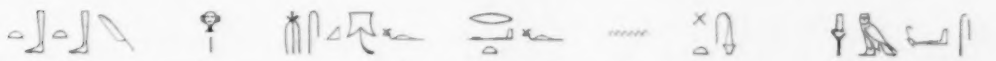
utut - nâ *ḥu* *set'ebu* *er - ef* *sesunnu - nâ* *ḳesu - f*
fated for me to inflict blows upon him. Grip I bones his,



seḥetem - nâ *ba - f* *em* *χerti* *ent* *hru* *neb* *âwu - nâ*
destroy I soul his in the course of day every, sever I



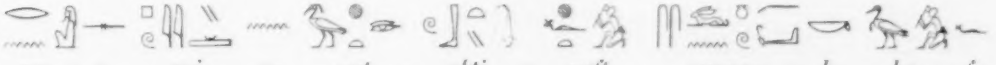
θesu - f er neḥeb - f set em ṯes 8. *ȧṯ ȧuf - f*
vertebræ his from neck his cutting with flint cuttings from flesh his.



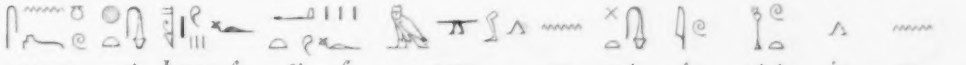
tebteb ḥer meseq - f erṯāt - f en set seχem - s
stabbing through hide his. Given is he to the fire, obtains mastery it



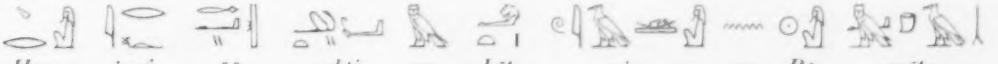
ȧm - f em ren - s pui en Seχet χut - s ȧm - f em
over him in name its that of 'Seχet,' has power it over him in



ren - s pui en χut - ubti - χeft sesunnu - k ba - f
name her that of 'Eye burning the enemy,' grippest thou soul his.

9. 

sennu χet ḳesu - f āt - f mes en set ȧu utut iu en
burnt are bones his, flesh his (is) transferred to the fire. Has decreed [him] to come



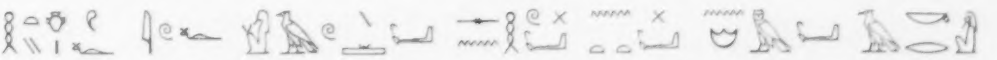
Ḥeru ȧref āā peḥti em ḥāt uȧa en Rā māta -
Horus therefore, great of strength in front of the boat of Rā. Ties up



nef su māta - f en bȧa ȧru - f ḥāu - f em tem un
he him [with] bond his of steel, makes he limbs his not to rise up,



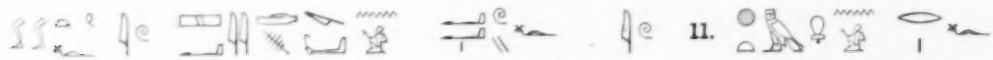
χesef at - f emχet 10. *aḳ - f ṯāt - f qāu - f em*
stopping opportunity his, following eclipse his, gives he vomit his from



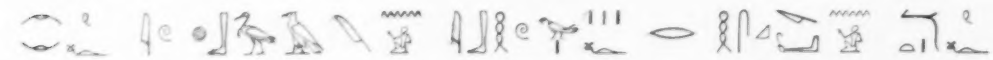
ḥati - f ȧnf sau senḥu netet neḥem Aker
stomach his. Is he fettering, binding, tying, taking away Aker



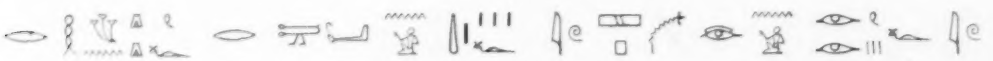
pehti - f er ânn - nâ ḥâu - f er ḳesu - f er sau - nâ
strength his that may sever I flesh his from bones his, that may fetter I



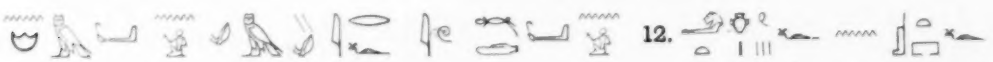
ret - f âu ḥâiṭ - nâ ââui - f âu 11. *χetem - nâ re - f*
feet his, that may cut off I two hands his, that may shut up I mouth his



septu - f âu χeba - nâ âbeḳu - f er ḥesq - nâ nest - f
and lips his, that may break I teeth his, that may cut out I tongue his



er ḥenḳeḳ - f er tet - nâ t'eṭtu - f âu śep - nâ maa - f âu
from throat his, that may seize I words his, that may block up I eyes his, that



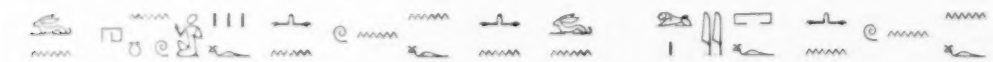
nehem - nâ mest'er âref âu śeṭ - nâ 12. *ḥâti - f en âuset - f*
may carry off I the ear therefore, that may tear out I heart his from place its



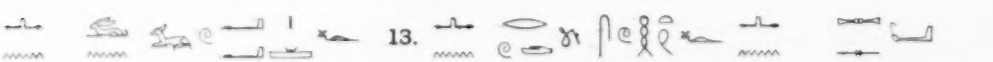
nest - f pu âḥâ - f âru-â su em tem un
and throne its, that is to say, station its, that may make I him in condition of non-existence



ân un ren - f ân un memi - f ân un - nef ân
Not may exist name his; not may exist what is born to him, not may exist he, not



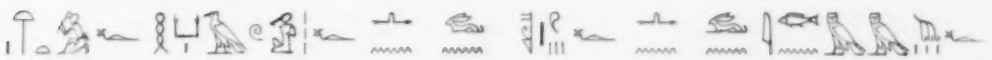
un hennu - f ân un - nef ân un rei - f ân un - nef
may exist kinsfolk his, not may exist he, not may exist neighbour his, not may exist he;



ân un âuâd - f 13. *ân ruṭ suḫt - f ân θes*
not may exist heir his. Not may grow egg his, not may be established



metu-f *θes* *rer* *ân* *un* *ba - f* *χat-f* *χut-f*
seed his, on the other hand, not may exist soul his, body his, χu his.



χebit-f *ḥekau - f* *ân* *un* *ḳesu-f* *ân* *un* *ânememu - f*
shade his, words of power his. Not may exist bones his, not may exist skin his,



14.

âuf *χer* *seχer* *ân* *un - nef* *χer - s* *en* *ḥet* *enti*
let him fall and be overthrown; not may be he. Let grip it the flame of



maa *Ḥeru* *en* *ḥenti* *en* *âmenḥui* *χer* *ṭes*
the eye of Horus, and of the striker, and of the sacrificers having the knife;

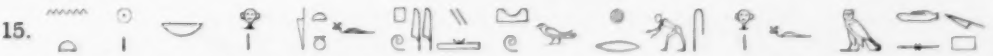


temi *âri-sen* *entā - sen* *âm - f* *âuf* *χer* *en*
the cutting perform they, knives (?) their are in him, he falls by the

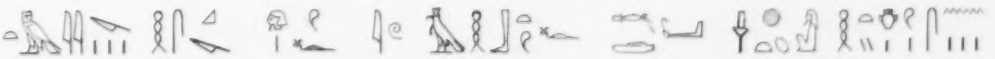


ḥu *set'ebu* *pui* *ṭu* *utut - nâ* *âref* *em* *χerti*
inflicting of blows those evil. Decreed have I therefore in the course

15.



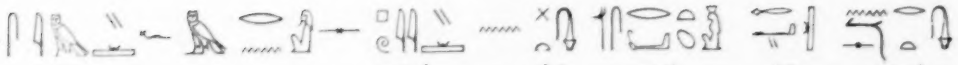
en *ḥru* *neb* *ḥer* *qeten-f* *pui* *ṭu* *χer - s* *ḥer-f* *em* *ṭes*
of day every upon form his that evil. Falls it upon him with a knife



temi *ḥesq* *ṭep-f* *âu* *neḥebt - f* *ḥet* *Seχet* *ḥāti - sen*
cutting, hacking head his from neck his, tears out Seχet hearts their



ṭāt *set* *ḥer* *tekau* *her* *ret-s* *ṭāt-s* *en* *ḥet* *neserț -*
placing them upon the fire with leg her, places she [them] on the fire, burns

16. 

s *ȧm - f* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *śet - usert - āā* *nesert -*

she into him in name her that of "Fire powerful, great one," burns



s *ȧm - f* *setenemem - s* *ba - f* *ȧu* *χat - f* *seχem - s*

she into him, drives back she soul his from body his. 'Obtains mastery she



ȧm - f *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *Seχet* *χu-s* *ȧm - f*

over him in name her that of Seχet, overpowers she him



em *ren - s* *pi* 17. *χut - Nebȧt* *ȧm - s* *ḥāti - f*

in name her that of "Eye flaming," eats she heart his,



nesert - s *en* *heh* *en* *re-s* *netebu - s* *Uat'it* *χer-s*

burns she with flames of mouth her. Devours she Uat'it, falls she



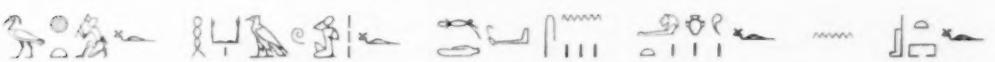
er *χebt - f* *ȧn* *per-f* *ȧm-s* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnā t'eṭta* *sau - s*

upon cavern his, not may come forth he from it for ever and for ever. Constrains she



ȧmu 18. *sau* *ḥesq - sen* *ba - f* *χat - f* *χebit-f*

those who have fetters, cut in pieces they soul his, body his, shade his,



χut-f *ḥekau - f* *śeṭ - sen* *ḥāti - f* *en* *ȧuset-f*

χut his, words of magic his, tear out they heart his from place its,



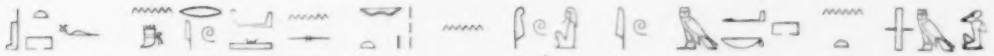
sȧn *ren-f* (*sic*) *ȧuf* *χer* *ȧn* *un-nef* *er* *utut-nȧ*

destroying name his. Is he fallen, not may be he, for decreed have I



uśer - f *uśer* 19. *ba - f* *ân* *un* *nest-f* *ân* *un*

annihilation his, the annihilation of soul his; not let exist throne his, not let exist



âuset-f *net'erâu - nes* *śemert* *en* *Śu* *âu* *mâk* *ent* *âm*

seat his. Seized has she the bows of Shu at the store-house of the eater



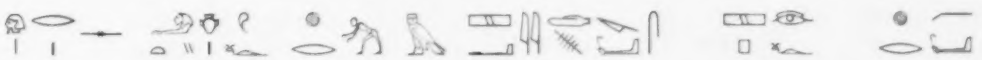
uat'etu *ṭât-s* *peχat* *en* *nest-f* *sept* *seḥetem*

of limbs (?). Granted has she the splitting of tongue his, providing destruction



Sat *en* *at* *ṭenṭen - s* *ṭâ - s* *Seχet* 20. *âu* *nesert*

Sat at the moment of strength her. Gives she, Seχet, into the flame



ṭep-re-s *ḥâti - f* *χer* *em* *śâiṭ - s* *śep - f* *χer*

of mouth her heart his. Falls [he] by slaughter her, stopped up is eye his, gripped,



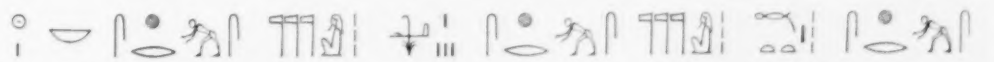
seχer *Âpepi* *seχer - s* *Rā* *t'esef* *semâtχeru* *Rā* *er* *Âpepi* *embaḥ*

overthrown is Apepi. Overthrows he Rā himself, triumphs Rā over Âpepi before



paut *neteru* *âat* *un* *ṭes* 21. *men* *em* *ṭep-f* *embaḥ* *Rā*

the cycle of the gods great, being a knife stuck in head his before Rā



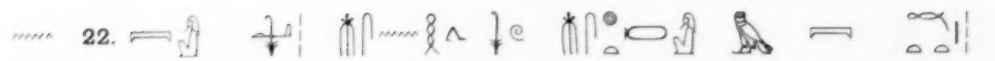
ḥru neb *seχer-s* *neteru* *qemâu* *seχer-s* *neteru* *meḥtetu* *seχer-s*

day every. Overthrow him the gods southern, overthrow him the gods northern, overthrow him



neteru Âmentetu *seχer-s* *neteru Âbtetu* *senḫu-s* *saḥu*

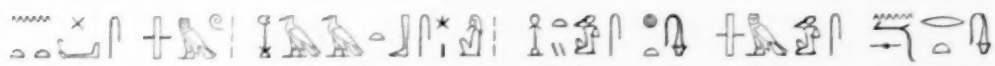
the gods western, overthrow him the gods eastern; tie up him the starry gods of Orion



22.

en pet ǵemāu mesenḥ su mesχet em pet meḥtetu

of the heaven southern; turns back him the Great Bear in heavens northern,



netet-s āmu χaabeset śenti-s χet ām-s nesert

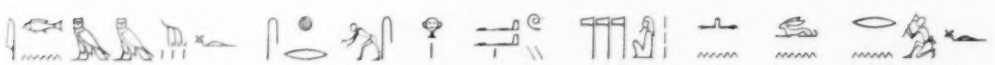
tie up him those who are in the decans. Eats it flame, devours it fire,



23.

seaummu-s ḳesḳesu-f śennu-f ses-s ḥāu-f ubti-s

grips it bones his, hair his, burns up it limbs his, shrivels up it



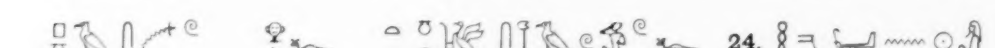
ānememu-f seχer-s ḥer āāui neteru ān un ren-f

skin his, overthrown is it by the hands of the gods. Not may exist name his



em re en reθ ān seχaut-tuf em āb en neteru

in the mouth of men, not may be remembered it in the heart of the gods.



24.

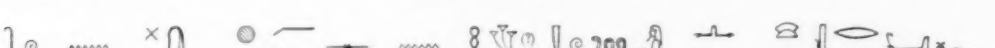
peḳas-tu ḥer-f tennu seχau-tuf ḥu en Rā

May be spit upon face his each time mentioned is he! Inflicts Rā



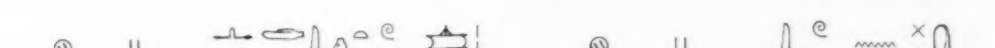
set'ebu-f tem su sep sen χer-s sep sen Āpepi χer

blows his, annihilated is he, annihilated is he, gripped is he, gripped is he, Āpepi. Grips



su en śet χer-s en Ḥenbu ān χāru-f

him the flame, grips it Ḥenbu, not let breathe him,



sep sen ān ṭepā-tuf nifu sep sen āuf en śet

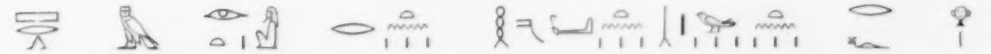
not let breathe him; not let smell him breezes, not let smell him breezes. Is he to the fire.



heh-s en maaut-f 25. *semam χet-s ȧmtu ȧpt-f neteru*
burns it two eyes his, slays flame its eating up forehead his. The gods



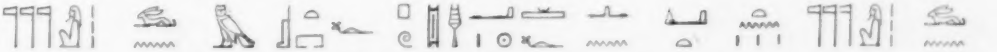
ȧmu uȧa-f mertu teken ȧm-f renu
who are in boat his desire to advance against him; the tears



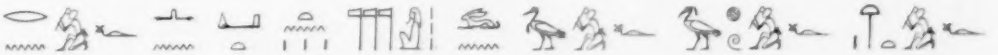
per em mat-ȧ er ten ḳu-ten-set'ebu ten eref ḥer
coming forth from eye my [are] against you. Inflict ye blows your upon him upon



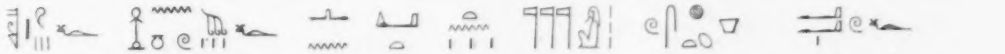
ḳeṭen-f pui ṭu maa-ten 26. *neteru ȧn ṭāt-ten*
form his that evil. Look ye gods, not grant ye,



neteru un em ȧuset-f pu māḥā-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru un
O gods, existence in seat his to wit tomb his, not grant ye, O gods, to exist

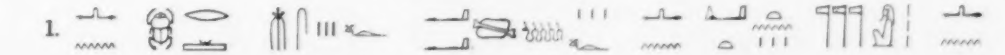


ren-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru un ba-f χu-f χebit-f
name his, not grant ye, O gods, to exist soul his, χu his, shade his,

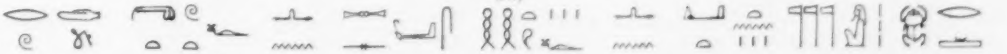


ḳesu-f ḥennu-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru useχt ȧāiu-f
bones his, hair his, not grant ye, O gods, the space of two hands his.

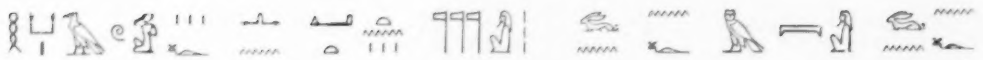
Column XXVIII.



1. *ȧn χeper mesu-f āā-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru ȧn*
Not may become children his heirs his, not grant ye, O gods, not



(*sic*)
ruṭ metut-f ȧn θes-s ḥeḥet-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru χeper
may grow seed his, not may prick up it ears its, not grant ye, O gods, to become



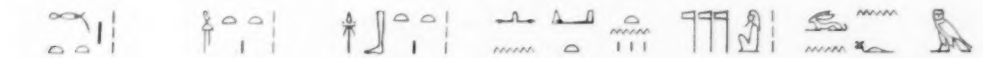
ḥekau - f *ân* *ṭāt-ten* *neteru* *un - nef* *em* *pet* *un - nef*

words of magic his, not grant ye, O gods, that may be he in heaven or may be he



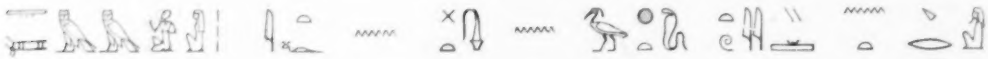
em *ta* *ân* *ṭāt-ten* *neteru* *un - nef* 2. *em* *qemāu*

upon earth. Not grant ye, O gods, to be him among the southern ones,



meḥtetu *Ámentetu* *Ábtetu* *ân* *ṭāt - ten* *neteru* *un - nef* *em*

northern ones, western ones, eastern ones, not grant ye, O gods, to be him among



tememu *âuf* *en* *śet* *en* *χut* *tui* *ent* *Ḥeru*

mortals. May be he in the fire of eye that of Horus,



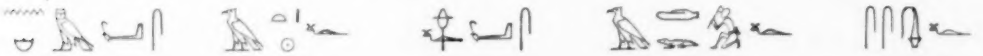
seχem - s *âm - f* *em* *χerti* *ent hru neb* *un - nes*

may obtain mastery it over him in the course of day every. May be it



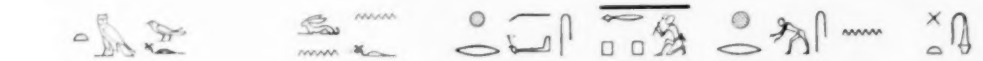
âm - f *ân* *āχem - s* *âm - f* *er* *neḥeḥ* 3. *t'etta*

in him, not may be quenched it in him for ever and ever,



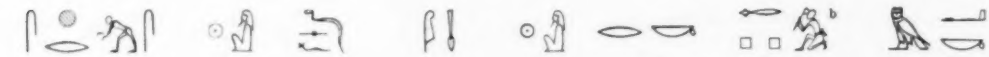
neḥem - s *at - f* *χesef - s* *at - f* *ses - f*

may seize it moment his, may repulse it {crocodile / eclipse} his, may burn he,



tem - f *un - nef* *χer - s* *Āpepi* *χer - s* *en* *śet*

may come to an end he, may be it to him. May grip it Āpepi, may overthrow it flame,

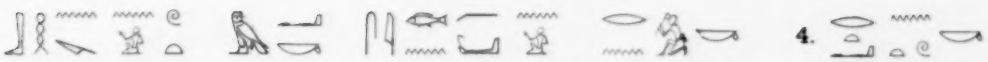


seχer - s *Rā* *t'esef* *mātχeru* *Rā* *erek* *Āpepi* *māk*

may overthrow it Rā himself, triumphs Rā over thee Āpepi. Verily

[a] Written above the line.

[b] This should be written in red in the MS.



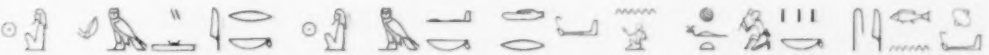
beḥen - nà - tu *màk* *sàn - nà* *ren - k* 4. *ertā entuk*

slain have I thee, verily erased have I name thy. Given art thou



en śet hru neb mà utut en Rā àri erek maa àrek

to the flame day every as decreed Rā to do to thee. Look then



Rā setem àrek Rā màk ṭer - nà χefti - k sàn -

Rā, hear then Rā, verily destroyed have I enemies thy, wiped out



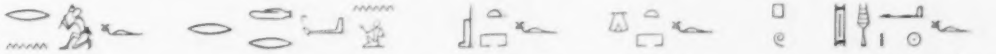
nà - s em ret peḳaàs - nà ḥer - f semāt χeru Rā erek

have I it with the feet, spit have I upon him. Triumphs Rā over thee,



ki t'et er χefti - f nebt χer 5. *àn un - sen ubti*

otherwise said, over enemy his every. Falling down not may be they, burnt be



ren - f er ṭer - nà àuset - f nest - f pu māḥā - f

name his because destroyed have I seat his, throne his, to wit, sepulchre his.



àu ḥetem - nà ba - f χut - f χat - f χebit - f

Destroyed have I soul his, χu his, body his, shade his,



ḥekau - f mettu - f suḥt - f ḳesu - f śennu - f ṭāt

words of power his, seed his, egg his, bones his, hair his, given [is he]



en śet hru neb àu utut 6. *en Rā àru - nef ṭer*

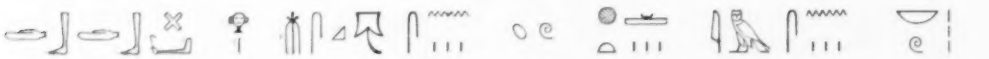
to the flame day every. Has commanded Rā to be done to him destruction



árek *sesunnu* *árek* *ubti* *χefti* *nebt* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a*
therefore, seizure therefore, and burning enemies all of P-āa, life, strength,



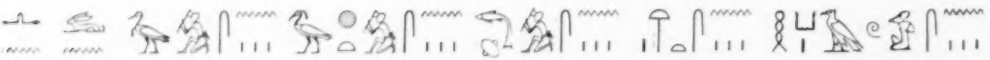
senb *em* *mit* *em* *ānχ* *ámmā* *seṭef-tu* *áuf-sen*
health, in death in life. May be cut in pieces members their,



ṭebṭeb *ḥer* *mesq-sen* *áru* *χet* *ám-sen* *nebu*
may be torn out of skin their, may make property of them the lords of



Ánnu *sekhetem* 7. *embaḥ-k* *Rā* *hru* *neb* *ses* *en* *ám-ten*
Heliopolis, destroying before thee, O Rā, day every; fire upon you.



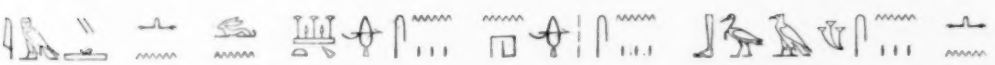
án *un* *ba-sen* *χut-sen* *χat-sen* *χebit-sen* *ḥekau-sen*
Not may be soul their, *χut* their, body their, shade their, words of power their,



ḳesu-sen *śennu-sen* *χut-sen* *ṭep-re-sen* *t'eṭtu-sen* *ám* *án* *un*
bones their, hair their, strength their, voice their, words their there. Not may be



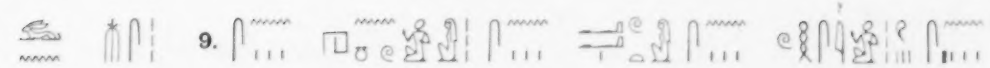
8. *ást-sn* *pa-sen* *baba-sen* *māḥā-sen*
graves their, house their, caverns their, sepulchre their



ám *án* *un* *seχet-sen* *neh-sen* *ba-sen* *án*
there. Not may be field their, sycamore their, bushes their, not



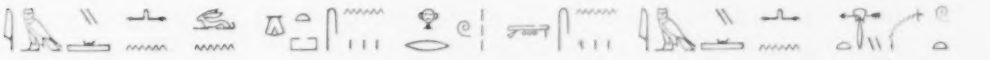
un *māu-sen* *ta-sen* *tekau-sen* *nebát-sen* *ám* *án*
may be water their, bread their, fire their, flame their there. Not



un mesu - sen hennu - sen āāut - sen uḫsā - sen
may be children their, posterity their, heirs their, families their,



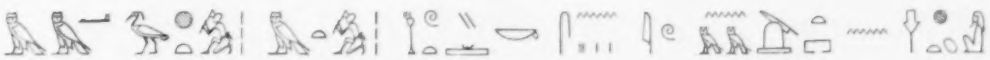
ām ān un ṭep-sen āāut-sen rettu-sen mest'er-sen mettu-sen
there. Not may be head their, hands their, feet their, ear their seed their



ām ān un nest-sen ḥeru ta - sen ām ān sati - tu
there. Not may be seat their upon land their there. Not let be poured out

10. 

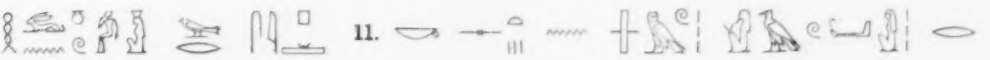
en sen māu em ta pen emmā anχiu em neter-χertet
for them water in land this, among the living in Neter-χertet,



emmā χut mitu utut-k sen āu nemmat en Seχet
among the χu the damned. Decreest thou them to the block of Seχet



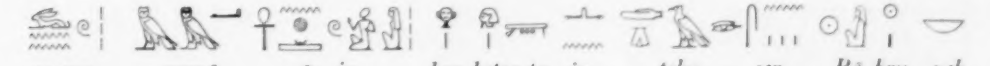
en Āat - nebt - Āśer seχer-k sen em at en
in Āat - nebt - Āśer. Overthrown hast thou them at the moment of



ḥunnu ur sāp - k set en āmu sau er
the babe mighty, judged hast thou those who guard before



Āmentiu ān ertā per ba - sen em ṭuaut ān
those in Āmenti. Not may be given coming forth to soul their from the *tuat*, not



unenu emmā ānχiu ḥer ḥetep ta ān ṭeḳa - sen Rā ḥru neb
may be they among the living upon earth, not may see they Rā day every.



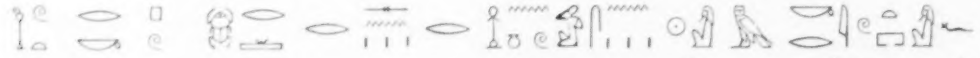
un-sen *senḥu* *netet* *em* *χebt* 12. *em* *ṭūaut* *χert* *ān*

May be they fettered and tied in the cavern in the *tūat* lower, not



ertā *per* *ba* - *sen* *ām* - *sen* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnā* *t'etta*

may be granted exit to soul their among them for ever and ever.



utut *erek* *pu* *χeper* *er* *sen* *er* *śrunu* - *sen* *Rā* *em* *kerâut* - *f*

Decree thy is it to happen to them for cursing their Rā in shrine his.



neteru *âmu* - *f* *meter* *er* *sen* *nes* - *set* *āāiu* *ent* *Ȧpepi*

The gods within it do justice to them, catch hold they the two hands of Apepi.



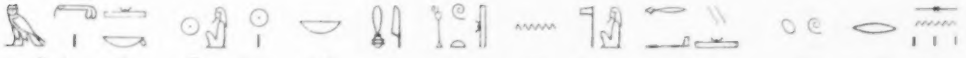
13. *maa* *Ḥeru* *seχem* - *s* *âm* - *sen* *ubti* - *sen* *ḥer* *χau*

The eye of Horus obtains mastery it over them, burn they upon the altars



en *Seχet* *ḥer* *māket* *ent* *âm* *uat'ti* *sesunnu*

of Seχet and upon the brazier which devours limbs and seizes



embaḥ - *k* *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *mâ* *utut* *en* *neṯer* *āā* *âru* *er* *sen*

in presence of thee Rā, day every as decreed god great to be done to them,



Rā *âu* *neḥeḥ* *sep* *sen* *un-nek* *em* *kerâu* - *k* 14. *nâi* - *k* *em*

O Rā, for ever and ever. Art thou in shrine thy, comest thou in

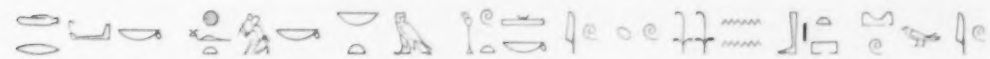


sekti *ḥetep* - *k* *em* *āṭi* *t'a* - *k* *petpet* - *k* *em* *ḥetep*

the *sekti* boat, restest thou in the *āṭi* boat, traversest thou two heavens thy in peace.



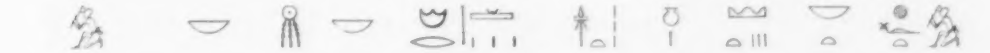
seχem - k *ānχ - k* *senb - k* *suah - k* *χut - k*
Obtainest mastery thou, livest thou, strong art thou, increasest thou strength thy,



ṭer - k *χeft - k* *nebt em utut - k* *ȧu ȧru enen bu ṭu ȧu*
destroyest thou enemy thy every by decree thy. Is done that wrong to



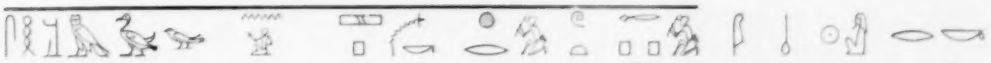
P-ȧa *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* 15. *em māb neb ṭu em se neb set neb*
P-āa, life, strength, health, with spears all evil by man every, woman every,



mit neb χu neb āb - reu ȧbtiu nu set nebt χeft
damned person every, *χu* every whatsoever, easterns of countries all, enemy



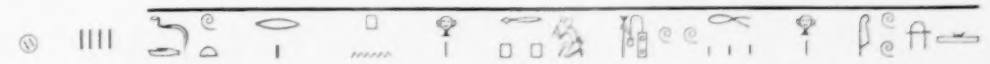
neb en P-ȧa ānχ ut'a senb em mit em ānχ ṭer - nȧ
every of P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life. Slain have I,



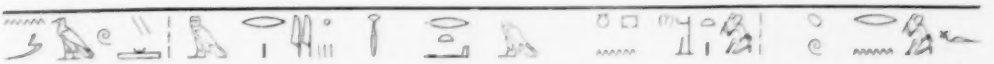
sehetem - nȧ ḥep - k χer - tu Āpepi mātχeru Rā ever
destroyed have I vomit thy, fallen art thou Āpepi! Triumphs Rā over thee



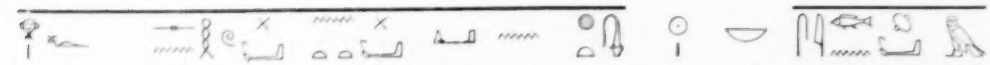
Āpepi sep ftu mātχeru P-ȧa ānχ ut'a senb 16. *er χefti - f*
Āpepi. Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength, health, over enemies his.



sep ftu t'ettu re pen ḥer Āpepi nānu ḥer ḥun
Times four. Say chapter this over Āpepi written upon papyrus



nemau em rei uat' ertā em χennu en nest ȧru ren - f
new with colour green, placed inside a covering (?) made name his



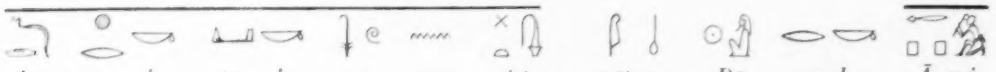
ḥer - f *senḥu* *netet* *ṯā* *en* *χet* *ḥru* *neb* *sân* *em*

upon it [and] bind it up and tie it up, give it to the fire day every, spurning with



ret-k *âbt* *peḳas* 17. *ḥer - f* *sep* *ḥṯu* *em* *χert* *ent* *ḥru* *neb*

foot thy left, spit upon it times four in the course of day every.



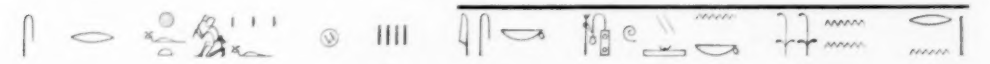
ṯ'eṭ *χer - k* *ṯā - k* *su* *en* *śet* *mâtχeru* *Rā* *erek* *Āpepi*

Said by thee placest thou it in the fire, "Triumphs Rā over thee Āpepi.



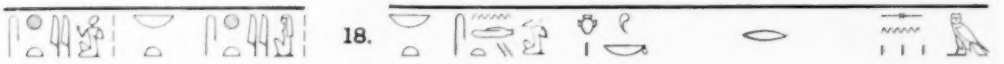
sep *ḥṯu* *mâtχeru* *Ḥeru* *er* *χeft - f* *sep* *ḥṯu* *mâtχeru* *P-āa* *ânχ* *ut'a*

Times four. Triumphs Horus over enemy his. Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength,



senb *er* *χefti - f* *sep* *ḥṯu* *âsk* *nâu - nek* *enen* *ren*

health over enemies his. Times four." Now thou writest thou that name of



seχti *nebt* *seχti* 18. *nebt* *senteti* *âb-k* *er* *sen* *em*

seχti male all, *seχti* female all, fears heart thy with reference to them,



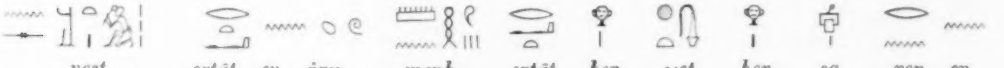
χeft *neb* *en* *P-āa* *ânχ* *ut'a* *senb* *em* *mit* *em* *ânχ* *ren* *en*

enemies all of P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life, name of



âtf - sen *ren* *en* *mut - sen* *ren* *en* *mesu* *em* *χennu* *en*

father their, name of mother their, name of children [their] inside



nest *ertāt* *en* *âru* *menḥ* *erṭāt* *ḥer* *χet* *ḥer* *sa* *ren* *en*

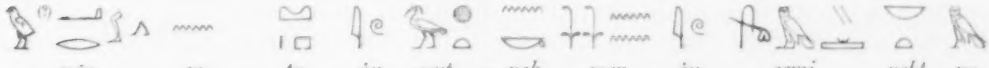
the covering (?), place it in work of wax, place it upon the fire, in addition to name of



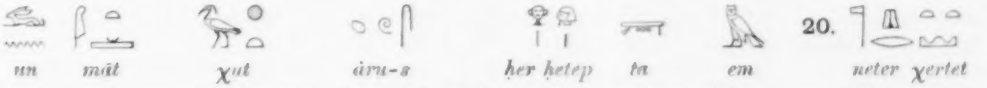
Āpepi *âm* 19. *χeft* *Rā* *ṭā - f* *ns* *ka* *ki* *sep* *ḥetepi* *em*
Āpepi, burn it when Rā gives he himself. Repeatest thou time first at the



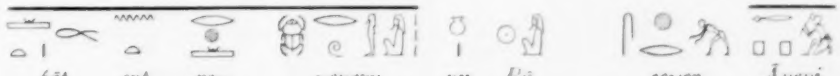
âḥā *en* *ḥru* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep - f* *em* *ânχtet* *âu* *śuu* *ḥer*
noon of the day, when Rā sets he in the land of life, whilst [it is] light upon



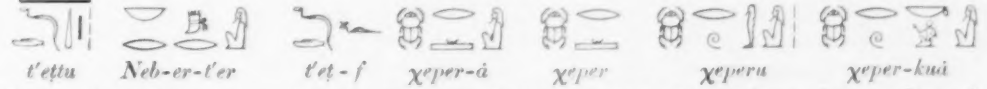
uâr *en* *ṭu* *âu* *χut - nek* *enen* *âu* *semi* *nebt* *em*
the foot on the mountain. Shalt recite thou this over picture every in



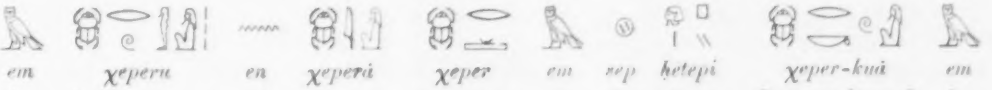
un *mât* *χut* *âru-s* *ḥer ḥetep* *ta* *em* 20. *neter χertet*
very truth; great power [is] the doing of it upon earth [and] in Neter-χertet.



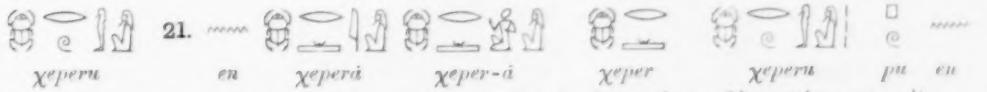
śât *ent* *reχ* *χeperu* *nu* *Rā* *seχer* *Āpepi*
The book of knowing the becomings of Rā [and] overthrowing Āpepi.



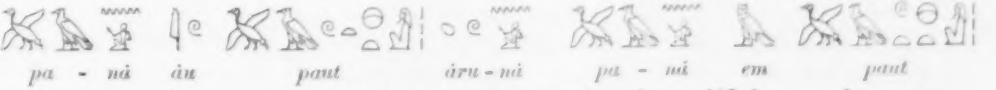
t'eṭṭu *Neb-er-t'er* *t'eṭ - f* *χeper-â* *χeper* *χeperu* *χeper-kuâ*
The words of Neb-er-t'er. Says he, "Became I the becoming of becomings, become have I



em *χeperu* *en* *χeperâ* *χeper* *em* *sep* *ḥetepi* *χeper-kuâ* *em*
in the becomings of χeperâ, becoming at time first. Become have I in



χeperu *en* 21. *χeperâ* *χeper-â* *χeper* *χeperu* *pu* *en*
the becomings of χeperâ. Became I the becoming of becomings to wit



pa - nâ *âu* *paut* *âru - nâ* *pa - nâ* *em* *paut*
produced myself I from the matter [which] made I. Produced myself I in the matter



pu ren - á Ausâres paut pautti âri - á
[in] name my Ausares (Osiris?), matter of matter. Done have I



22.

mertui nebt em ta pen usekht - nà âm - f θes - nà
will [my] all in earth this. Spread out have I in it, raised have I



ṭet - á uâu - kuà ân mesu - sen ân âśeś - nà em Śu
hand my. Alone was I, not born were they; not had evacuated I Shu,



ân ṭâf - nà em Ṭâfnet ân - nà re - á t'es - á ren - á pu
not had spit up I Ṭâfnet. Spake I with mouth my my own name my, to wit.

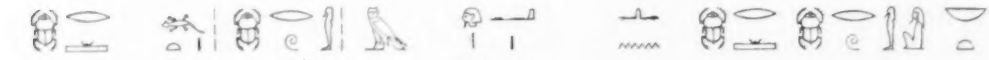


23.

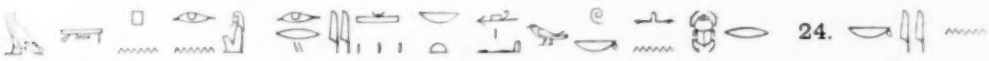
ḥekau ânuk pu χeper - nà em χeperu χeper - kuà
word of power. I, to wit, became I in becomings. Become have I



em χeperu en χeperâ χeper - nà em pautti
in the becomings of χeperâ, became I out of the primeval matter



χeper âśt χeperu em ḥetep-ā ân χeper χeperu nebt
becoming many becomings from the beginning. Not had become becomings any



24.

em ta pen âri - nà âri nebt uā - kuà ân χeper ki en
in land this. Made I makings all. Alone was I, not was another



âru-nef ḫuā - á em bu pui âri-á χeperu âm
worked he with me in place that. Made I becomings there



em *ba* *pui* *θes - nà* *àm* *em* *Nu* *em*

by means of soul that [which] raised up I there out of Nu from



enen *àn* *qem - nà* *but* *aḥà - nà* *àm* *χut - nà*

inactivity. Not found I place [where might] stand I there. Strong was I



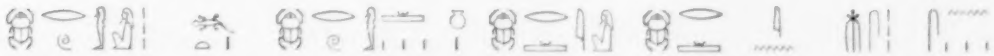
em *àb-à* *senti -* 25. *nà* *em* *ḥrà - à* *àri - nà* *àri* *nebt*

in heart my, laid foundation I for self my, made I makings all.



uāu - k[nà] *senti - nà* *em* *àb-à* *qemam - nà* *ki*

Alone was I, laid foundation I for heart my. Created I other



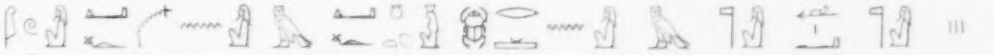
χeperu *āšt* *χeperu* *nu* *χeperà* *χeper* *àn* *mesu - sen*

becomings numerous, the becomings of χeperà. Became children their



em *χeperu* *nu* *mesu - sen* 26. *ànuk* *pu* *àšeš - nà* *em*

out of the becomings of children their. I, to wit, evacuated I



Šu *ṭāf - nà* *em* *Ṭāfnet* *χeper - nà* *em* *neter* *nā* *neter* *χemet*

Shu, spat up I Ṭefnut: became I out of god one, gods three



pu *er - à* *χeperitu* *em* *ta* *pen* *ḥāā* *àref* *Šu*

to wit from myself, becoming in land this. Rejoiced therefore Shu



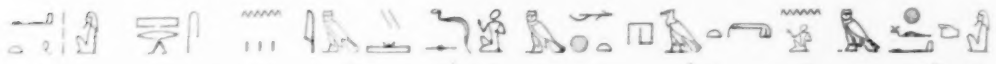
Ṭāfnet *em* *Nu* *unen - sen* *àm* *àn* *maa - à* *àu - nà*

and Ṭefnut in Heaven, (sky) rose they there. Says eye my, {"Brought / commanded} I

27. 

sen *emχet* *ḥennu* *uau* - *sen* *er* - *à* *sam-nà* *em*

them, after centuries, came they to me." Collected I



àtu - *à* *per* - *sen* *àm* *t'es-à* *emχet* *hat* - *nà* *em* *χefà* - *à*

limbs my came forth they there from myself after had commerce I with fist my,



i - *nà* *àb-à* *em* *ṭet-à* *ààaà* *χer* *em* *re* - *à*

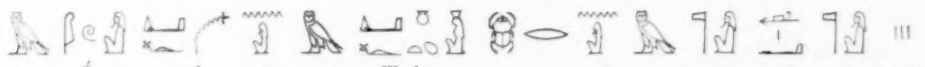
came to me heart my out of hand my of the seed (?) [which] fell from mouth my.



àśeś - *nà*

Evacuated I

Column XXIX.

1. 

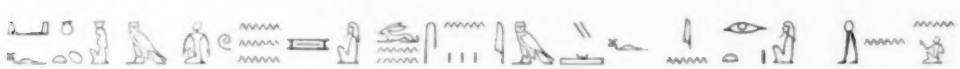
em *Śu* *tàf* - *nà* *em* *Ṭàfnet* *χeper* - *nà* *em* *neter* *uà* *neter* *χemt*

Shu, spat up I Ṭefnut, became I from god one gods three



pu *er* - *à* *χeperitu* *em* *ta* *pen* *ḥàà* *àref* *Śu*

to wit from myself, becoming in land this. Rejoiced therefore Shu



Ṭàfnet *em* *Nu* *unen* - *sen* *àm* - *f* *àn* *mat* - *à* *àn* - *nà*

and Tefnut in the watery mass rose they in it. Says eye my, {"Brought / commanded} have I



en *sen* *emχet* *ḥennu* *uau* - *sen* *er* - *à* *sam-nà* *em*

them, after centuries came they to me." Collected I



àt *per* - *sen* *àm* *t'es* - *à* *emχet* *hati* - *nà* *em*

limbs [my] came forth they there from myself after had commerce I with



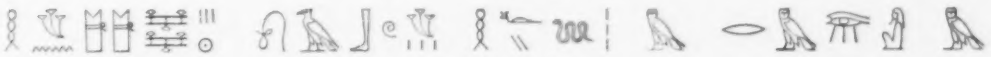
χefā - á *ī - nà* *áb-á* *em* *ṭet - á* *dāaā* *χer* *em*
hand my. Came to me heart my out of hand my of the seed falling out of



re - á *áśeś - nà* *em* *Śu* *ṭāf - nà* *em* *Ṭāfnet* *án* *átf -*
mouth my. Evacuated I Shu, spat up I Tefnut. Says father

3. 

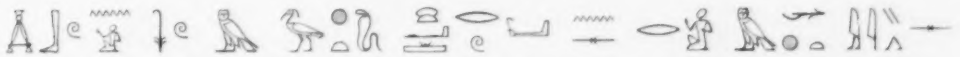
á *Nu* *ati - sen* *mat - á* *emsa - sen* *uabu* *sep sen*
my Nu, "Eclipse they eye my behind them, for numbers, numbers



ḥennu *uabu* *ḥefi* *em* *rem* *em*
of centuries; numbers of reptiles from Rem, from



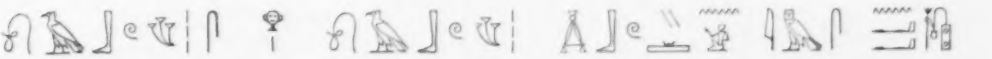
rem - θ *er - á* *ka* *em* *mat - á* *χeper* *ret* *pu*
the crying ..... my." Called out eye my became men to wit.

4. 

ṭebu - nà *su* *em* *χut* *χāru - nes* *er - á* *emχet* *ī - s*
Filled I it with power, growled it against me, after came it



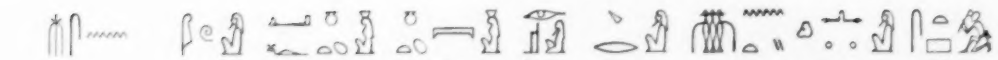
ket *reṭ* *em* *χennu en áuset* *seχer* *en* *ṭenṭen - s* *áu*
another growth within the place. Fell force its upon



uabu - s *ḥer* *uabu* *ṭebu - nà* *ám-s* *nāā*
masses (?) its, upon the masses [which] accumulated I in it, putting order

5. 

ám - s *χenti* *áref* *áuset - s* *ḥer - á* *ḥeq - nes* *ta* *t'er - f*
in it: approaching therefore place its before me rules it earth all of it.



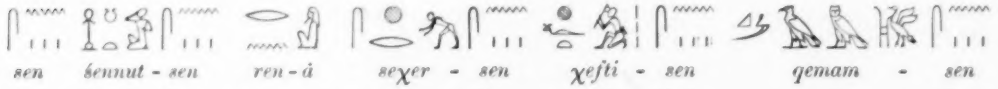
mes en Shu Ṭāfnet Nut Ausar Ḥeru χenti - ȧn - maa Sut
Give birth Shu and Tefnut to Nut, Osiris, Horus χenti - ȧn - maa, Sut,



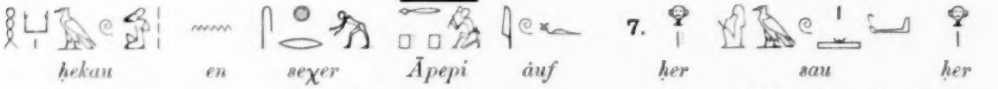
Auset Nebṯḥet ȧn mesu - sen qemam - sen χeperu āšt
Isis, Nephthys. Behold children their create they becomings many



em ta pen em χeperu nu mesu em χeperu nu mesu -
in earth this from the becomings of children, from the becomings of children



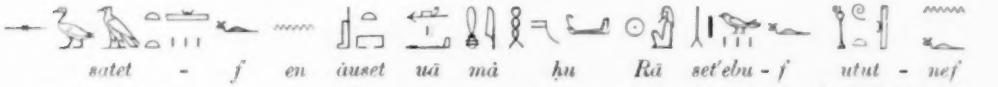
sen śennut - sen ren - ȧ seχer - sen χefti - sen qemam - sen
their. Invoke they name my, overthrow they enemies their, create they



ḥekau en seχer Āpepi ȧuf ḥer sau ḥer
words of power for overthrowing Apepi. Is he for being bound by the



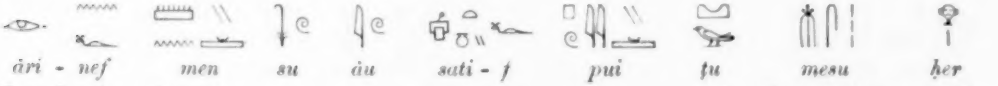
āāui en Aker ȧn un āāiu - f ȧn un ret - f
two hands of Aker, not may be two hands his, not may be legs his,



satet - f en ȧuset uā mȧ ḫu Rā set'ebu - f utut - nef
may be fastened he to place one as inflicts Rā blows his decreed for him.



ȧu seχer - tuf ḥer sati - f pui ṯu senpu ḥrȧ - f ḥer
Is overthrown he upon back his that evil, to cut face his for what



ȧri - nef men su ȧu sati - f pui ṯu mesu ḥer
done has he. Remains he upon back his that evil. The children are for



seχer - tuf ḥer tenemem ba - f ȧu χat - f χebit - f
overthrowing him, to turn away soul his from body his and shade his,



reχi χet ȧmu uȧa verem ent mat - ȧ ḥer
the learned ones who are in the boat, *i.e.*, the tears of eye my are



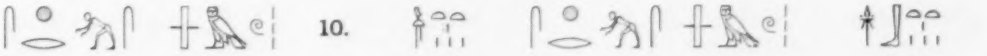
merȧ teken ȧm - sen utut set'ebu - f ȧn ȧri - nef χert - f
desiring to enter into them. Decreed [are] blows his, not may make he courses his



em ta pen en mertu - f ḥer - f ḥer ba - f
in earth this according to will his. Annihilated is he, annihilated is soul his,



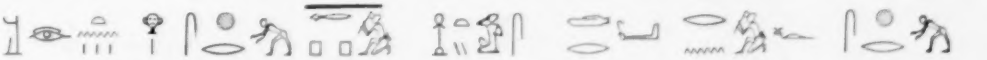
seχer - s ȧmu qemȧu seχer - s ȧmu mehtet
overthrow it those among the southern ones, overthrow it those among the northern ones,



seχer - s ȧmu ȧmentiu seχer - s ȧmu ȧbtiu
overthrow it those among the western ones, overthrow it those among the eastern ones,



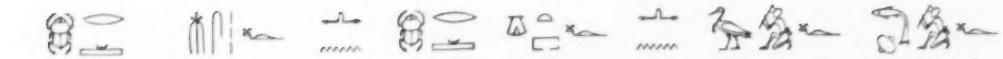
reχ χet ȧmu ta pen paut neteru χeperu em ȧḥȧ - ȧ
and the sages who are in earth this. O cycle of the gods [who] became from limbs my



res - ten ḥer seχer Ȧpepi ḥenti - s ṯer ren - f seχer
watch ye to destroy Ȧpepi! may curse they to destroy name his and may overthrow



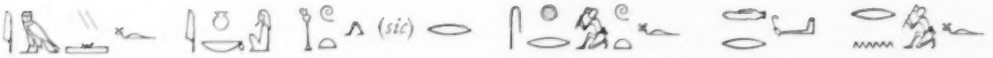
su ermen - ten ȧm - ten erṯȧ usekt ren - f ȧn
him two arms your which are with you. Is granted to be scattered name his, not



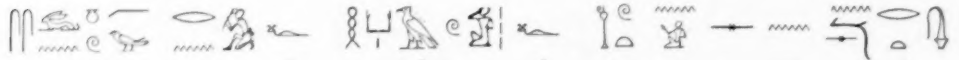
χeper *mesu - f* *ân* *χeper* *nest - f* *ân* *ba - f* *χat - f*
may become children his, not may become seat his, not soul his, body his,



χut - f *âuf* *en* *maa* *Rā* *seχem - s* *âm - f* *âm - s*
χu his. Is he to the eye of Rā, obtains mastery it over him, eats it



âm - f *ânuk* *utut* *er* *seχer - tuf* *ṭer* *ren - f*
into him. I [am] commanded to overthrow him, to destroy name his,

12. 

sesunnu *ren - f* *ḥekau - f* *utut - nâ s en* *nesert*
to lay hold of name his and words of power his. Decreed have I it to the flame,



sâp - nâ - s en *tau* *erṭā - nâ - s en* *maa* *Rā* *χut* *ent*
decreed have I it to the fire, given have I it to the eye of Rā, the eye that



bunes - nes *âmu - nes* *ba - f* *χut - f* *χat - f* *χebit - f*
shall eat it and devour it, soul his, *χu* his, body his, shade his,

13. 

ḥekau - f *ân* *tata - f* *ân* *benben - f* *en*
and words of power his. Not may have emission he, not may have erection he of



t'et *t'ettu* *t'eṭtu* *ḥer* *Āpepi* *ent* *âri en* *menḫ* *nāu* *ren - f*
body for ever! To be said over Āpepi which is made of wax inscribed name his



ḥer - f *em* *rei* *uat'* *ḥnā* *âru - f* *ḥer* *śuu* *nemau*
upon it with colour green, and made it upon papyrus new



14.

ḥnā ȧru ren en χeft neb en P-āa em mit em ānχ
and made name of enemy every of P-āa in death in life,



em menḥ nāu ren en sen ḥer en sen em rei uaṭ
in wax written name of them upon them with colour green,



senḥu em χennu en nesu peḳaȧs ḥer - sen sȧn em
tied up within coverings. Spit upon them and defile with



15.

rettu-k ȧbt ȧru āti - sen em ṭes ṭā er χet en
feet thy left, make cuttings their with a stone knife, place upon a fire of



χesȧu ā χem em māt ent āmāt ḥnā nāu
χesau grass, quench with the urine of a crocodile, and paint



ren en Ā pepi χeft neb en P-āa ānχ uṭ'a senb em
the names of Āpepi and enemy every of P-āa, life, strength, health, in



mit em ānχ em ..... ḥer seṭa sȧn em reṭ - k
death in life, on a slab (?) upon the ground; defile with leg thy



16.

ȧbt em mȧ māāt χut en se reχ - nef sem
left like the reality of the χu of a person. Knows it image



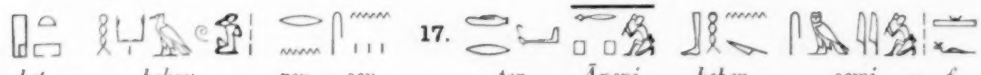
pen Rā χeperu - f semāt χeru - f er χeft - f ḫāt pu
this Rā and becomings his, triumphs he over enemies his. Book is it



śeta em śeḥ ân maa-s mat nebt śāt śeta ent
secret in the chamber, not let see it eye any the book secret of



seχer Āpepi
overthrowing Āpepi.

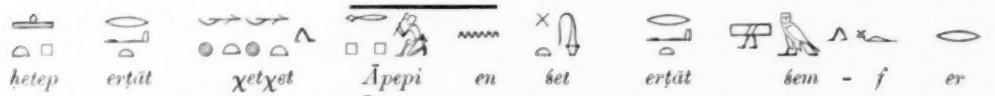


17.

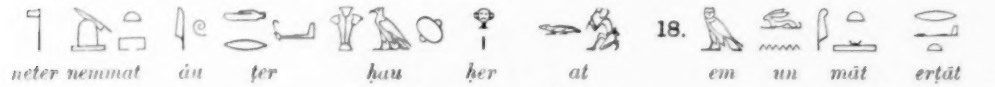
ḥet ḥekau ren - sen ṭer Āpepi beḥen semi - f
Chapter of magical words, name their destroys Āpepi, cutting off demons his.



semāt χeru Rā er χefti - f erṭāt nāâi uâa en Rā em
Triumphs Rā over enemies his, is granted to advance the boat of Rā in



ḥetep erṭāt χetχet Āpepi en śet erṭāt śem - f er
peace, is granted to turn back Āpepi to the fire, is granted to advance he to the



18.

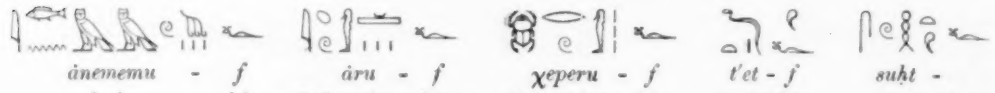
neter nemmat âu ṭer ḥau ḥer at em un māt erṭāt
divine block, is beaten the filth into nothingness. In very truth is granted



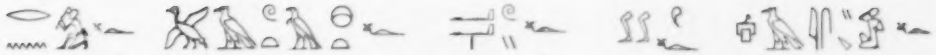
χetχet ba - f χat - f χut - f χebit - f mesu - f
to turn back soul his, body his, χu his, shade his, children his



. . . . . *u - f uḥi - f māhau - f âuāā - f*
[kinsfolk] his, family his, relatives his, heirs his,

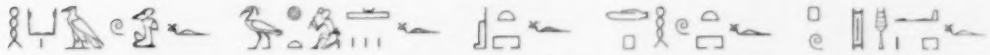


ânemnemu - f âru - f χeperu - f t'et - f suḥt -
hair his, belongings his, becomings his, body his, egg his,

19. 

ren - f - pautti f āāiu - f rettu-f saâs - f

name his, substance his, two hands his, feet his, {speech / teeth} his.



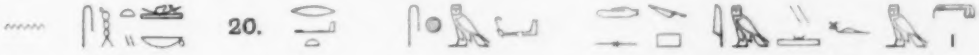
ḥekau - f χut - f âuset - f ṭepḥut - f pu mâḥâ - f

words of power his, strength his, seat his, cavern his, to wit tomb his,



āāiu - f seχer - tuf pu neḥem mest'er-f âm - f tebteb

two hands his; overthrown is he, to wit, taken away is ear his from him. Comes



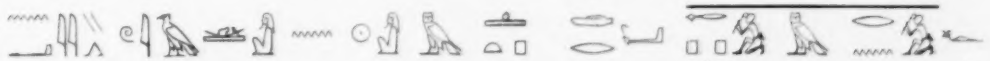
en sekti - k 20. *erṭât seχem ṭes âm - f embaḥ*

along *sekti* boat thy, is granted to obtain mastery the flint knife which is in it before



Râ hru neb se-neteru âbu - f setem - nef ḥât ten erṭat

Rā day every. Fortified of heart is he who hears he book this. Is granted



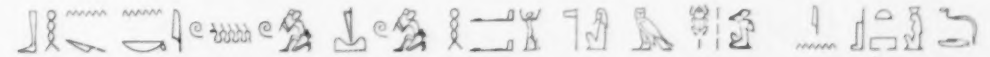
nâi uâa en Râ em ḥetep ṭer Âpepi em ren - f

to come the boat of Rā in peace, destroyed is Āpepi in name his



nebt ṭuau neter seχeper peḥti - f qaâs 21. *nâu*

every. Glorified is the god making to become strength his! Tied up is the writing,



beḥen Nekâu Qeṭṭu ḳâā neter em χeperu ân Âuset t'et

cut asunder are Nekâu and Ḳettu. "Rejoices the god in becomings," says Isis. Says

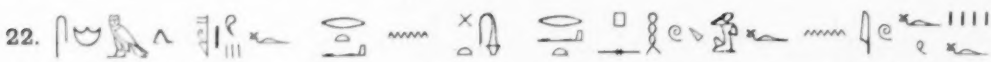


en Râ setenemem sebâu śep maatu-f er seśeta

Rā making to retreat Sebâu, "Blinded are two eyes his from covering up



ḥer en pet em un māt sesunnu ba - f χat - f
the height of heaven in very truth. Gripped is soul his and body his,

22. 

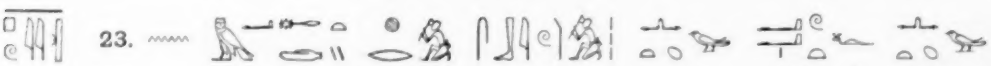
seḥem ḳesu - f erṭāt en śet erṭāt peshu - f en âuf - f
turned back bones his, given to the fire, given bite his into flesh his



t'es - f erṭāt entuf en ṭet χait nu Rā erṭāt senb -
his own. Given is he into the hand of the executioners of Rā, given to turn back



entuf T'eṭṭu ḥa - k Ā̀pepi nepet pui en Rā ḥa - k qebt
is he." To be recited. Back thou Āpepi, sole[a] that of Rā, back thou claw



pui en māχaṭi χer Sebâu ât āāiu - f ât
that of strife, enemy, Sebâu without arms his, without



rettu-f mesu settu per em χennu en tepḥut - f nepet
legs his, [whose] children are destroyed coming forth from within cavern his, the sole



ḥem en Rā âuâ reχ-kuâ ṭu âru - nek śāt
turned back by Rā. I know, I, the evil wrought hast thou, cut off



ṭep-k âru śāṭ - k ân fa ḥrâ - k er
is head thy, wrought is slaughter thy, not lift up face thy against



neter āa tekau em ḥrâ - k χet em ba - k seti
the god great. Fire upon face thy, flame upon soul thy, may destroy

[a] *I.e.*, that upon which Rā treads.



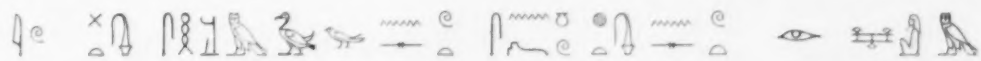
nemmat āat em ȧuf - k χenemem - k em śāiṭ en neter
the block great flesh thy, mayest smell thou the slaughter of the god



ȧa ḥekau - tu Serqit setenemem - s-tu ȧ ȧq sep sen
great, curses thee Serqet, turns back she thee. O entering, entering,



χer - tu sep sen em ḥekau pen em re - ȧ erṭāt-tu
fallen art thou, fallen art thou by curse this from mouth my. Given art thou



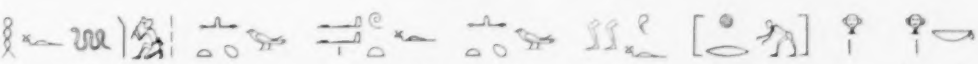
ȧu śet sehetem - nes - tu sennu - χet - nes - tu maa Ḥeru em
to the flame, destroyed it thee, throws fire it at thee the eye of Horus on



ȧpt - k χer ḥer ḥrȧ - k seχer - tu ba - k seχem maa
brow thy, fall upon face thy, overthrown is soul thy, obtains mastery eye



Rā ȧm - k ȧuk χertu sep sen senbet - tu sep sen
of Rā over thee, art fallen thou, art fallen thou, fallen, fallen.



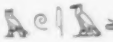
ḥefiu ȧt āāiu - f ȧt rettu-f χer ḥer ḥrȧ - k
O serpent without two arms his, without legs his, fall upon face thy,

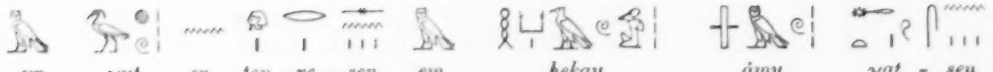


ȧn un māḥā - k ȧq - k ȧu āχ en śet seχer - tu
not may be sepulchre thy. Enterest thou into the brazier of fire. Overthrows thee



neter āa χeper t'esef sehetem - tu ȧmu uȧa - f
the god great becoming of himself, destroy thee those who are in boat his

[a] In the MS.  is written twice.



em χut en ṯep - re - sen em ḥekau âmu χat - sen
with the might of utterance their, with the words of power from within interior their,

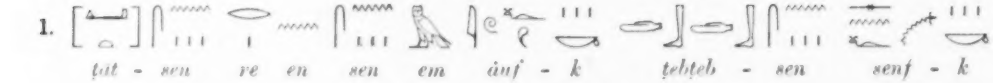


erṯât-tu ḥer pest - k śâiṯ qebt - k χait nu
placed art thou upon back thy, cut is throat thy, the executioners of

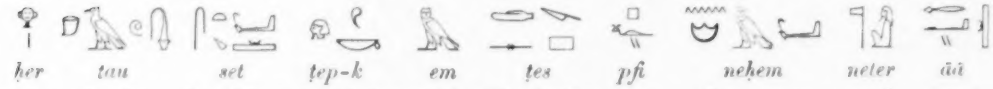


Seχet ḥer semam - k
Seχet are for slaying thee.

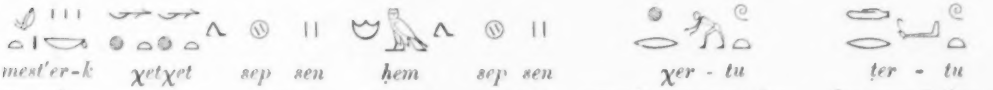
Column XXX.

1. 

ṯât - sen re en sen em âuf - k ṯehṯeb - sen senf - k
Give they mouth their in flesh thy, spill they blood thy



ḥer tau set ṯep-k em ṯes pfi neḥem neter ââ
upon the fire, breaking head thy with flint knife that, takes away god great



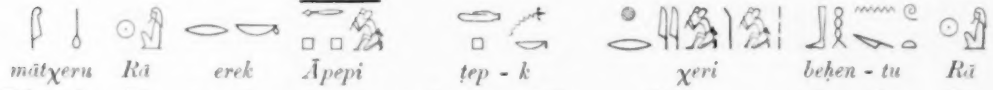
mest'er-k χetχet sep sen ḥem sep sen χer - tu ṯer - tu
ears thy, retreat, retreat, go back, go back, overthrown art thou, destroyed thou

2. 

ârek ḥem er - ek âu śaâsi - k neḥem neter ââ
therefore. Back to thee from journeys thy, removes god great



rettu - k per Rā χā Ḥeru ur ḥekau - sen erek
legs thy, comes Rā, rises Horus, great one, curse they thee.



mātχeru Rā erek Āpepi ṯep - k χeri beḥen - tu Rā
Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi, spit upon art thou O enemy, slays thee Rā,



ḥep - k *χer tu* 3. *tem - tu en Teḥuti em maa - k*

s] it upon art thou, fallen art thou, annihilated art thou. Thoth [blinds] two eyes thy,



ḥekau - f *ḥer net'eráu - f* *ám-k* *tem-k* *χeperu - k*

utters words of power he that may seize he thee. Finished are for thee becomings thy,



seḥetem *áru - k* *tem* *χat - k* *ṭer* *χebit - k*

destroyed belongings thy, finished body thy, destroyed shade thy,



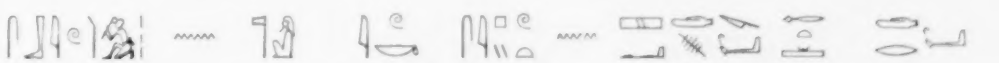
ḥekau - k *árek* *neḥem - f* *ánχ - k* *án un ṭep - k*

[finished] words of power thy for thee. Takes away he life thy, not may be spittle thy



4. *nifu* *sep sen* *χer* *erek* *tem* *erek* *χenen* *árek*

and breath, twice, falling to thee, annihilation to thee, seizure to thee,



Sebáu *en neter* *áuk* *sápi-tu* *en* *ḥáiṭ* *áat* *ṭer*

O Sebau, by the god! Art thou decreed for slaughter great, destroyed are



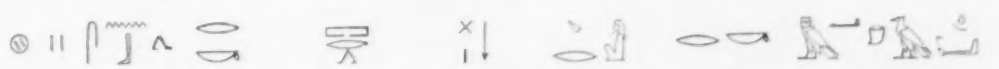
- k *ḥer ḥetep - sen* *án* *nek* *áaiu - k* *án* *nek* *rettu-k*

..... thy before them. Not to thee are arms thy, not to thee legs thy,



án χut *en áb - k* *áu áuset - f* 5. *beḥen - tu* *sep sen* *ḥem*

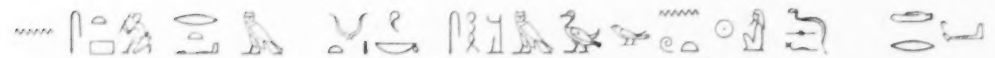
not is the strength of heart thy in place its. Cut asunder art thou, twice, retreat,



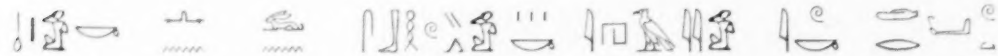
sep sen *senb* *erek* *per* *máb* *Heru* *erek* *mátau*

twice, back to thee. Comes forth the dagger of Horus against thee, the chain

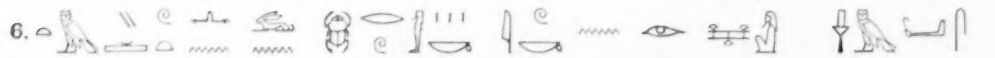
(15)*



en Sut erṭāt em ȧpt - k sehetem - entu Rā f'esef ṭer
of Sut is put upon forehead thy; destroys thee Rā himself. Destroyed is



χeru - k ȧn un sebeḥu - k ȧhai ȧuk ṭer - tu
voice thy, not may be imprecations thy. O art thou destroyed,

6. 

tem - tu ȧn un χeperu - k ȧuk en maa Ḥeru seχem - s
annihilated, not may be becomings thy, art thou to the eye of Horus, obtains mastery it



ȧm-k em χert en ḥru neb Ȧpepi χeft en Ra ṭer - tu
over thee in the course of day every. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, destroys thee



Rā ḥem - tu Ȧtmu em χut ṭep-re - sen setem - k
Rā, turns back thee Atmu with the might of utterances their. Hearest thou



ḥekau - ȧ . . . . . en set . . mȧ utut en Rā ȧru erek
words of power my, ... as commanded Rā to be done to thee.



χeft en Rā reχ - nȧ ȧri nek māȧ ḥem - tu ḥer sep - k
O enemy of Rā, know I what is done to thee. Come turn thou in turn thy

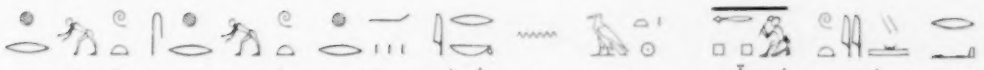


ṭu ȧuk χer - tu en at - k bȧn ȧḥȧ ȧrek śenti - tu Rā
evil. Art thou fallen at moment thy evil, stoppage to thee. Curses thee Rā.

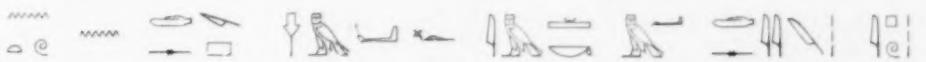


ȧu paut neteru ȧa meter
is the cycle of the gods great judging

8. *Ȧpepi χeft en Rā ȧuk*
Apepi the enemy of Rā. Art thou



χer - tu *seχer - tu* *χeru* *ârek* *en* *at* *Âpepi* *tui* *erṭâ*
fallen, overthrown, seizures to thee at the moment, O Apepi, that. Given



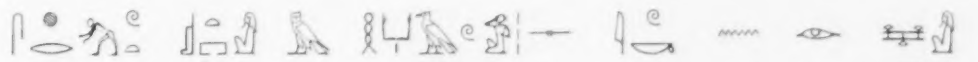
entu *en* *ṭes* *seχem - f* *âm - k* *mâ* *ṭesi* *âpu*
art thou to the knife, obtains mastery he over thee with knives those which



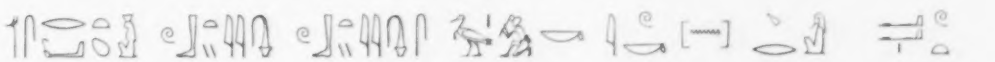
âmu *uâa - f* *âuk* *en* *śet* *seχem - s* *âm - k*
are in boat his. Art thou to the fire, obtains mastery it over thee

9. 

em *χert* *ent* *hru* *neb* *âuk* *en* *nemmat* *ḥrâ - k* *eres*
in the course of day every. Art thou to the block, face thy is to it,



seχer - tu *Âuset* *em* *ḥekau - s* *âuk* *en* *maa* *Ḥeru*
overthrows thee Isis with words of power her. Art thou to the eye of Horus.



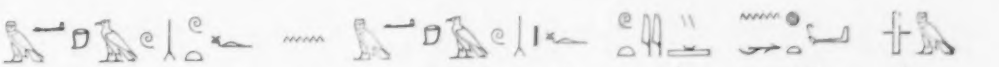
usert *ubti* *ubti - s* *ba - k* *âuk* *en* *Ḥeru* *ââiu*
Usert, the burning one, burns she soul thy. Art thou to Horus and the two arms



en *neter* *ââ* *per* *mâb - f* *âm* *â - f* *er - ek* *âuk* *en*
of the god great, comes dagger his in hand his against thee. Art thou to



Sut *se* *Nut* *sau - f* *ḥes - k* *âu - f* *nehbet - k*
Sut the son of Nut, smashes he backbone thy, cuts he neck thy,



mâtau - tu - f *en* *mâtau - f* *tui* *neχt* *âm*
chains up thee he with chain his that victorious [which] is in



ȧȧiu - f *ȧnk* *en* *maa* *Rā* *maa* *Ḥeru* *uśā - tu*
hands his. Art thou to the eye of Rā, flames Horus biting into

11. 

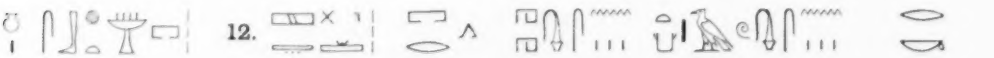
χat - k *ȧnk* *en* *ȧqṭi* *Rā* *en* *χennu* *Rā* *uaḥ - sen*
body thy. Art thou to the rowers of Rā, to the sailors of Rā, place they



ṭep-k *er* *ta* *ȧnk* *en* *Ḥeru* *χent - ȧn - maa* *ḥaṭeḳ -*
head thy upon the earth. Art thou to Horus dwelling in darkness, cut in pieces



tu *em* *baḥennu-f* *tui* *ȧm* *seχem* *ȧnk* *en* *sau*
art thou by knife his that which is in Seχem. Art thou to the keepers



nu *sebeχet* *śetau* *per* *heh - sen* *tekau - sen* *erek*
of the pylons secret, comes forth fire their, flame their against thee,



ȧm - tu - k *nerȧu* *ȧat* *ḥetep-s* *ḥer* *χat - k* *Āpepi* *χeft* *en*
devours thee fear great, rests it upon body thy, O Apepi enemy of



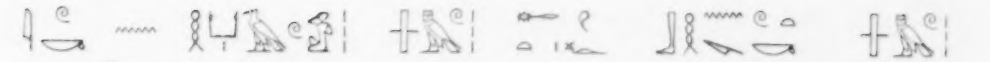
Rā *ȧm - k* *nāi* *ȧm - k* *śaȧs* *ȧm - k* *χeper*
Rā. Not thou mayest come, not thou mayest pass, not thou mayest become,



ȧm - k *θes* *per* *ba* *er - ek* *ḥer* *Ȧmentiu* *ȧnk* *en*
not to thee may rise to come soul to thee out of those in Ȧmenti. Art thou to

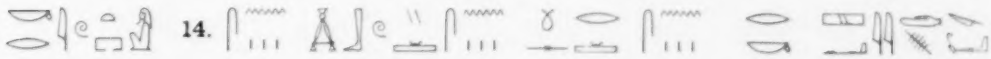


nesert *ṭep - re - f* *per* *bȧak* *Ḥeru* *erek* *ḥer* *Ȧbtiu*
the flame of utterance his, comes the hawk of Horus to thee out of the Ȧbtiu.



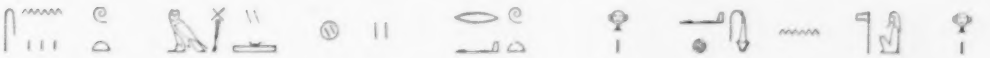
ȧuk en ḥekau ȧmu χat - f beḥen - tuk ȧmu

Art thou to the words of power within body his, cut in pieces thee those who are in



14. *kerȧut - sen ṯebu - sen śesert - sen erek ḳāiṯ -*

shrine their, accomplish they purposes their upon thee: slay



sen - tu em nem sep sen erṯȧtu ḥer ȧχ en neter ḥer

they thee a second time, twice. Placed art thou upon the brazier of the god upon



ȧχu ent ȧmu nat'et ȧn χebt en ȧqti en Rā

the altar which consumes the emerald at the cavern of the rowers of Rā



ȧn nemmat en Teḥuti seśep neter neḥt 15. . . . . *sen ȧm - k*

at the block of Thoth. Receives god [great] every . . . . . their from thee.



ḥetep ȧb - sen ḥer ȧru ḳāiṯ - k Ȧpepi χefṯ en Rā

Rests heart their upon doing slaughter thy, O Apepi, enemy of Rā.



ḥa - k ḥem - tu ṯep-k ȧn tu ȧn seḥetem

Back to thee, retreat to thee. Head thy to the earth, are destroyed



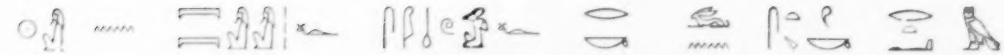
mest'eru-k ḥep - k temi - tu ȧn un - nek ȧn un tut - k

ears thy, blinded art thou, annihilated art thou, not mayest be thou, not may be image thy,

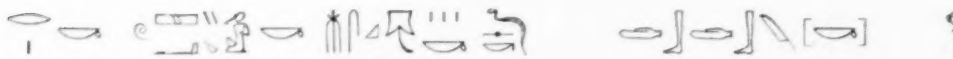


16. *ȧn un ȧru - k ȧn i - k ȧu Rā em pet - f ȧn*

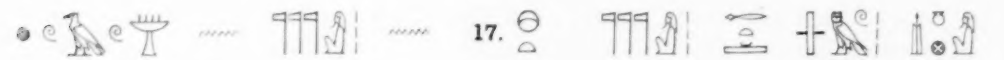
not may be attribute thy, not mayest come thou to Rā in two heavens his. Is



Rā en pet - f semāṯχeru - f erek un set - k erṭāt em
Rā in two heavens his, triumphs he over thee, may be tail thy placed in



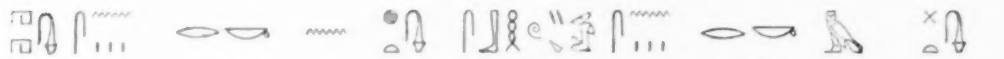
re - k uḫā - k mesq - k t'es-k ṭebṭeb- [k] ḥer
mouth thy, mayest bite thou skin thy self thy, mayest be hacked in pieces [thou] upon



χuau en neteru en 17. *ṗaut neteru āat āmu Ānnu*
the altar of the gods, of the cycle of the gods great in Heliopolis.



auk χer-tu seχer - tu seχer - sen - tu per set'ebu per
Art thou fallen, overthrown, overthrow they thee, come forth disasters, comes forth



heḥ - sen erek en χet sebeḥu - sen erek em śet
flame their against thee out of the fire, cry out they to thee out of the flame,



ḥrā - sen erek em nebāt - sen 18. *smāmut erek em*
face their against thee from flame their, clashing against thee



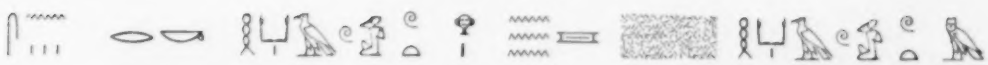
. . . śesau en ṭes amem - sen - tu ḥer qeb - k ṭer -
knives of flint, burn they thee upon folds thy, destroy



sen - tu em śāiṭ - sen ām āāiu - sen ṭer - tu mesu
they thee with knives their in hands their. Destroy thee the children



Heru ḥekau - sen āq - sen ām - k 19. *χut - sen χeper*
of Horus, curses their enter they into thee. Powers their become



sen *erek* *ḥekau - tu* *ḥer* *māu* *ḥekau - tu* *em*

they against thee, cursed art thou upon the water (?) . . . . . , cursed art thou in



χeperu - k *nebt* *ȧri - nek* *em* *unnut-k* *tui* *bȧn* *ȧm - k*

becomings thy all [which] made hast thou in hour thy that evil. Notshalt thou



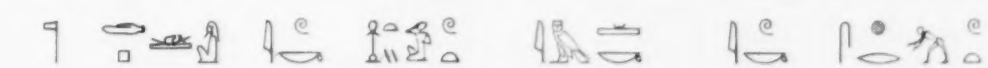
ṭebṭeb *ȧu* *sekti* *neteru* 20. *em* *seḫak* *Sebȧu*

make attack upon the *sekti* boat of the gods. Back thou, Sebau,



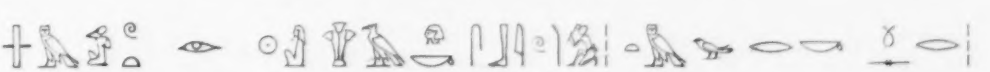
seḫetem *bȧ - k* *ȧuk* *beḫen - tu* *ȧuk* *seḫerȧu - tu* *ȧu*

destroyed is soul thy, art thou cut in pieces, thou, driven back art thou from



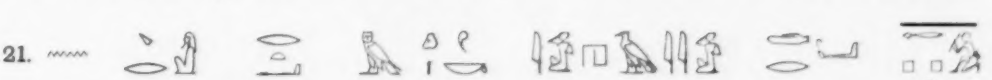
neter *ṭep* *ȧuk* *śenti-tu* *ȧm-k* *ȧuk* *seχer - tu*

the divine bark, art thou cursed, annihilation to thee, art thou overthrown,



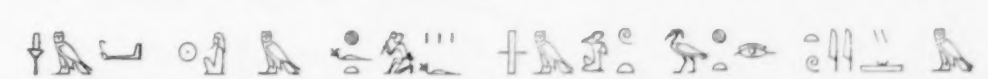
ȧm - tu *maa* *Rā* *ḥa - k* *Sebȧu* *tem* *erek* *śeseru*

eats thee the eye of Rā. Back thou Sebau, an end to thee! The attacks



21. *en* *Ḥeru* *erṭāt* *em* *fent-k* *ȧḥai* *ṭer* *Āpepi*

of Horus are made upon nose thy, O destroyed is Āpepi!



seχem *Rā* *em* *χefti - f* *ȧm - tu* *χut* *tui* *em*

Obtains mastery Rā over enemies his. Devours thee eye that in

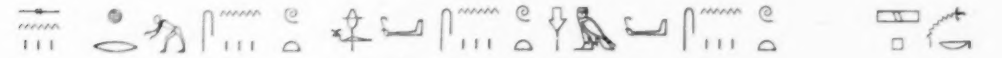


ren-s *pui* *en* *ȧmi* *ȧm - s* *ȧm-k* *sȧm - s* *ȧm-k*

name its that of "Ami," [Flame] eats it into thee, devours it thee



em ḥekau 22. *ṭepre - sen χep - nes - tu mit - k en*
by magical words and utterances their, slays it thee, kill thee



sen χer - sen - tu χesef - sen - tu seχem - sen - tu ḥep-k
they, cast down they thee, repulse they thee, master they thee, make vomit they thee.



tem - tu ḥem - tu beḥen - tu paut neteru āat ȧmu
End to thee, back to thee. Cut in pieces thee the cycle of the gods great who are in



Ánnu sesunnu uru 23. *āśt tekau mer pā*
Heliopolis, seize [thee] the great ones who multiply the sparks deadly of the flame.



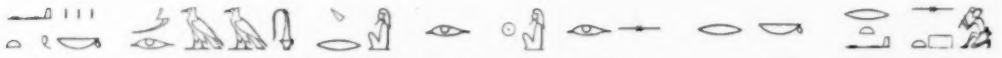
ȧuk en heh en ȧmu ren - s tem - nes - tu Āpepi
Art thou to the flames of those who are in name its, makes an end it of thee Āpepi,



χesef - nes - tu em per - k bȧn χet erek uśā - s ȧuf - k
repulses it thee in exit thy evil. Flame to thee, bites into it flesh thy,



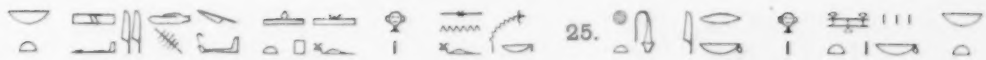
ȧru-s-tu em sesfi ubti 24. *ba - k sesunnu-χet-s ḳesu - k*
does it for thee with fire burning soul thy, consumes it bones thy,



āt - k maa Ḥeru maa Rā ȧri - s er - ek erṭāt Sut
limbs thy, the flaming eye of Horus, the eye of Rā works it against thee. Places Sut

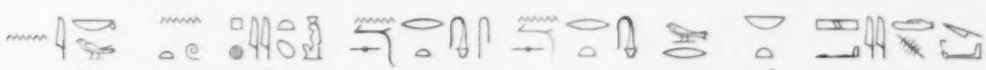


māb-f em ṭep-k ȧu - nek maȧu meres ba Bast
spear his in head thy, is to thee the cat of Meres, the soul of Bast



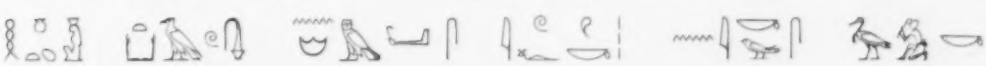
nebt *ṣāiṭ* *ḥetep-f* *ḥer* *senf - k* 25. *χet* *ârek* *ḥer* *uat - k* *nebt*

lady of slaughter, reposes he upon blood thy: fire therefore upon ways thy all.



nâk - entu *Peχit* *nesert - s* *nesert* *ur* *nebt* *ṣāiṭ*

Does evil to thee Peχit, flames she flame great, lady of slaughter,



ḥent *tekau* *neḥem - s* *âuf - k* *nâk - s* *ba - k*

mistress of the spark, removes she flesh thy, injures she soul thy,



ubti - entu *nebât* 26. *Âpepi* *χeft* *en* *Rā* *âmu - tu* *âmu*

burns up thee the flame, O Âpepi enemy of Rā. Devour thee those who are in



kerâut *paut* *neteru* *āat* *ḥetep* *uâa* *tem - k*

the shrine, the cycle of the gods great in front of the boat, that not thou



χeper *ân* *χeper-k* *neqem-k* *st'erâu - k*

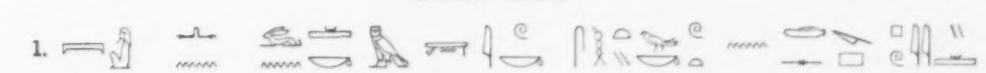
mayest become, not mayest become thou, be destruction to thee, mayest be prostrate thou,



ân *nehâs-k* *seχer-entu* *Rā* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ân* *uaḥ-k* *em*

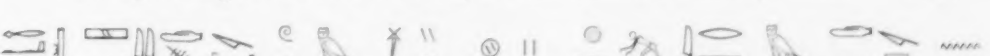
not mayest awake thou, overthrows thee Rā for ever! Not mayest be placed thou in

Column XXXI.



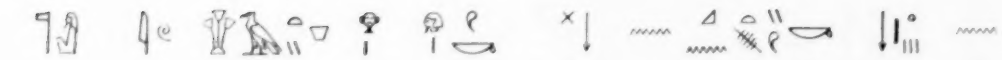
1. *pet* *ân* *un-k* *em* *ta* *âuk* *sekti - k - tu* *en* *ten* *pui*

heaven, not mayest rise thou in earth, art thou hacked art thou by knife that



âai *ṣāiṭ - tu* *em* *nem* *sep sen* *χer* *ârek* *em* *ten* *en*

great, slaughtered art thou a second time. fall then by the knife of



neter *àu* *ḥati* *ḥer* *ṭep-k* *māb* *en* *qenti - k* *māb* *en*

the god. May be the net upon head thy, the dagger in stomach thy, the daggers of



Rā 2. *men* *em* *tut - k* *χer - tu* *en* *at - k* *ṭu*

Rā stuck into form thy. Overthrown art thou at moment thy evil,



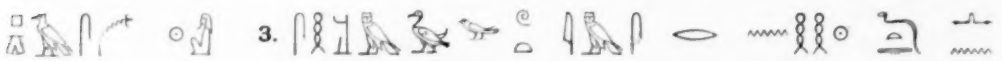
ubti - tu *en* *at* *ent* *Ḥeru* *àu neter* *per - f* *er* *Sebàu*

burnt up art thou at moment of Horus. The god comes forth he against the Sebau,



àu *seχer* *Āpepi* *àu* *ḥrà - k* *er* *nemmàt* *tui* *ent* *àt*

is overthrown Āpepi, is face thy at block that of the place



peḳas *Rā* 3. *sehetem - tu* *àm - s* *er* *neḥeḥ* *t'etta* *àn*

where spits Rā, destroyed art thou by it for ever and ever. Not



benben - k *àn* *tata - k* *àn* *χeper* *t'ai -*

may be emission to thee, not may be erection to thee, not may become male offspring



k *àn* *ruṭ* *suḥṭ - k* *beḥen-tu* *neteru* *per* *em* *maa* *Ḥeru*

thy, not be strong egg thy, cut in pieces thee the gods coming from the eye of Horus,



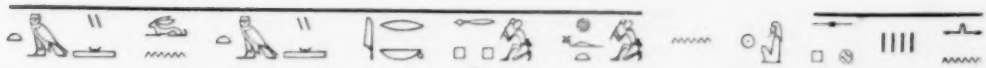
ḥeḥ - tu *χer - tu* *seχer - tu* 4. *Rā* *Ḥeru χuti* *per* *māb* *em*

departed art thou, fallen thou, overthrows thee Rā Harmachis, comes dagger in



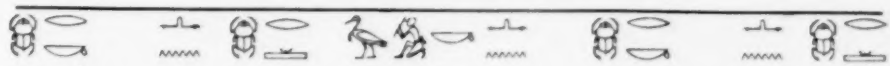
à - f *erek* *t'a* *śeser - f* *erek* *χeper-k* *em*

hand his against thee, comes successful design(?) his against thee, becomest thou



tem *un* *tem* *ârek* *Âpepi* *χeft* *en* *Rā* *sep* *ftu* *ân*

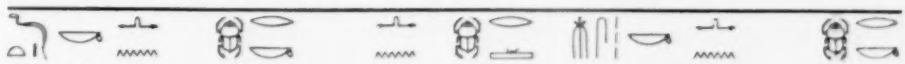
not being, end therefore Âpepi enemy of Rā. Times four. Not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *ba - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

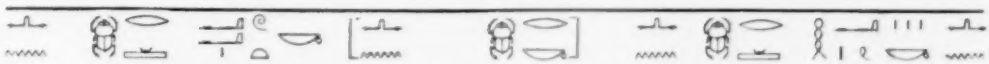
mayest become thou, not may become soul thy; not mayest become thou, not may become

5.



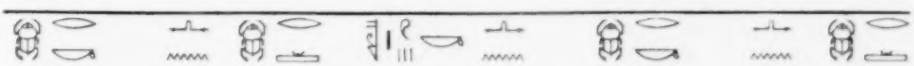
t'et - k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *mesu-k* *ân* *χeper-k*

body thy; not mayest become thou, not may become children thy; not mayest become thou,



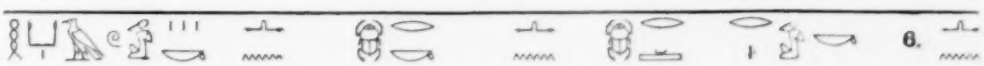
ân *χeper* *ââiu - k* *ân* *χeper - k* *ân* *χeper* *ḥâu - k* *ân*

not may become hands thy; not mayest become thou, not may become limbs thy; not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *ḳesu-k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

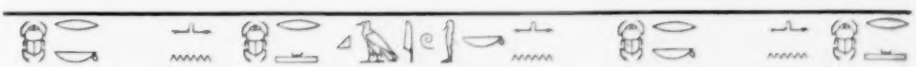
mayest become thou, not may become bones thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



6.

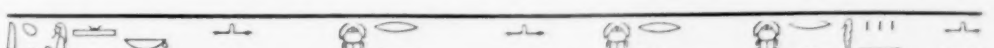
ḥekau-k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *re - k* *ân*

words of power thy; not mayest become thou, not may become mouth thy; not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *qaâu - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

mayest become thou, not may become form thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



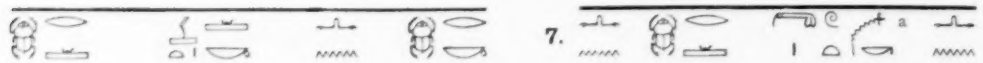
âru - k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *χeperu - k* *ân*

attribute thy; not mayest become thou, not may become becomings thy; not



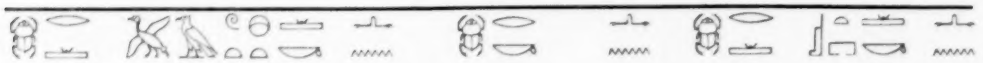
χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *ânememu* *- k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân*

mayest become thou, not may become hair thy; not mayest become thou, not



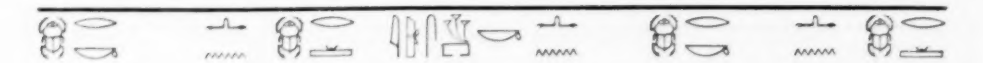
χeper *qer - k* *ân* *χeper-k* 7. *ân* *χeper* *metu - k* *ân*

may become belongings thy; not mayest become thou, not may become emission thy; not



χeper *ṗautet - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *âuset-k* *ân*

may become substance thy; not mayest become thou, not may become seat thy; not



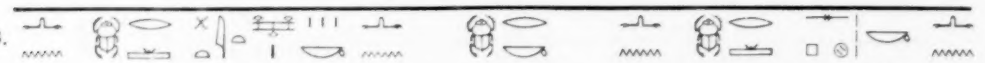
χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *âs - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

mayest become thou, not may become tomb thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



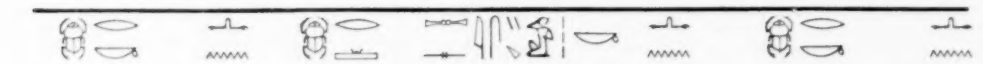
tepḥut-k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *mâḥat - k* *ân* *χeper-k*

cavern thy; not mayest become thou, not may become chamber thy; not mayest become [thou]



8. *ân* *χeper* *uât - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *sep - k* *ân*

not may become paths thy; not mayest become thou, not may become times thy; not



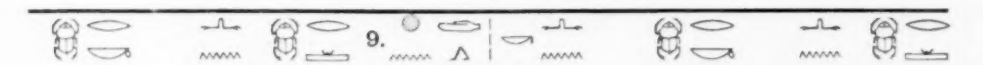
χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *θesâs - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân*

mayest become thou, not may become speeches thy; not mayest become thou, not



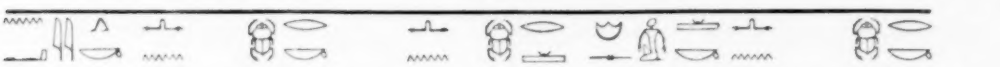
χeper *âq - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *śem-ek* *ân*

may become entrance thy; not mayest become thou, not may become advance thy; not



χeperek *ân* *χeper* 9. *χent - k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

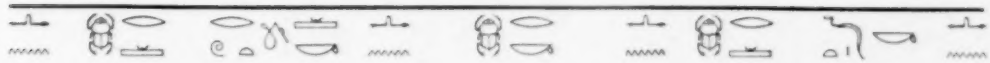
mayest become thou, not may become stridings thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



nâi - k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *ḥems - k* *ân* *χeper-k*

coming thy; not mayest become thou, not may become sitting thy; not mayest become thou,

* The words *ân χeper-k* appear to be omitted after *metu-k*.



ȧn *χeper* *ruṭ - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *ṭ'et - k* *ȧn*

not may become growing thy; not mayest become thou, not may become body thy; not



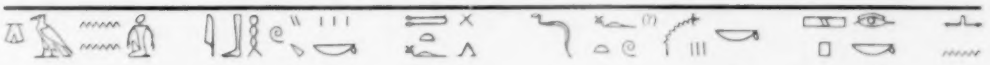
χeper-k *ȧn* *χeper* *bu* *nebt* *un-nek* 10. *ȧm* *Ȧpepi*

mayest become thou, not may become luck any where art thou there, Ȧpepi



χeft *en* *Rā* *mit - k* *sep sen* *aqa - k* *aqa* *ren - k*

enemy of Rā. Die thou, die thou, lost art thou, lost is name thy.



ḳanen *ȧbeḥu - k* *θetef* *ṭ' . . . tu - k* *śep - k* *ȧn*

May fail teeth thy, may be scattered . . . . . thy, be blind thou, not



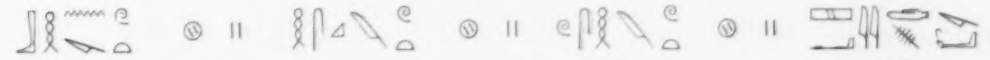
qenḳu - k *χer* *ḥer* *ḥrā - k* *seχer - tu* *sep sen* *ṭer - tu*

see thou. Fall upon face thy, overthrown art thou, twice, destroyed art thou,



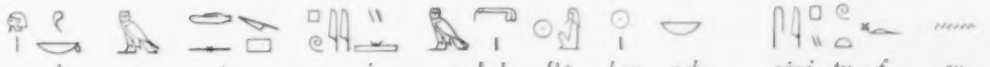
sep sen *tem - tu* *sep sen* *mā* *ṭes* *sep sen* *śāiṭ* *sep sen*

twice, an end to thee, twice, by the knife, twice, the sword twice,



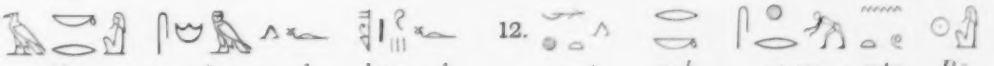
beḥentu *sep sen* *ḥesq - tu* *sep sen* *useḥ - tu* *sep sen* *śāiṭ*

cut in pieces, twice, hacked asunder, twice, sawed, twice. Cut off [is]



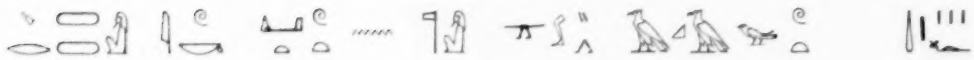
ṭep-k *em* *ṭes* *pui* *embaḥ* *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *sȧpi - tu - f* *en*

head thy with knife that before Rā day every. Reckons up thee he



Aker *seḥem - f* *ḳesu - f* 12. *χet* *erek* *seχer - entu* *Rā*

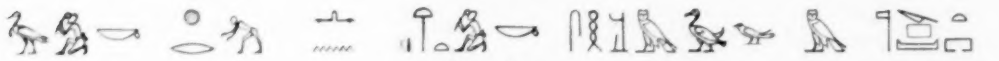
Aker, turns back he bones his. Retreat to thee, overthrows thee Rā



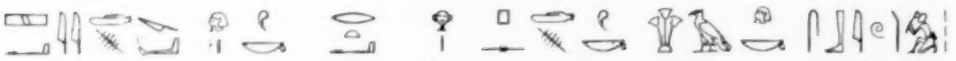
Ḥeru χuti *âuk* *ṭât-tu* *en* *neter* *mes* *aqa - tu* *ṭ'ettuf*
Harmachis. Art thou given to the god bringing destruction to thee. Says he,



mâb *Ḥeru* *erṭât* *em* *âpt-k* *âu* *ṭep-k* *er* *neḥb - k* *âu*
"Daggers of Horus are placed in head thy cutting head thy from neck thy, is



ba - k *χer* *ân* *χebit - k* *seḥetem* *em* *neter nemmat*
soul thy fallen, not [may be] shade thy, destroyed art thou at divine block.

13. 

śâiṭ *ṭep-k* *erṭât* *ḥer* *pesṭ - k* *ḥa - k* *Sebâu*
Cut off is head thy and placed upon back thy; back to thee, O Sebâu



χeft *en* *Rā* *âuk* *beḥentu* *em* *per - k* *bân* *âm - tu*
enemy of Rā. Art thou cut in pieces at coming forth thy evil, eats thee



χut *Heru* *qeqa - s* *âm - k* *âu* *ḥetep* *âbtu s* *heh-s* *erek*
the eye of Horus, bites it into thee. Is resting heart its, flame its against thee,

14. 

nebât - s *erek* *χet* *ḥem* *Âpepi* *em* *ret - k* *tui*
fire its against thee. Back retreat Âpepi with foot thy that



bân *fa* *paut* *neteru* *ḥrâ - sen* *erek* *peḳaâs - sen*
evil. Lifts up the cycle of the gods face their against thee, spit they



nebât - sen *em* *mat - k* *χet* *erek* *mer* *nesert* *seχem - s*
flame their in eye thy, flame against thee, horrible flame, masters it



15. [a]

ám - k *ḥu - nes - tu* *t'afi - nes-tu* *áuk* *en* *heh - s* *en*

thee, drives it thee, burns it thee. Art thou to flame its



ámu *re - s* *beḥen - tu-s* *ḥem* *maa - k* *án* *Rā* *śep - tu*

which is in mouth his, cuts in pieces thee it, turning back eyes thy. Says Rā, "Blinds thee



Ḥeru *em* *uia - f* *seχem* *ám - k* *ḥāt - k* *áru - s*

Horus from boat his, mastering thee and throat thy, makes it



śāiṭ - k *ṭes* *erek* *aq - f* *en* *át - k* *án*

slaughter thy. Knife to thee, destroys it limbs thy, not



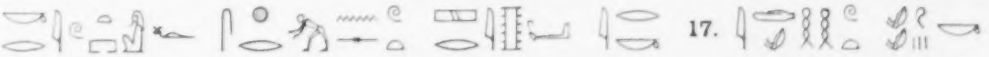
i - k *er* *náa* *en* *neter* *áa* *ḥem - tu* *Rā* *t'eset*

mayest come thou to the boat of god great, turns back thee Rā himself.



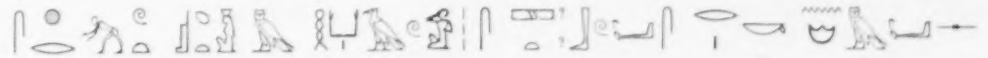
áuk *er* *nemmat* *ḥrâ - k* *eres* *seχer - tu* *neteru* *ámu*

Art thou to the block, face thy upon it, overthrow thee gods who are in



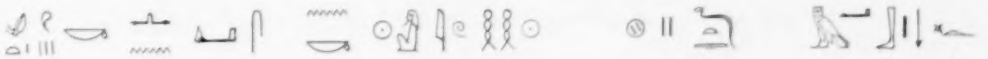
kerâut - f *seχer - nes-tu* *ḥerâ* *árek* *áṯeḥ - tu* *mest'er-k*

shrine his, overthrows it thee, walled up art thou, lackest thou ears thy.



seχer-tu *Áuset* *em* *ḥekau - s* *śethu - s* *re - k* *nehem - s*

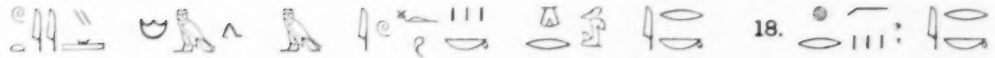
Overthrows thee Isis with words of power her, breaks she mouth thy, removes she



mest'eru-k *án* *ṭāt - s - nek* *Rā* *áu* *ḥeḥ* *sep sen t'etta* *máb - f*

ears thy, not gives she to thee Rā for ever, for ever and ever and ever. Spear his

[a] There appears to be an erasure here.



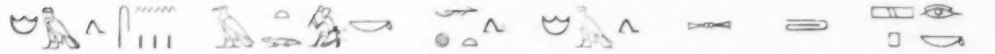
tui *ḥem* *em* *âuf - k* *ḳer* *ârek* 18. *χer* *ârek*

that turns back into limbs thy, silence to thee, stabbings to thee,



mit - k *ân* *ânχ - k* *seχer - tu* *Âuset* *Nebt - ḥet* *tut - sen*

die thou, not live thou. Overthrow thee Isis and Nephthys, together they



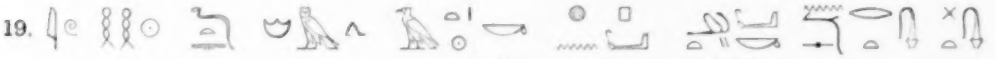
ḥem - sen *at - k* *χet* *ḥem* *θes* *rer* *śep - k*

turn back they crocodile thy; go back, turn, on the other hand be blind thou,



tem - tu *θes* *rer* *seḥetem* *ba - k* *ân* *ânχ-k*

an end to thee, on the other hand, destroyed [is] soul thy, not live thou



19. *âu* *ḥeḥ* *t'etta* *ḥem* *at - k* *χenp* *peḥti-k* *nesert* *śet*

for ever and ever. Goes back moment thy, takes away strength thy flame of fire



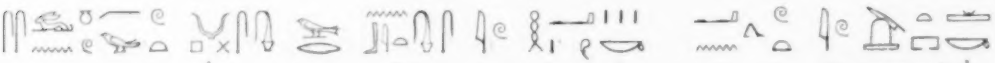
em *t'et - k* *χet* *ârek* *sesunnu - s* *t'et - k* *seseḳi - s* *ḳesu - k*

from body thy. Fire to thee, grips it body thy, burns it bones thy;



nebât *per - tu* *ubti - s* *ba - k* *em* *sâ - s* 20. *χat - k*

flame [when] comest forth thou burns it soul thy, chews it body thy,



sesunnu - tu *Âpt - s - ur* *nebât - s* *âu* *ḫâu - k* *ân - tu* *âu* *nemmat - k*

seizes thee Apt - s - ur, flames she against limbs thy, goest back thou to block thy.



qemam *en* *Râ* *śâiṭ - tu* *Teḥuti* *em* *ḥekau - f*

Made has Rā to kill thee Thoth with words of magic his.



ȧn *i - k* *er* *uȧa* 21. *en* *Rā* *sekem - tu* *Rā* *t'esef*

Not comest thou to the boat of Rā, turns back thee Rā himself.



ȧuf *reχ* *ȧri - nek* *nebt* *ṯu* *śet* *erek* *qemȧu*

He knows what done hast thou all evil, flame is upon thee of those in the south,



seχem-s *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *neter* *Sept* *Ānqet* *utut* *ȧru* *erek*

masters it thee, says divine Sothis Anqet decreeing what is done to thee.



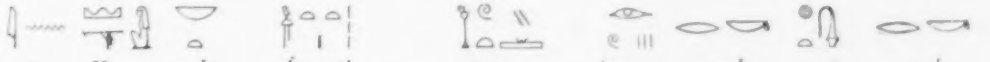
χet *erek* *en* *meḥtiu* *seχem-s* *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *Uat'it* 22. *nebt*

Flame is upon thee of those in the north, masters it thee, says Uatit lady of



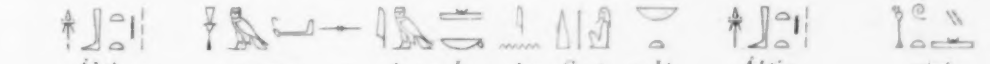
Pe *Ṭepâ* *utut* *ȧru* *erek* *χet* *erek* *em* *Ȧmentiu*

Pe and Tep decreeing what is done to thee. Flame is upon thee of those in the west,



ȧn *Ḳesun* *nebt* *Ȧmentiu* *utut* *ȧru* *erek* *χet* *erek*

says Ḳesun lord of those in Ȧmenti decreeing what is done to thee. Flame is upon thee



Ȧbtiu *seχem - s* *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *Sept* *nebt* *Ȧbtiu* *utut*

of those in the east, masters it thee, says Sept lord of those in the east decreeing



ȧru *erek* 23. *ȧn* *un-nek* *em* *ȧuset - k* *nebt* *enti* *ȧuk* *ȧm*

what is done to thee. Not mayest rise thou in place thy all which art thou there.

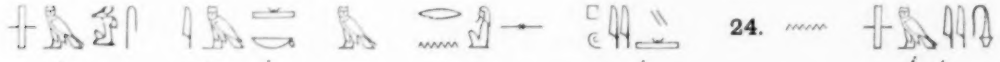


ȧs *erek* *seχem - s* *ȧm-k* *ȧuk* *en* *χet* *tui* *ent* *maa* *Rā*

Now for thee, masters it thee, art thou to flame that of the eye of Rā.



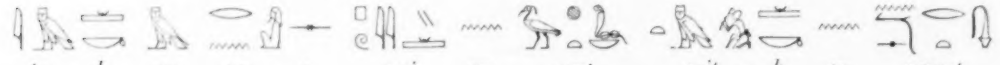
utut - s *heh - s* *erek* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Uat'it*
decrees it flame its against thee in name its that of Uat'it,



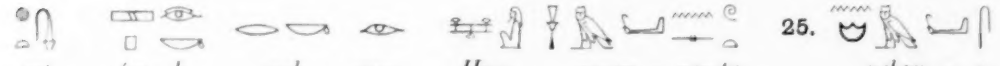
24. *ȧm - s* *ȧm - k* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Ȧmi*
eats it into thee in name its that of Ȧmi,



seχem - s *ȧm - k* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Seχet* *χut - s*
masters it thee in name its that of Seχet, flames it



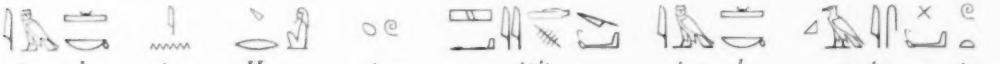
ȧm - k *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *χut* *mit - k* *en* *nesert*
against thee in name its that of Flame. Slays thee the flame



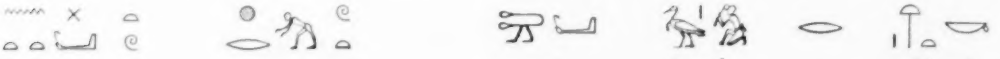
χet *śep - k* *erek* *maa* *Ḥeru* *seχem - nes-tu* 25. *neḥem - s*
of fire, blinds thee therefore the eye of Horus, masters it thee, removes it



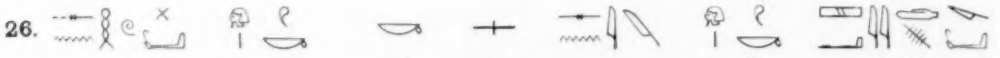
ȧȧiu - k *tet - s* *rettu-k* *utut* *set'ebu - k* *ȧn* *Rā* *χeper* *ṭu*
two hands thy, carries away it feet thy decreeing disasters thy. Says Rā, "Become evil



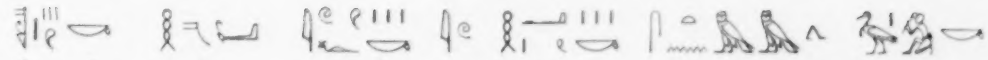
ȧm - k *ȧn* *Ḥeru* *ȧru* *śāiṭ* *ȧm - k* *qaȧs - tu*
in thee." Says Horus, "Be made slaughter of thee." Be fettered thou.



netet - tu *χer - tu* *tet* *ba - k* *er* *χebit - k*
be bound thou, be overthrown thou. Be carried away soul thy from shade thy.



26. *senḫu* *ṭep - k* *ki* *t'eṭ* *senā* *ṭep - k* *śāiṭ*
be fettered head thy, otherwise said, cut off head thy, be smashed



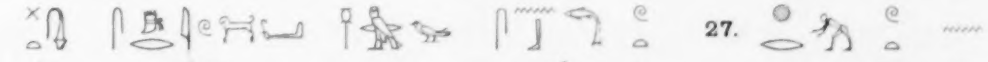
ḳesu - k *ḥu* *âuf - k* *âu* *ḥâu - k* *setenemem* *ba - k*

bones thy, be dragged off flesh thy from limbs thy, be turned back soul thy



er *χebit - k* *χem* *t'et - k* *ân* *un - nek* *erṭât - entu en*

from shade thy, be brought to nought body thy, not mayest rise thou. Seized art thou by



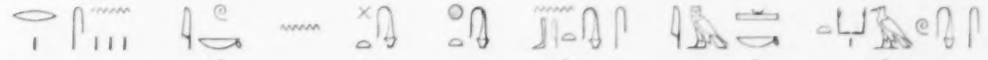
śet *st'erâu* *mer* *senb - tu* 27. *χer - tu en*

the fire, prostrated, brought to nought, turned back thou, overthrown thou by



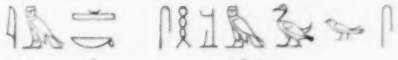
ṭenṭen *en* *ârât - f* *uśâ - nes - tu en heh en*

the might of uræi his. Chews up it thee the fire of



re - sen *âuk* *en* *śet* *χet* *nebât - s* *âm - k* *tekau - s*

mouth their. Art thou to the fire, the fire blazes it in thee, sparkles it



âm - k *seḥetem* *s*

in thee, destroys it

Column XXXII.



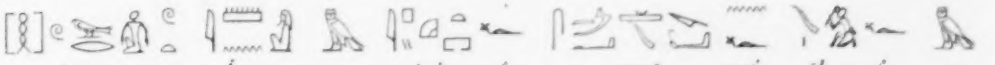
1. *ba - k* *em* *neter* *nemmat* *paut* *neteru* *âut*

soul thy at the divine block; the cycle of the gods great



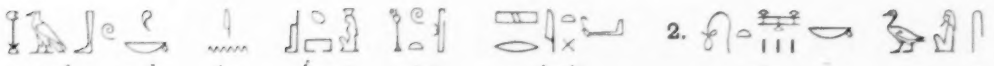
χâr - sen *erek* *em* *enen* *pu* *âriṭ* *en* *em* *ââiu - k*

rage they against thee by reason of that, to wit, work which is in hands thy.

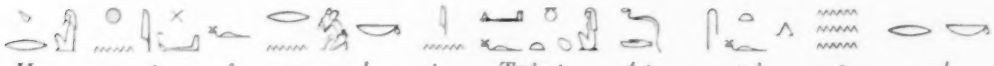


ḥur - tu *Âmen* *em* *âpit - f* *semâ - nef* *âb - f* *em*

Enfeebles thee Âmen in Apts his, digs he horn his in



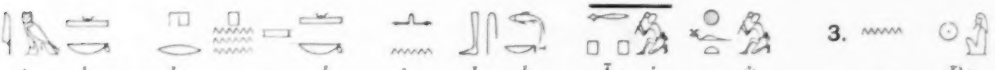
χabu - k án Áuset utut śerât 2. *uat - k se - s*
neck thy, says Isis decreeing to be stopped ways thy, son her



Ḥeru χenâ - f ren - k án Ṭâfnet ṭ'eṭ stef mâu erek
Horus shuts up he name thy. Speaks Tefnut, saying, "Be turned water from thee,



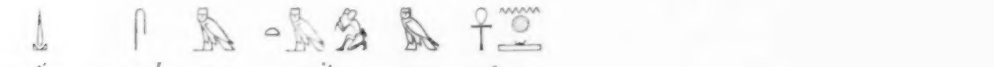
śesnnnu ḥer mâu per - nek âm - f Ṭât Shu mâb - f
be seized on the water comest forth thou from it. Places Shu spear his



âm - k herp - k án bes - k Âpepi χeft 3. *en Rā*
in thee, be drowned thou, not pass thou Âpepi enemy of Rā.



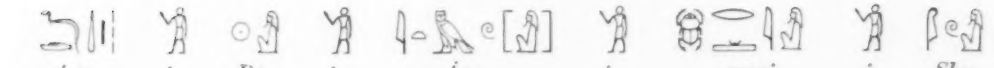
ṭep-k Âpepi sep fṭu ṭ;p - ten χeft neb en P-âa ânχ
Be spit upon thou Âpepi. Times four. Be spit upon ye enemy every of P-âa, life,



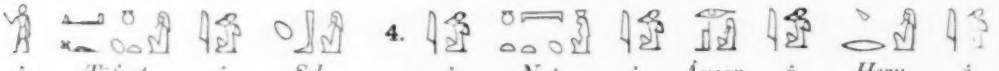
ut'a śenb em mit em ânχ
strength, health, in death in life.



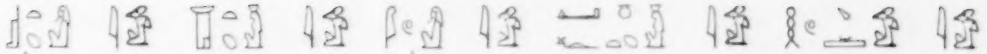
śât en seχer Âpepi
Book of overthrowing Âpepi.



ṭ'eṭṭu â Rā â Âtmu â χeperâ â Shu
Say, "O Rā, O Âtmu, O χepera, O Shu,



â Ṭâfnet â Seb 4. *â Nut â Âusar â Ḥeru â*
O Tefnut, O Seb, O Nut, O Osiris, O Horus, O



Âuset *â* *Nebt-ḥet* *â* *Śu* *â* *Tâfnet* *â* *Ḥu* *â*
Isis, O Nephthys, O Shu O Tefnut, O Hu, O



Sau *â* *Ḥeru* *nebt* *Kakem* *â* *Ḥiku* *ka* *en* *Rā*
Sau, O Horus, lord of Kaqem, O Hiku the genius of Rā,



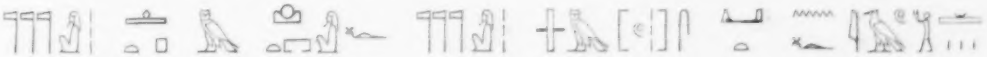
ī *en* *P-āa* *χer - ten* *ṭā-f* *nesert* *àu* *Āpepi* 5. *neḥem - f*
comes P-āa to you, gives he flame against Āpepi, removes he



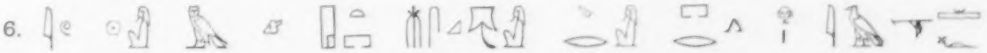
u . . . . . en *Qettu* *ṭā-f* *reśà* *em* *uâa* *en* *ḥeḥ* *aqeṭi*
. . . . . of Qettu, gives he delight to the boat of millions of years. Rowers of



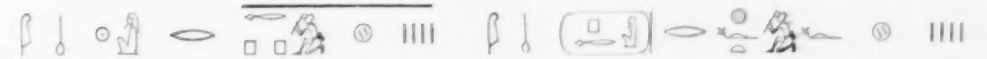
Rā *âb-sen* *em* *ahai* *em* *χenuu en* *kerâut - f* *bain*
Rā hearts their are in exultation within shrine his, the souls



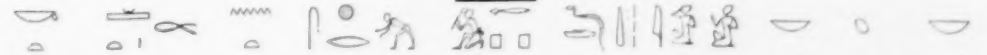
neteru *ḥetep* *em* *χut - f* *neteru* *âmu - s* *ṭât - nef* *âau*
of the gods rest in horizon his, the gods in it give to him adorations,



6. *âu* *Rā* *em* *χent* *ḥet* *menq* *Ḥeru* *per* *ḥer* *âa - f*
is Rā at the head of Het-meseq, Horus comes forth upon stand his.



mātχeru *Rā* *er* *Āpepi* *sep* *ṣṭu* *mātχeru* *P-āa* *er* *χeft - f* *sep* *ṣṭu*
Triumphs Rā over Āpepi. Times four. Triumphs P-āa over enemy his. Times four."



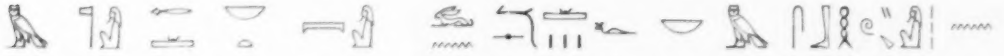
ḳet *śāt* *ent* *seχer* *Āpepi* *t'ettu* *â* *ret* *neb* *set* *neb*
Another book of overthrowing Āpepi. Say, "O man every, woman every,



7. *mit neb hamemu neb āba - reu ṭebu - sen en ḥa*
dead person every, unborn person every, whatsoever, if accomplish they evil



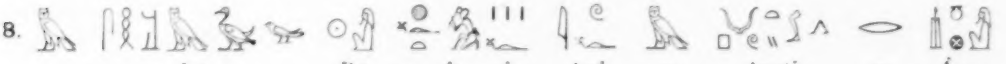
P-āa à neteru t'ai - sen àm - f un-nef em ḥrà - ten
for P-āa, may the gods do wrong they to him. May be he in face your



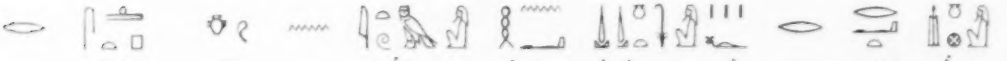
em neter āa nebt pet un nesu - f neb em sebeḥu en
like a god great lord of heaven! May be tongue his all for crying out to



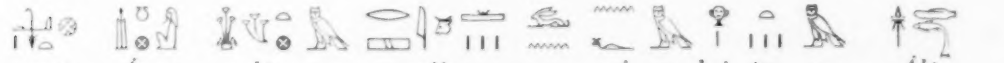
Nebàu χeft t'a - k ḥer pet ta em meḥu māu
Nebàu when travellest thou over the two heavens and earth with fulness of breezes



8. *em seḥetem Rā χeft - f àuf em àputi er Ánnu*
in destroying Rā enemies his. Is he a messenger to Ánnu



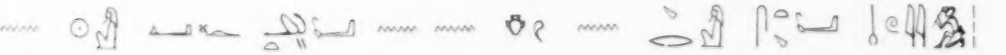
er seḥetep àb en Átmu ḳnā t'at'anut-su-f er erṭāt Ánnu
to propitiate the heart of Atmu and Powers his, to place Ánnu



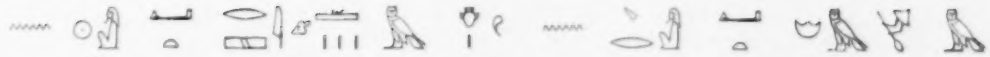
ɣemā Ánnu meḥt em reśà un - nef em ḥrà - ten em Ábṭ
southern and Ánnu northern in delight. May be he in face your like the *Ábtu* fish



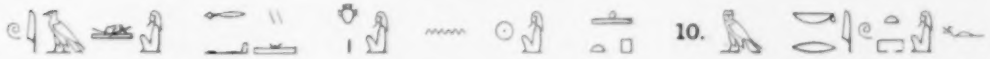
9. *em nub χeri uàa en Rā senṭ - nef χefti neb*
of gold under the boat of Rā. Terrifies he enemies all



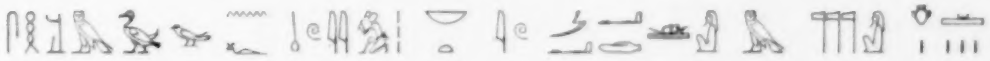
en Rā ṭā - f peḥti en en àb en Ḥeru set χerui
of Rā, gives he might to the heart of Horus smashing the enemies



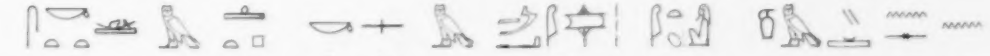
en Rā ṭāt reṥi em ȧb en Ḥeru ṭāṭ ḥem em
of Rā giving delight in the heart of Horus, placing the rudder in



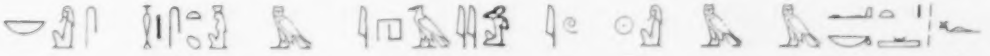
uȧa ȧa ȧb en Rā ḥetep em kerȧut - f
the boat of the great of heart, of Rā reposing in shrine his;



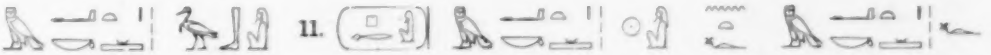
seḥetem - nef χerui nebt ȧu māāṭ em neteru ȧbu
destroys he enemies all. Is the Māāt boat in strength of heart,



sektet em ḥetep ki t'ṣt em māāu māt χnem - nes en
the *Sektet* boat in peace, otherwise said, in winds of straightness. Unites to it



neb - s Ḥeset em ȧhai ȧu Rā em māket - f
lord its Ḥeset in exultation. Is Rā in protection his,



māket ba P-āa māket Rā entuf māket - f
protecting the soul of P-āa, protects Rā him, protects he



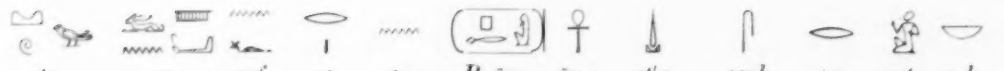
su er ret neb set néb mit neb hememu neb āba reu
him against man every, woman every, dead person every, unborn person every whatsoever.



ȧn Rā χetem - nef re neb t'eṭṭu er P-āa em t'eṭṭu nebt ṭu
Says Rā shuts he mouth every speaking against P-āa with words any bad.



ḥep - f ḥrȧ - k maa-nef ȧu nebt ȧri - sen χet nebt eref bȧn
Blinds he face thy, looks he at everyone do they things any to him evil and



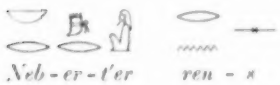
ṯu *un* - *nef* *re* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *er* *ret* *neb*
wicked. Opens he mouth of P-āa, life, strength, health, against man every,



set *neb* *mit* *neb* *hamemu* *neb* *āba* *reu* *T'ettu* *re* *pen*
woman every, dead person every, unborn person every whatsoever. Said is chapter this



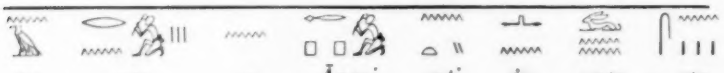
χeft *Rā* *ḥer* *ϑeset net* . . . . . *er* *senexeχ* *su* *em* *ānχ* *ḥāt*
when Rā is for . . . . . to make long life to him in life. The book of



Neb-er-t'er *ren* - *s*
Neb-er-t'er name its.



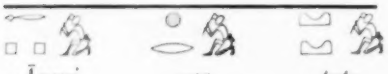
īu - *f* *pu*
Gone out has it.

13. 

na *ren* *en* *Āpepi* *enti* *ȧn* *unen* - *sen*
The names of Āpepi which not shall be they.

14. 

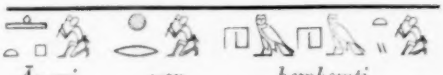
Āpepi *χer* *em* *neṡet*
Apepi, fiend. Bristling with terror.

15. 

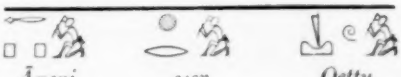
Āpepi *χer* *ṯuṯu*
Apepi, fiend, Doubly evil one.

16. 

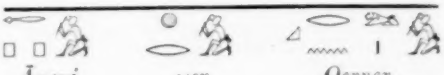
Āpepi *χer* *ḥau* *ḥrȧ.*
Apepi, fiend, Backward of Face.

17. 

Āpepi *χer* *hemhemti*
Apepi, fiend, Roarer.

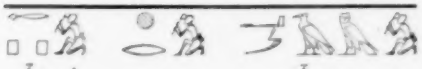
18. 

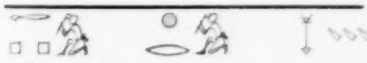
Āpepi *χer* *Qeṯṯu*
Apepi, fiend, Evil-doer.

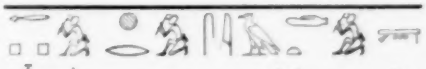
19. 

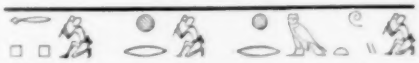
Āpepi *χer* *Qerner*
Apepi, fiend, Qernet.

20. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Iubani*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Iubani.

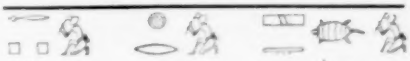
21. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Ȧmam*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Devourer.

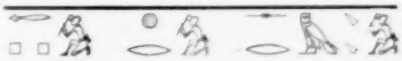
22. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *ȧb-taiu*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Adversary of the world.

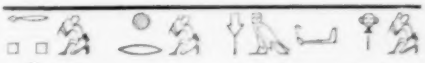
23. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *sȧaṭ - ta*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Eclipser of the earth.

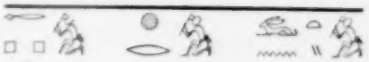
24. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *χermuti.*
Ȧpepi, fiend, χermuti.

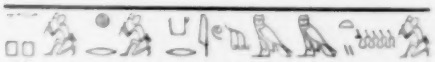
25. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Kenememti*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Monkey (?).

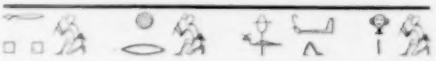
26. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Śeta*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Tortoise.

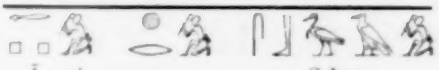
27. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Serem-taiu (?)*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Serem-taui.

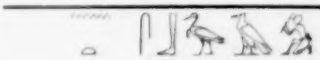
28. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *seχem - ḥrȧ*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Strong-face.

29. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Unti*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Unti.

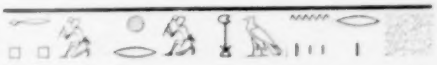
30. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Karȧu - ememti.*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Karau-ememti.

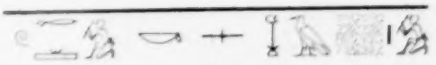
31. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *χesef* *ḥrȧ*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Repulsive of face.

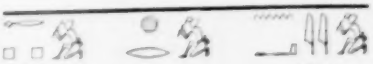
32. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Sebaa*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Devil


ent *Sebaa*
of devils.

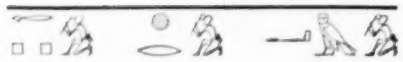
33. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *χak-ȧb*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Rebel.

34. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *χan-re-* ....
Ȧpepi, fiend, χan-re ....


uȧa *ki* *t'eṭ* *χa* .....
uāa, otherwise said, χa .....

35. 
Ȧpepi *χer* *Nȧi*
Ȧpepi, fiend, Nāi.

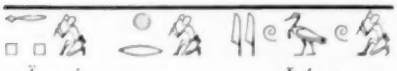
(18.*

36. 

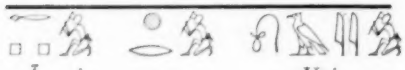
Ā pepi *χer* *Ām.*
Āpepi, fiend, Ām.

37. 

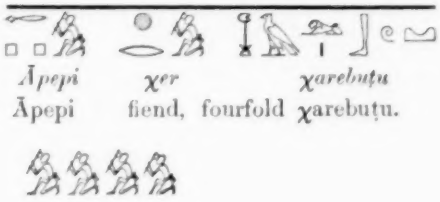
Ā pepi *χer* *Turre - pa (?)*
Āpepi, fiend, Turre-pa (?).

38. 

Ā pepi *χer* *Iubau*
Āpepi, fiend, Iubau.

39. 

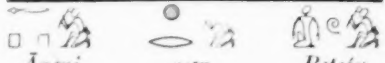
Ā pepi *χer* *Uai*
Āpepi, fiend, Uai.

40. 

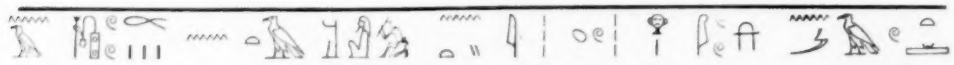
Ā pepi *χer* *χarebuṭu*
Āpepi fiend, fourfold χarebuṭu.

41. 

Ā pepi *χer* *Sau*
Āpepi, fiend, Sau.

42. 

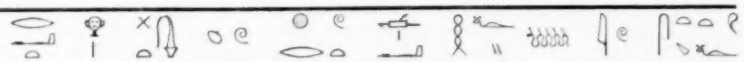
Ā pepi *χer* *Beteśu*
Āpepi, fiend, Beteśu.

43. 

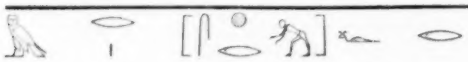
na nāuu en ta neset enti âu âru ḥer śuu nemaut
The writings of the envelopes which are made upon papyrus new, and



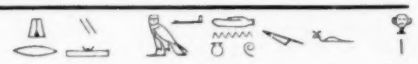
seχertu
thrown and

44. 

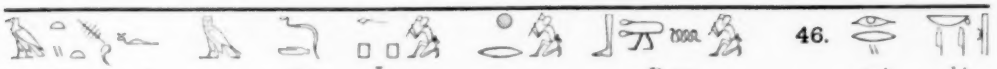
erṭāt ḥer śet âru χertu uā ḥeḥi âu set - ṭuf
placed upon the fire. Is made now one worm being tail his



em re se χer - f er
in the mouth, throw down him

45. 

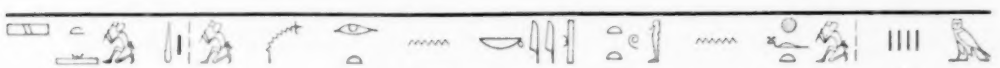
χeri mātennu - f ḥer
having knife his in



atit - f em ṭ'eṭ Ā pepi χer Betet
back his, saying, "Āpepi, fiend, Betet."

46.

âri ki
Make another



śetat ṭ'eṭṭu pu âri t en ki tut en χefti fṭu em
mystery of words, to wit, make other images of enemies four with



ḥrâ en ..... *senḥu netet āāui - sen en*
the face of ..... bind and tie hands their

ḥa - sen mes beteś pu àri ki
behind them, [and call them] "Children of inertness," to wit. Make another

48. *ḥefi em ḥrâ en maâu ḥrâ - f χeri*
worm with the face of a cat, face his having

mātennu - f em t'et Hemhem 49. *àri ki em*
knife its, saying, "Roarer." Make another with

ḥrâ en ..... *er χeri mātennu - f em t'et Ăat - qar*
the face of a ..... having knife its, saying, "Ăa - qar-

Uaba 50. *àri ki em ḥrâ en aṭ er χeri mātennu - f*
Uaba." Make another with the face of a crocodile having knife its,

em t'et Haunā - àru ḥer ḥrâ àru ki 51. *tut en χeft*
saying, Haunā - àru - ḥer - ḥrâ. Make another image of the enemy

em ḥrâ en apṭ er χeri mātennu - f em t'et
with the face of a duck having knife its saying,

Unti àru ki 52. *maâu ḥet'ti senḥu netet*
Unti." Make another [with the face of] cat white tie and bind it



mātennu - f em t'eṭ Āpepi χer 53. *āru ki tut en*

[having] knife its, saying, "Āpepi the enemy." Make other images of



χeft fṭu em ḥrā en apṭ netet em āāui - sen ret - sen

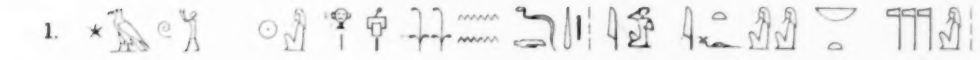
the enemies four with the faces of a duck, tie hands their and feet their

54. 

ḥa - sen māṭennu t'eṭ mesu beti's pu

behind them, [faces their having] knives [their] saying "Children of inertness," to wit.

Column XXXIII.

1. 

ṭuau Rā ḥer-sa enen t'eṭṭu ȧ ȧtf nebt neteru

A hymn of praise to Rā after this. Say, "Hail, father, lord of the gods,



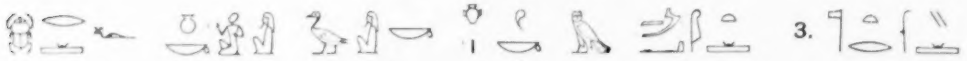
ur en paut neteru āat pautti 2. *ḥetep en neteru*

mighty one of the cycle of the gods great, matter primeval of the gods,



qemam ret χeper χeperu neb emχet

creator of men, evolver of evolutions all after



χeper - f nūk se - k ȧb - k em māāt 3. *netrȧ*

was evolved he. I am son thy, heart thy in very truth, strength of



ȧb pui pu ꜥper em śotat - k seχut χeper - sen

heart that, to wit, coming forth from mystery thy, commemorating becomings their



χer - k ḥekau ḥer ȧru māket - k nefertu per

from thee with words of power for making virtues thy beautiful coming forth



em re - à nuk menχet seχeru mâài mâi Rā maa-
from mouth my. I am perfect with {wisdom / plans}. Come, O Rā, look

5. 

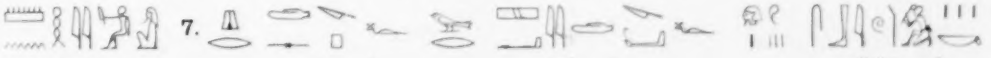
ktu em maa - k ḥesu - k ḥer âru - à seχer - à nek
thou with two eyes thy, be pleased thou at what done have I. Overthrown have I for thee



Âpepi em at - f seḥetem - à su emχennu en χebut-f
Âpepi at moment his, destroyed have I him within cavern his.



âu Heru maa χer χet - f ḥer ḥesq ṭep nu χefti - k
Horus of two eyes has staff his to cut off the head of enemy thy.



Menḥi χer ṭes - f ur ḥâiṭ - f ṭepu Sebâu - k
Menhi having knife his mighty, cuts off he the heads of fiends thy;



âmi nexert sennu - χet - s ba - f em nemmat - f âu
devours the flame, shooting fire its into soul his on block his. Is



ba - k em reśâ sep sen ṭa - nef ḥer em mâāu nefer
soul thy in joy, in joy, Sails over it the sky with winds fair,



mââi mâi maa - k em mat - k ḥer âri - à em
come, O look thou with eye thy at what done have I with

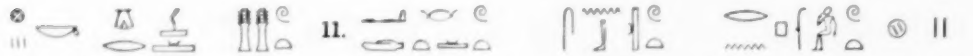


ḥâu en Âpepi . . . . . χefti âuebtet - f sam
the limbs of Âpepi . . . . . the enemy. Walled up is he, perished

[a] I cannot transcribe the hieratic character which follows here.



χa - f *ḥetem* *em* *Aā* - *peḳa* *pet - k* *men*
has body his destroyed from Aa - Peḳa and two heavens thy; safe are



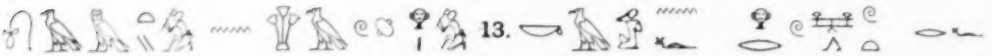
nut - k *ḳer* *teṭṭeṭ - tu* 11. *ātet - tu* *senb - tu* *renp - tu* *sep sen*
towns thy having stability. Firm art thou, strong art thou, growest thou, twice,



uben - tu *sep sen* *pesṭ - tu* *sep sen* *ḥru* *neb* *χā - k* *em* *uâa*
risest thou, twice, shinest thou, twice, day every. Risest thou in the boat



12. *âb - k* *âu* *meḥ* *âb - k* *en* *mesu - k* *Āpepi* *pfi* *χeri*
heart thy is joyful, fill heart thy children thy. To Āpepi that enemy,



nemti *en* *ḥau* *ḥrâ* 13. *ka - nef* *ḥeru - tu* *er - ef*
the serpent of backward face, cries he, "Away with thee," then



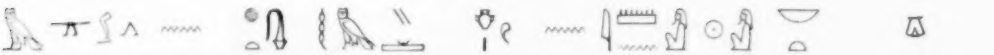
âri - nef *uauu* *ṯu* *er* *nemmat - f* *uteb* *su* *qennu - f*
making against him cries horrible at block his, changes he, breaks down he



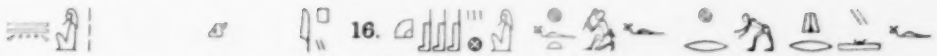
14. *ḥrâ - f* *hai* *per* *em* *χut* *taui* *em* *neteru* *âbu*
face his. Hail, coming forth from the horizon and the lands with strength of heart,



ne'tem *âb - k* *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *Āpepi* *χer* *en* *χet* *Nekâu*
rejoices heart thy Rā day every. Āpepi throws down the fire, Nekâu



māṣ *en* *χet* *net'emi* *âb* *en* *Âmen - Rā* *neḥt* *nest*
carries off the flame; rejoices the heart of Âmen - Rā, lord of the thrones



16.

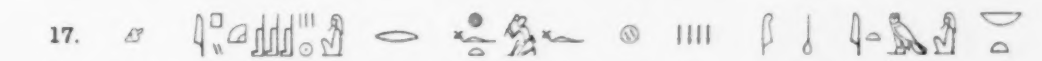
taui *χent* *Ápi* *χeft - f* *χer* *χeri - f*

of the two worlds, at the head of the Apts, enemy his has fallen beneath him.



mātχeru *Rā* *er* *Āpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *matχeru* *Ámen - Rā* [*nebt nest tauu*]

Triumphs Rā against Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Ámen - Rā, {[lord of the thrones of the two worlds]}



17.

χent *Ápi* *er* *χeft - f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Átmu* *nebt*

at the head of the Apts against enemy his. Times four. Triumphs Atmu, lord of



18.

Setemet *er* *χeft - f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Teḥuti* *menχet* *ḥekau*

Setemet, against enemy his. Times four. Triumphs Thoth, perfect of enchantments,



nebt *neter* *t'eṭṭu* *er* *χeft-f* *sep* *fṭu*"

lord of divine words, against enemy his. Times four.



iu - f *pu.*

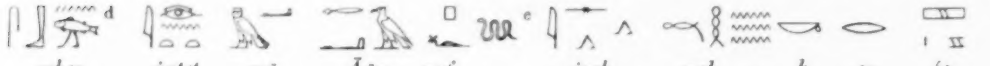
Gone out has it.

THE THIRTY-NINTH CHAPTER OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.[a]

1.  [b] 2. 

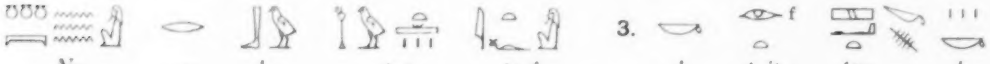
re *en* *χesef* *verek* - *f* *em* *neter-χert* *ḥa* - *k*

Chapter of repulsing serpent his in the Nether-world. Back thou.

 [d] [e]

seben *ântet* *mâ* *Ââa* - *pef* *âseb* *meḥ* - *k* *er* *śe*

depart, retreat, ... baleful worm, withdraw, drowned art thou at the pool of

 [f]

Nu *er* *bu* *utut* *âtef* - *k* *ârit* *śât* - *k*

Nu, at the place where has commanded father thy to make slaughter thy

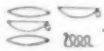
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[a] Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der* XVIII *bis* XX *Dynastie*, t. I, pl. LIII.

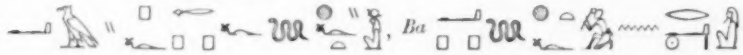
[b] The name and titles of Âḥmes for whom this papyrus was written are given as follows :—



âm *âuset-a* *ḥetep* *en* *Âmen* *Mes* *em* *neter* *âri en sab* *Âḥ-mes* *suten* *âm* *Meshert*

[c] *Lb*, *Ba*,  . In the variants given here *Pb* = Paris MS. *b*, *Lb* = Leyden MS. *b*, and *Ba* = Berlin MS. *a*.

[d] *Pb*  , *Ba* 

[e] *Pb*  , *Ba*

[f] *Pb* 



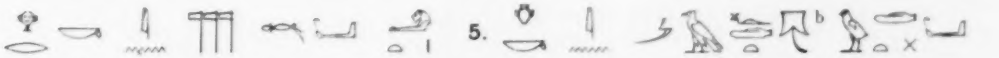
ȧm ḥeru er mesχenet tui ent Rā ȧmt seṭa - k
there. Depart to place of birth that of Rā in which is terror thy.



nuk Rā ȧmi seṭa - nef ḥa - k sebai
I am Rā in terror his. Back thou fiend,



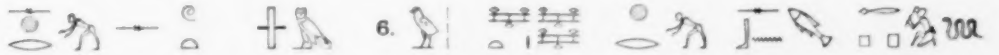
em ṭesu seśep - f χer en Rā t'eṭṭu - k penā
by the {darts / knives} of beams his overthrown has Rā words thy, have reversed



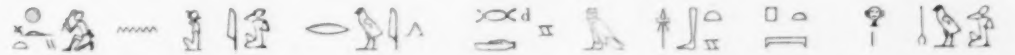
ḥrȧ - k ȧn neteru śeṭ ḥāt - k ȧn maftet uṭet
face thy the gods, has torn out heart thy the lynx (?), has thrown forth



qasuu - k ȧn ḥeteṭet uṭ neken - k ȧn māāt
fetters thy the scorpion, has shot out destruction thy Māāt.



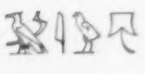
seχer - s - tu ȧm - u uat χer seben Ȧpepi
overthrow they thee those who are in the ways; fall down, depart Ȧpepi,



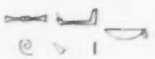
χefti en Rā ȧ ruȧ ȧṭ em ȧbet pet ḥer χeru
enemy of Rā. O pass away over the region in the east of the sky at the voice

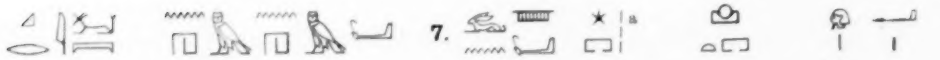
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[a] *Lb* 

[b] *Ba* 

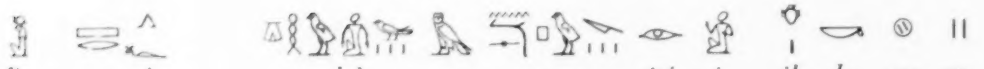
[c] *Lb* 

[d] *Ba* 



qerà *nehem-nehem* 7. *un* *sebau* *χut* *ḥetep-à*

of the thunder-cloud roaring! Opens the gates of the horizon immediately



Rā *per-f* *ḳeḥu* *em* *nexpu* *àri-à* *àb-k* *sep* *sen*

Rā, comes forth he (*i.e.*, Āpepi) ruined in fragments. Made have I heart thy, times two,



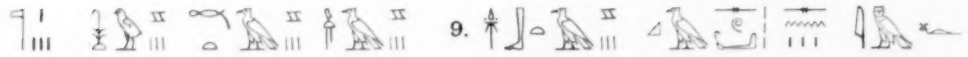
Rā *àri-à* *nefer* *sep* *sen* *àri-à* *em* *ḥetep* 8. *Rā* *àri* *ḥai*

Rā; worked have I well, times two; worked have I in peace Rā; making to advance



ennuḥ *-* *k* *Rā* *àu* *Āpepi* *χer* *senḥti* *-* *k* *qasu* *en*

ropes thy Rā. Is Āpepi overthrown, tie thee and fetter



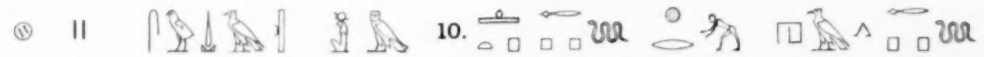
neteru *resu* *meḥta* *àmenta* 9. *àbta* *qasu* *-* *sen* *àm* *-* *f*

the gods southern, northern, western, eastern, set fetters they round him,



seχer *en* *su* *Rekes* *qasu* *en* *su* *Ḥertit* (?) *ḥetep* *Rā*

overthrows him Rekes, fettters him Ḥertit (?). Sets Rā,

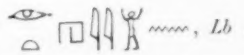


sep *sen* *sut'a* *Rā* *em* 10. *ḥetep* *Āpepi* *χer* *ha* *Āpepi*

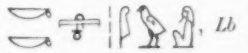
times two, strengthens himself Rā in peace. Āpepi is overthrown, departs Āpepi

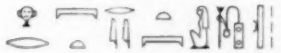
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[a] *Ba* 

[b] *Pb*  *Lb* 

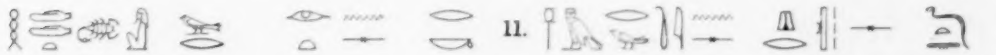
[c] *Lb* 

[d] *Pb*  *Lb* 

[e] *Pb* 



χefti en Rā ur ṭept - nek er ṭept tuia ḥer ȧb
enemy of Rā. Greater is taste thy than taste that which is in



ḥeṭeṭet ur ȧrit - nes erek merθȧ - nes χer - s t'etta
the scorpion, mightily has been made it for thee; dead for it are courses its for ever.



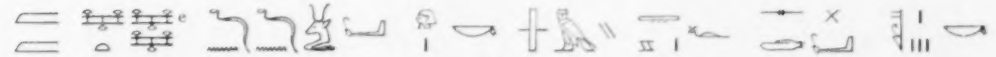
ȧn ben - k ȧn ṭa - k Āpepi
Not may there be erection to thee, nót may there be emission to thee, Āpepi,



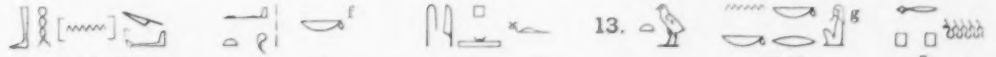
χefti en Rā seχeseſ ḥrȧ - k meṇṭeṭu Rā maa - nek
enemy of Rā who repulses face thy, O hater of Rā when sees [he] thee.



ḥa - k ṭen ṭep ṭes ḥrȧ sennu ṭep
Back thou, smashed is head [thy], gashed is face [thy], carried off is head [thy]



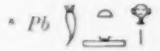
emmā uat t'ent'en ṭep - k ȧmi ta - f seṭ ḳesu - k
among the ways, broken in is head thy in land his, smashed are bones thy,



beḳ[en] ȧt - k sȧp - f - tu Nekker Āpepi
hacked in pieces are limbs thy, condemned has he thee Nekker, O Āpepi.

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[a] *Pb*



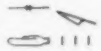
[b] *Lb*



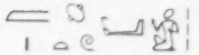
[c] *Pb*



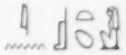
[d] *Pb*



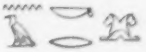
[e] *Pb*



[f] *Pb* adds



[g] *Pb*





χefti en Rā qetet - k ȧpepet - k ḥen sep sen ḥetep - k
enemy of Rā, sailors thy, green food thy, necessaries [thy], offered to thee



ȧm ḥennu - k ȧm 14. seχepχep sep sen er pa seχep
there, provided for thee there. The advance to the house, the advance



ȧrit-k er pa seχep nefer ȧn per set'ebu neb
which makest thou to the house is advance good; not may come forth disaster any



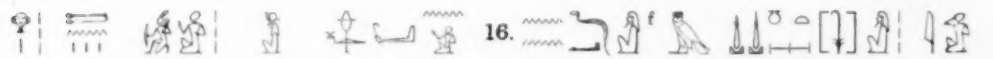
ṭu em re-k er-ȧ em ȧritu-k er - ȧ nuk Set
evil from mouth thy against me in working thy for me. I am Set



śeṭ χennu 15. qerȧ em χennu χut
letting loose the storm clouds and the thunder-cloud within the horizon

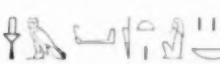


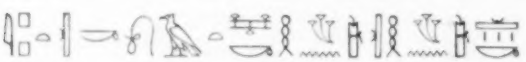
ent pet mȧi Neṭ'eb ȧb-f pu ȧ ȧn Temu θesu
of heaven like Neteb heart his to wit. O, says Atmu, "Make strong (lift up)



khâu - θen menfitu Rā χesef-nȧ 16. Neṭ'ā em t'at'anutsu ȧ
faces your soldiers (?) of Rā, repulsed have I Neṭ'ā by the Powers." O, says

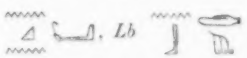
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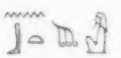
[a] *Pb*  *Lb* 

[b] *Pb* 

[c] *Pb* 

[d] *Pb* 

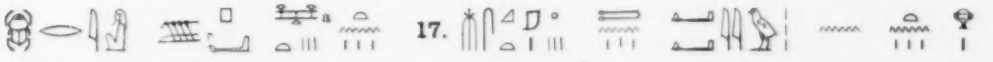
[e] *Pb*  *Lb*

[f] *Lb* 



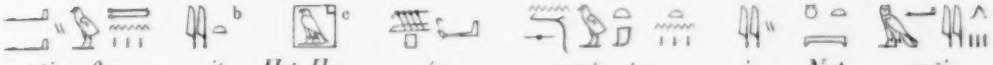
Seb *smen-ten* *àmu* *nest - sen* *em* *ḥer-ábu* *uâa*

Seb, "Prepare ye those who are in seats their within the boat of



χeperà *seśep* *uat - ten* 17. *mesqet - θen* *ṭâṭâiu - en - ten ḥer*

χeperà, take ways your and weapons your, put them ye in



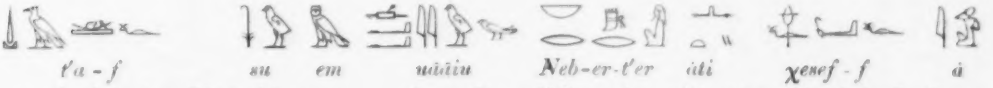
ââiu - θen *it* *Ḥet-Ḥeru* *seśep* *nesut - ten* *i* *Nut* *mâi*

hands your." O, says Hathor, "Take ye armour your." O, says Nut, "Come



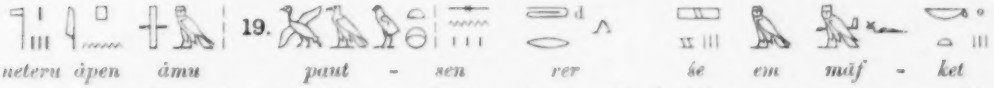
χesef - f - n 18. *t'ā* *pui* *śesi* *àm* *karâ - f*

and repulse him will we destroying one that, following him who is in shrine his,



t'a - f *su* *em* *uâāiu* *Neb-er-t'er* *âti* *χesef - f* *à*

goes forth he (*i.e.*, Rā) to him alone (?) Neb-er-t'er, without repulse is he." O, say



neteru àpen *àmu* 19. *paut - sen* *rer* *śe em* *mâf - ket*

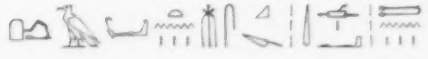
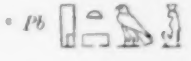
gods these who are in cycle their going round the lakes of emerald,



mâà *āāa* *ṭuau - n* *nehem - n* *âā* *karâ*

"Come mighty one, adore we, deliver we the great one of the shrine,

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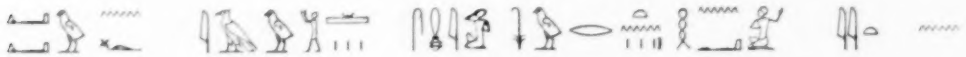
[a] *Pb*  [b] *Lb*  [c] *Pb* 

[d] *Pb* 



per *en* *paut* *neteru* *ám-f* 20. *ári - nef* *χut*

cometh forth the substance of the gods from him. Are made for him commemorations,



ṭiṭáu - nef *áau* *smá* *su* *er* *ten* *ḥnā* *it* *en*

are given to him shouts of acclamation, addressed is he by you and praised." "Hail" says



Nut *er* *net'em* *pef* *án* *ámu* *neteru* 21. *per - f*

Nut to Sweet one that. Say those who are among the gods, "Comes forth he,



qem-f *uat* *ári-f* *ḥaqet* *em* *neteru* *senehep-f* *χent*

finds he the way, maketh he captives among the gods, drives away evil he from



Nut *áḥā* *Seb* *á* *neru* ..... *áu* *paut* *neteru*

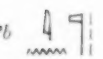
Nut, stands up Seb." Hail victorious one! Is the cycle of the gods

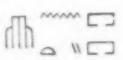


22. *em* *teḳas* ... *Ḥet-Ḥeru* *saṭu* *mátχeru* *Rā* *er* *Ápepi*

marching along, is Hathor trembling. Triumphs Rā against Ápepi.

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[a] *Pb* 

[b] *Pb* 

[c] *Pb* 

XVII.—*Notes on a recent discovery of part of the Roman Wall of London.*
By George E. Fox, *F.S.A.*

Read April 11, 1889.

The following notes, mostly made on the spot, record the discovery of a further portion of the Roman wall of London, and give such details respecting its construction as it has been possible to observe.

The Government having determined to erect additional buildings to the General Post Office in St. Martin's le Grand, certain steps were taken in order to ascertain the nature of the ground on which these buildings were to be placed. For this purpose, in the latter part of 1887, shafts were sunk along a line from Aldersgate Street to King Edward Street, some yards south of the old money order office and parallel to Bull and Mouth Street, a street now swept away. In sinking these pits the workmen came upon the Roman wall, and afterwards, as the process of preparing the site for the new buildings proceeded, a considerable fragment of it was unearthed running east and west, and extending from Aldersgate Street on the one side to King Edward Street on the other. It was found that the line of buildings and walls forming the southern boundary of the churchyard of St. Botolph, Aldersgate Street, was based upon this wall, and it seems very probable that the churchyard and church above named partly occupy the ground filling up the original ditch.

The portion of wall exposed, commencing near Aldersgate Street and running westwards, can be well seen for a length of upwards of 131 feet. A considerable

length of this has been carefully underpinned, and, I am happy to say, will be preserved. The height remaining varies very considerably, but, measuring from the original ground level, at least 11 or 12 feet of masonry is still standing in places, not in any regular line at the top, but much broken into by the foundations of comparatively modern walls built upon it. Beyond the length named but little of the wall is to be seen, and as it approaches King Edward Street, just beneath the line of the houses in that street, on its eastern side, were discovered the foundations of a semi-circular tower, or rather a tower semi-circular in plan, with slightly prolonged straight sides. The foundations of this tower, and nothing but foundations remained, did not form any part of the structure of the Roman wall, but came with a butt-joint against it. They were 5 feet 3 inches wide and composed of rubble work of Kentish rag-stone with some chalk, and a few fragments of old building materials bedded amongst the rubble. The internal measurements of this tower were 17 feet 3 inches by 16 feet, and the foundation of the Roman wall was seen to cross its base. The tower which stood on these foundations was probably an addition to the wall in the medieval period. It was not Roman, and the foundations had no Roman character. Some pieces of worked stone discovered in them showed traces of Norman mouldings, and of foliage of the early-English period. It is possible that the first tower west of Aldersgate, seen in Agas's map of London, 1560, may be the one the remains of which are here described.

Turning now to examine the construction of the Roman wall, it appears that it was built in the following manner: A trench from 10 feet 9 inches to 11 feet wide and 6 feet deep was dug in the natural clay soil, the sides of the trench, for a distance of 2 feet from the bottom, sloping slightly outwards. The lower part of the trench for the depth of 2 feet was then filled in with puddled clay mixed with flints, and the whole well rammed down. Upon this came 4 feet of rubble foundation, lessening in some places to 2 feet, composed of masses of Kentish ragstone laid in mortar, the larger pieces being placed with some care in the arrangement, so as to form a solid base for the superstucture of the wall itself.

This wall, between 8 and 9 feet thick, as far as could be ascertained, starts with a bonding course of three rows of tiles at the ancient ground level, which is 6 feet 9 inches below the level of Aldersgate Street. Above this course the body of the wall is composed throughout its height of masses of rag-stone, with now and then a fragment of chalk, bedded very roughly in mortar which has been pitched in, not run in, sometimes with so little care as to leave occasional empty spaces amongst the stones. The stones are often arranged in a rude herring-bone

fashion, perhaps for greater convenience in packing them in, but the layers do not correspond in depth with the facing courses.

The lowest band of tiles in the wall (at the ground level) is 8 inches high, and consists of three rows, the bed of mortar between them being often thicker than the tiles themselves. The vertical joints however are very close. The three bands of tiles above this lowest one are each 4½ inches high and of two rows. All these bands form bonding courses, layers in fact through the entire breadth of the wall, binding the rubble core together.

The tiles vary somewhat in size, but one perfect example which could be measured in every direction was 1 foot by 1 foot 4 inches, and from 1 inch to 1½ inches thick. They are set with their greatest length into the wall. Some yellowish tiles here and there form an exception to the great mass, which is red and well burnt.

The height of the spaces of stone facing between each band of bonding tiles is as follows: The first space, counting from the lowest band, 2 feet 4 inches, the second 2 feet 4 inches, the third 2 feet 5 inches, and the fourth 2 feet 10 inches, though these last dimensions are somewhat doubtful, on account of the ruined condition of the upper part of the wall. Each of these spaces, with the exception of the ruined topmost one, of which little can be made out, is divided into five rows of facing stones in regular rows, all apparently much the same in height, though the individual stones vary considerably in length. These stones are very irregular in the amount of their penetration into the core of the wall, and there is nothing resembling the method adopted in working the facing stones of the wall of Hadrian, where each stone is cut to a long wedge shape and set with the pointed end into the wall. On the face the stones average from 4 to 5 inches in height, laid in a mortar bed of another inch or more in depth, and their average depth into the wall may be about 9 or 10 inches. They therefore form a mere skin between the tile bonding courses to the thick irregular rubble core. The stones have been brought to a clean face by splitting off their rough surface by the process known as pitching, and have been roughly squared in bed and joints with a hammer. The mortar employed seems to have nothing unusual in its composition. The mortar in which pounded tile forms so large an ingredient is not to be found here.

Only the southern face of the wall can now be seen. No transverse section of the wall itself has been yet obtained, although there is a possibility that such a section may be made later in the year. There can, however, be little doubt that the two faces of the wall are very similar in construction. At the west

end of the fragment to be preserved the destruction of the facing exhibits very satisfactorily the internal construction of the wall.

One other small fact has yet to be named to complete this account. So much as remains of the wall is perfectly perpendicular; it does not slope inwards towards the top, but at the third course of bonding tiles its face is set back about 4 inches, thus lessening its width by that much from that level.

A portion of the wall here described was exposed for a short distance at the Aldersgate Street end in 1841, when the French Protestant church was built there, just south of the old money order office. An account of this discovery was contributed by Mr. William Devonshire Saull to Vol. xxx. of *Archaeologia*, where some details are given which may be added here in order to complete these notes. In Mr. Saull's opinion the Kentish rag-stone composing the great mass of the wall was in all probability derived from quarries near Maidstone, and some masses of ferruginous sandstone which occurred in the foundation came also from the same locality. Mr. Saull supposes the width of the wall to have been 6 feet, but apparently, judging from the section accompanying his paper, the fragment seen by him had been deprived of its facing. The line of the ditch north of the wall was observed at this spot, and the workmen, to obtain a foundation for the church above named, "had," he says, "to excavate upwards of 20 feet through an unctuous black earth." The line of the wall was traced across Aldersgate Street, and in the basements of two houses, and it then turned northwards to Cripplegate churchyard, from which point it seems to have resumed again an easterly direction.

It may be interesting to see how far other fragments of the wall discovered from time to time resemble, in their general construction, the portion recently found.

Early in the last century Dr. Woodward, in a letter to Sir Christopher Wren, mentions the destruction of part of the wall then existing from Bishopsgate in a south-east direction. He saw its ruins at the time, and thus describes its formation. He says, "From the Foundation, which lay eight Foot below the present Surface, quite up to the Top, which was in all, near ten Foot, 'twas compil'd alternately of Layers of broad flat Bricks, and of Rag-Stone. The Bricks lay in double Ranges; and each Brick being but one inch $\frac{3}{10}$ in Thickness, the whole Layer, with the Mortar interpos'd, exceeded not three Inches. The Layers of Stone were not quite two Foot thick, of our Measure."—"'Twas thus far, from the Foundation upwards, nine Foot in thickness."

We hear nothing from him concerning the nature of the foundations, but this

omission is supplied by the discovery, some years ago, of another portion of the wall in Camomile Street. Against this had been built a bastion, which, though still of Roman work, was possibly of somewhat later date than the wall. The foundations of this bastion contained many pieces of sculptured stone and some effigies, all of the Roman period. The discovery was made in the year 1876, and in 1884 the base of a similar bastion, also containing carved stones of the Roman period, was unearthed in Castle Street.[a] In both these cases the trench filled with flints and clay puddling found in the Aldersgate Street specimen is equally present. A new feature however may be observed in the plinth of five courses of masonry capped by a chamfered course of ironstone, which occurs on the external face of the wall. The former discovery has been amply described and illustrated by Mr. J. E. Price in his work recording the excavations in Camomile Street.

Further east still, and near the Tower, building operations have frequently revealed traces of the wall. A very careful description, together with explanatory sections and plans, in vol. iii. of the *Antiquary*, by Mr. Alfred A. Langley, elucidates a discovery made in 1880 of another portion of the wall, close to America Square, 700 feet distant from the old postern gate of the Tower.

This fragment, which was 9 feet high, shows the same foundation of puddled clay and flint as at Aldersgate, a rough plinth of two courses of red sandstone on the external face, and three courses of tiles, the two lower each of three rows of tiles, the upper only of two. The lowest is not a bonding course, but the two upper run quite through the wall. The division of masonry between the first and second band of tiles, counting from the bottom, showed four courses of stones in the facing; the next above this was of six courses, each course being about 6 inches thick. The wall seems to have diminished slightly in thickness at the level of each band of tiles, decreasing from 9 feet at the bottom to 7 feet 6 inches at the level of the third band of tiles. The interior of the wall seems to have been of rubble, but laid in beds corresponding in height to the facing stones, and therefore of much more careful construction than in the Aldersgate portion. Mr. Langley describes the material as limestone, doubtless the usual Kentish rag-stone.

Other instances might be adduced to illustrate the uniformity of construction of this wall, which bounded the city of London on its eastern and northern sides, and, it might be added, possibly, on its western and southern sides as well.

[a] *Antiquary*, x. 132-134.

In the examples cited the same forms of construction are to be found; first, the trench filled with puddled clay and flints, then the footings of rag-stone often forming a rough plinth, and then the wall with bonding courses of tiles, generally two deep, always three in the lowest course. The spaces of masonry between these bonding courses vary slightly in height, but not materially so, the facing stones being a mere skin to the rubble core within, the rough stones of which are more or less evenly laid to correspond with the facing courses. There is therefore every probability that this wall, Roman in date, from its likeness to known Roman masonry in Britain, has been constructed throughout its length on a definite plan and at one time. At what period it was erected in the Roman occupation of this country, there is nothing yet to show. We must wait for further light on the subject.

Before bringing these notes to a close, reference may perhaps be made to one of the minor objects found in the excavations on the Aldersgate Street site. Amongst the fragments of pottery picked up are some good examples of the glazed embossed red ware (pseudo-Arretine) usually called Samian; including fragments of two if not three bowls prettily ornamented. One of these bowls has somewhat more of interest than the others. Amongst a heterogeneous assemblage of subjects, gladiators, sphinxes, and what appears to be a row of fighting cocks, arranged in upright panels at regular distances round the vessel, are figures copied from some celebrated Venus of the Venus de Medici type. Another bowl of this ware, also found in London, is ornamented with precisely the same figures, but the potter has barbarously disposed them in a horizontal ring round the bowl without the slightest regard to the natural position.[a]

P.S. Since the above notes were written, the progress of the work upon the new buildings of the post office has brought, as was anticipated, new facts to light.

The sites of the old money order office and of the French Protestant church have been completely cleared, and in digging foundations for the new buildings on these sites, cross sections of the wall and of the ditch accompanying it on its northern face have been obtained. (See line A. A. of plan and section.) This was taken at a distance of some 27 yards west of Aldersgate Street.

The construction of the wall has been already described, and the only cor-

[a] Jewitt, *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, 178.

rection which requires to be made in that description is, that the lowest band of tiles does not run through the entire thickness of the structure, and is composed at this point of two instead of three layers.

Taken at the original ground level the total thickness of the wall may be estimated at 8 feet. The inner face is perfect, and a sufficient indication of the outer face has been found so as to render a correct measurement possible.

From the foot of the wall to the edge of the ditch a space of flat ground occurred 10 feet 3 inches wide. The total width of the ditch across the top was 74 feet 6 inches, the flat bottom 35 feet, and the total depth 14 feet 1 inch. The sides sloped up at an obtuse angle. Both sides and bottom had a clay puddling 6 inches thick.

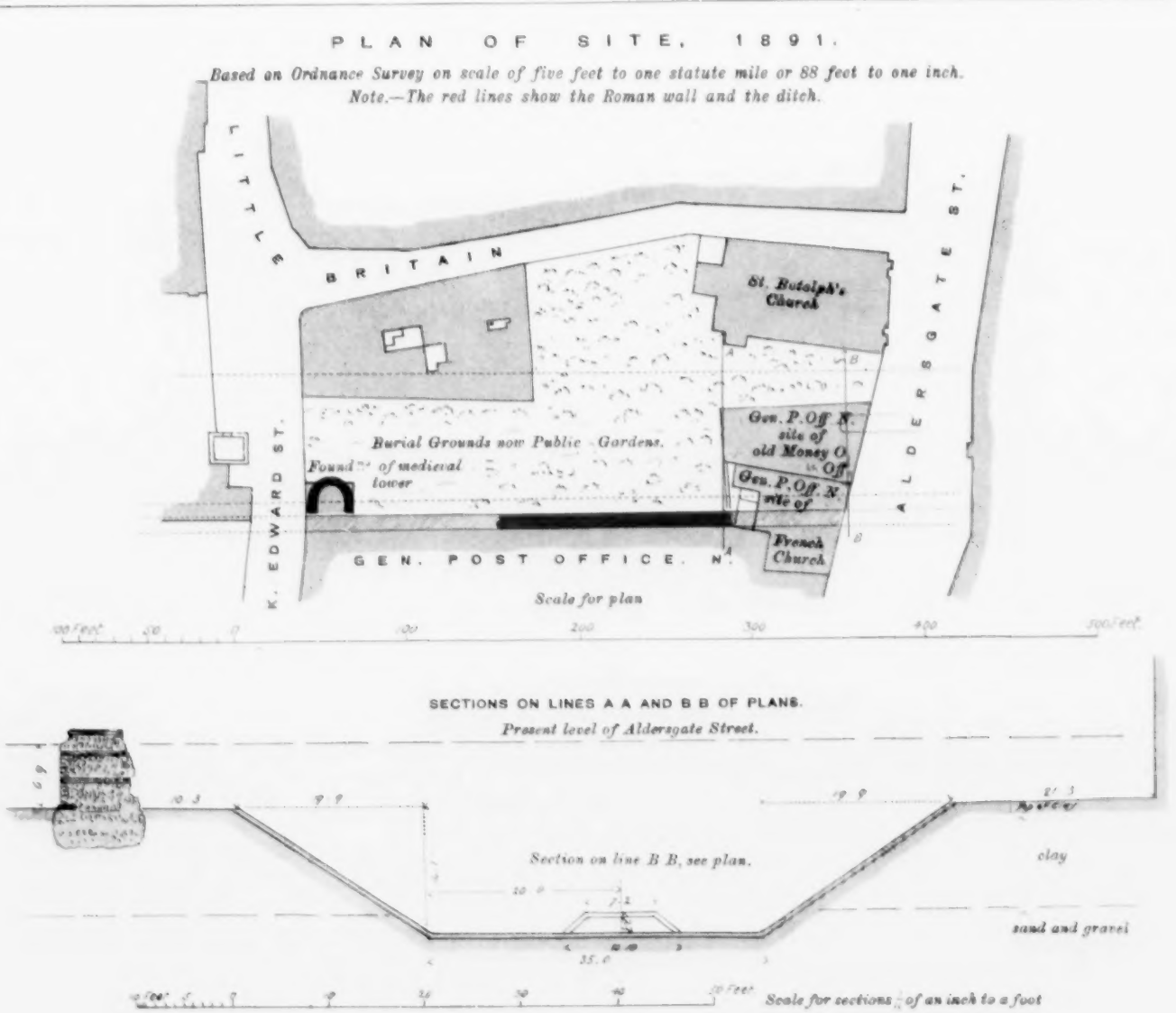
Another section of the ditch was obtained close to Aldersgate Street. (See section on line B. B. of plan, etc.) This revealed a curious feature. In the bottom of the ditch appeared a slightly raised mound of unknown length, as it ran under the street, and could therefore only be traced for a short distance. It was 2 feet 9 inches high, 7 feet 2 inches broad at the top, and 11 feet 10 inches at the base, and was traceable for a length of about 10 feet. The surface was puddled, like the rest of the ditch. It was not placed in the middle of the ditch, but was nearer the outer than the inner margin. Possibly it was intended to serve as a base to a wooden trestle-work forming a support for the timbers of a bridge across the ditch at this point to the Roman gate. The medieval gate probably afterwards occupied nearly the same site as the earlier Roman one, in the same way as did Micklegate Bar at York.

The ditch was dug down through a stratum of clay into a bed of sand and gravel beneath, which it penetrated to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches, and so perfect was the line of puddling that the greater part of the profile of the work could be traced with ease. Nothing was found in the present excavations which could positively determine the date of this ditch, but the whole of the soil had been previously much disturbed.

It must be remembered, however, that in the excavations made in 1842, for the purpose of laying the foundations of the French Protestant church referred to previously in these notes, a portion of this same ditch was dug into; and Mr. Devonshire Saull, who watched the operations, has left a record (see *Archaeologia*, Vol. xxx) that fragments of Samian (pseudo-Arretine) ware, handles of amphorae, an urn of peculiar shape, and glass vessels were found in the black earth with which it was filled, together with horns and bones of various ruminants, and some fragments of wickerwork.

The space from which these undoubted Roman relics came, and in which a fragment of the Roman wall occurred, must have been situated between the lines A. A. and B. B. of the plan of the site given with these notes. (See Plate XV.)

In concluding these notes acknowledgments must be made and thanks rendered to Mr. Leake, the very obliging clerk of the works at Aldersgate, who has furnished the sections here given and afforded much information.



PLAN SHEWING PART OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON, DISCOVERED IN 1889,
WITH SECTION OF THE DITCH.

XVIII.—*Benefactions of Thomas Heywood, Dean* (1457-1492), *to the Cathedral Church of Lichfield. By the* Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

Read May 9, 1889.

The roll of the Deans of Lichfield will favourably compare with those of any of our cathedral churches of the old foundation. Several of them have been distinguished scholars and theologians; one or two of them made some mark in the history of their country at a time when high ecclesiastics were frequently statesmen; twelve of their number obtained preferment to sees episcopal and archiepiscopal; whilst three, including the present Dean (whose name will ever be associated with the noble restoration of the west front of the cathedral church), were for many years Prolocutors to the Province of Canterbury.

But there is one name connected with Lichfield cathedral church, Thomas Fisher, or, as he was more usually called from his birthplace, Thomas Heywood, which, though passed over in local or diocesan histories in a few words, is well worthy of more extended notice. For length of service and for bountiful beneficence Thomas Heywood is without a rival among the Lichfield deans. Born in 1409, he was collated to a prebendal stall in Lichfield cathedral church in 1433, so that for sixty years he was connected with the minster, for the last thirty-five of which he held the deanery. The recently arranged muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, in conjunction with the episcopal registers and the chapter act books, enable the inquirer into the events and administration of this long and active ecclesiastical life to glean many particulars of church and decanal work, as well as of city life, during a period that has been far less enlightened by historical writings than several eras of a more remote date.

Much can be learnt of the early life of Thomas Heywood, and of the other preferments that he held; the fullest details exist of his remarkable and touching

election to the Deanery *per inspirationem*, and of the ceremonies and technicalities therewith connected; and not only is there evidence of the vigour of his ecclesiastical discipline and control over the cathedral church and its extensive peculiars, by visitations and general supervision, but ample information can be obtained of the remarkable biennial visitations that he held of the city of Lichfield, when specially appointed wardens, two for each street of importance or ward, presented at his court all manner of offenders against good morals, showing that the dean had to adjudicate in cases of incontinence and drunkenness, of late hours, of gambling, of evil language, of domestic quarrels, of neglect to extinguish fire, and of breaking the Sunday and holy days.

At the same court, too, the laity presented the clergy; for the wardens presented city priests on one occasion for saying mass inaudibly, and on another for leaving out certain words.

But all that I propose to do in this paper is to call attention to the variety and extent of his gifts to the cathedral church of Lichfield and its surroundings, and I trust that the nature of some of the gifts and the terms or language in which they are expressed may be of sufficient interest to warrant my bringing the matter before the Society, trusting that it may be, at all events, of some little interest to ecclesiologists.

In the library of the Dean and Chapter, situated over the chapter-house, and not among the muniments on the opposite side of the church, are three small folio volumes of parchment. They are bound, and erroneously lettered on the back *Cantaria S. Blasii*, from the first entry; their better title would be "The Benefactions of Dean Heywood."

The following is an analysis of the contents of these three small volumes:

The first volume consists of forty-five folios of rather poor parchment, twelve inches by eight. Some of the pages are a good deal soiled and marked with damp, but they are fairly written and legible throughout. The first folio is headed with the words "Cantaria Sĉi Blasii." The following is a summary of the contents:

f. 1. I. Decree of John Fox, chancellor of the diocese, concerning the payment of a pension of nine marks by the abbey of Hales Owen (in Shropshire) to the chantry of St. Blase, in Lichfield cathedral church. n. d.

II. Instructions for the obit of Dean Heywood's parents whilst he lived, and the same after his death. 14 August, 1456.

f. 2. III. Indenture from the abbey of Hales Owen concerning an annual rent of £6 to be by them paid for the support of the chaplain of the chantry of St. Blase, 14 April, 1466.

f. 3b. IV. Concession from the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield of the above grant, etc. 20 November, 1467.

f. 4b. V. Admission and reception of the warden and chaplain of the New College within the Close, and of St. Blase's chantry, etc. 22 November, 1467.

f. 6. VI. Official subscription of the foregoing by two public notaries, Thomas Colt and Thomas Reynolds. 9 February, 1467. In the Consistory Court.

f. 7. VII. Confirmation of number I. by the abbey of Welbeck, as the father abbey of Hales Owen. 3 April, 1468.

f. 9. VIII. Ordination by Dean Heywood of the chantry of St. Blase. 16 April, 1468.

f. 12b. IX. Obit for Dean Heywood after his death. 9 November, 1471.

f. 14. X. Indenture between the abbey of Lilleshull, and the cathedral church of Lichfield respecting the annual payment of ten marks for the support of the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne in the latter. 4 July, 1468.

f. 16. XI. Confirmation of the above by the Bishop. 14 November, 1468.

f. 18b. XII. Ordination by Dean Heywood of the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne. 3 December, 1468.

f. 23b. XIII. Confirmation of the above by the Bishop. 7 January 1468-9.

f. 24. XIV. Confirmation of the above, by the Chapter, and formal concession of number X. 23 December, 1468.

f. 26b. XV. Admission of the chantry priest of Jesus and St. Anne, by the warden, into the New College within the Close. 23 December, 1468.

f. 28. XVI. Arrangement with the sub-chanter and vicars about the masses and antiphonal singing at the last-named chantry altar in the north transept. 20 February, 1472.

f. 30b. XVII. Ordination by the Dean to the same effect as the last, and also with respect to ringing the bell for those services. 9 April, 1473.

f. 33. XVIII. Indenture between the abbey of Dale (in Derbyshire) and the chapter of Lichfield, respecting four marks annually from the former, for the use of the six vicars singing the mass of the Name of Jesus on Wednesdays. March, 1471.

f. 36b. XIX. Further particulars relative to the last. 20 February, 1472.

f. 37. XX. Confirmation of number XVIII. by the abbey of Newhouse (in Lincolnshire) as father abbey of Dale. 11 August, 1474.

f. 40b. XXI. Concession from the abbey of Dale as to keeping the obit of Dean Heywood within that monastery; with subscription of public notary. n. d.

f. 44. XXII. Confirmation of the last by the abbey of Newhouse. (last part missing).

f. 45. An outer leaf, embellished with various pen-trials.

The second volume consists of thirty-seven folios of parchment. The first twenty folios are carefully written, with red titles and well worked initial letters of the same colour. The capital letters throughout are also just touched with red. These folios are about twelve inches by eight, but the remainder of the

book has smaller leaves and is written in a beautifully clear hand by a different and more accomplished scribe.

Folios 1 to 10 contain the official decree of enrolment of the two chantries, etc., founded by Dean Heywood, in the Lichfield consistory court by Thomas Reynold, vicar-general or chancellor of the diocese, wherein are recited at length :

(1). Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. pridie kl. Octobris, 1479, confirming the two chantries.
(2). Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. pridie kl. Februarii, 1481, granting indulgences to penitents visiting the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne. 7 years and 40 days.
(3). Letter from the College of Cardinals approving the indulgences. March 5, 1482.
(4). A similar letter from the Cardinals, dated March 6th, 1481.
(5). Letter approving the indulgences from Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and seventeen of his suffragans.
(6). Official witnessing and subscription of the above by Thomas Godsalve, notary public and chapter clerk.
(7). Official witnessing and subscription of the above by John Bagnald, notary public.

Folios 11 and 12 are blank.

Folios 13 to 15 contain a copy of a judgment in the King's Bench respecting the annual pension due to the chapter from the abbey of Lilleshull. 20 May, 22 Edward IV.

Folios 16 to 20 are blank.

On folio 20b is a list of Dean Heywood's benefactions to the Lichfield chapels of SS. Mary, Michael, and Chad.

Folios 21 to 37 contain the general summary of all the benefactions of Heywood to the cathedral church. They are given in full in the Appendix to this paper.

The third volume has 63 folios. Of these, folios 1 to 55 are an exact copy of vol. i. Folio 56 is blank.

Folios 57 to 62 contain benefactions of Thomas Heywood to the vicars. These are almost identical with the latter part of vol. ii., and are written by the same scribe.

Folio 63 is blank.

The three city churches of Lichfield were, up to the time of Elizabeth, considered chapels of the minster (as well as various small churches within an area of several miles from Lichfield), and were served by priests termed the city prebendaries. Each of the three old city churches received benefactions from Dean Heywood. To the chapel of the Blessed Mary in the market place he gave the

glazing of the principal window at a cost of £8; to Richard Ruge, carpenter, for erecting the "Rodelofte" at the entrance of the choir, £16 13*s.* 4*d.*; for erecting pillars in the nave of the chapel, £21; to Gwilerm the carpenter, and his son, for erecting a new roodloft on the north side of the said chapel, £15 6*s.* 8*d.*; a gift of £5 13*s.* 4*d.* to the gild of the chapel; and to the repair of the chests, £7 0*s.* 8*d.* To the wardens of the church of St. Michael he gave £10 for fabric repairs; and 10 marks for a like purpose to the wardens of the chapel of St. Chad at Stow.

It may be of interest to give the original record of these gifts:

Data et sumptus venerabilis Magistri Thome Heywode Decani ecclesie cathedralis Lich̃. fact̃ infra Capella beate Marie in foro Lich̃. situata.

In primis solvit pro vitriacione principalis fenestre	viij li.	Capelle beate Marie in foro Lich̃.
Item solvit Ricardo Ruge Carpentario pro fabricacione de le Rodelofte in Introitu chori ibidem	xvj li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Item solvit per manus Dominorum Willelmi Hukyns et Thome Parker pro fabricacione Columpnarum in navi Capelle	xxj li.	
Item solvit Gwilermo Carpentario et filio ejus pro fabricacione nove Rodelofte in parte Boriali Capelle predicte	xv li. vj s. viij d.	
Item dedit ad emendas possessiones Gilde ibidem applicandas et ampliandas	v li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Summa totalis	lxvj li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Et ultra predicta dictus Magister Thomas Decanus dedit redintigracioni (*sic*) Cistarum Magistrorum Johannis Harewode et Georgij Radclyffe	vii li. viij d.	
Item dedit Gardianis ecclesie sancti Michaelis Lich' et ad fabricam ejusdem Capelle	x li.	Ecclesie sancti Michaelis Lich̃.
Item dedit Gardianis Capelle de Stow ad fabricam ejusdem	x marcas.	Capelle de Stow.

In founding the chantry of St. Blase, its site is specially named as being opposite the episcopal seat.

He gave to this chantry all that was seemly and convenient (*congruentem*) for the celebration of mass there; one good mass-book with the capital letters gilt, one silver-gilt chalice of the weight of 20 ounces, and three sets of vestments being specially named. He also gave a reredos or table of alabaster to be placed at the back of the altar, carved with events in the life of Bishop Blase.

To the abbot and convent of Hales Owen[a] the Dean gave two silver basins with gilt eagles (egles) in the bottom, of the weight of 69 ounces., and of the value

[a] An abbey of White Canons in Shropshire.

of £10 and upwards. These silver basins, which I suppose were for the washing of the hands during mass, were to be placed on the altar of St. Kenelm the martyr in his chapel on solemn days and festivals *ad Dei laudem et complacenciam et dicti martiris honorem.*

In 1468 the Dean made additions to the New College of the vicars, by building a new bakehouse and brewhouse *de duo bayes* with two chambers over for the storing of corn and barley; he also caused the building to be re-roofed with tiles, and erected an oven and furnace at the cost of 20 marks, for the safety of his soul and for the convenience of the chaplains. He also gave to the chaplains 40*s.* for the fabric of the place where the *ciphorium* is situated and for the glazing of the windows, which place is then described as *competens ornatus et satis honestus.* The Dean also spent 20*s.* on an iron chimney (*caminum ferreum*) for use in the common hall of the chaplains during winter. He further gave them for the high table of the hall a good table-cloth *de panno bilicino, anglice Twyly*, at a cost of 6*s.* 8*d.*

The chantry chapel of Jesus and St. Anne, founded by the Dean in 1468, is described as being *in solario ad finem Borialem pulpitu*, and in another place as erected *in sublime* in the north transept. Here was a glorious image of Jesus and an image of St. Anne. A cursal mass was to be said daily, and a specially solemn mass, with the best voices of the choir and with organ accompaniment, at seven o'clock every Wednesday.

To that altar he gave a mass-book, a good silver-gilt chalice and paten weighing upwards of 21 ounces, a red vestment with apparels of crimson velvet, another vestment with its apparels of blue silk, and a third vestment of black *cum verbo Jhu. in pluribus partibus et vicibus conscriptum* for requiem mass, also albes, and apparels, and everything that was necessary and convenient for these vestments; also two corporals and their cases, and four linen clothes for the top of the altar, and a linen cloth painted with the image of the Blessed Mary in the midst for covering over the altar after the celebration of mass. Also four *ornamenta* for the altar, namely, one of blue silk and three *de steynet Warke*; two towels, one basin "de Masselyn"; two pewter cruets; one little pax; and a cushion upon which the mass-book lies.

In 1481 the Dean gave to the same altar a vestment of white velvet, with albes, apparels, and everything pertaining, and with the name of Jesus frequently embroidered on the apparels, of the value of 5 marks.

At a later date the Dean gave to the same altar of Jesus and St. Anne, for use at the daily cursal mass, a good silver-gilt chalice and paten weighing 20 ounces,

enamelled on the foot with an image of the Crucifix; also three vestments, one of green bawdekyn for ferial days, another of green silk embroidered with gilt stars, and a third of blue "wolstyd" with red orphreys behind and before; also a good mass-book *magne quantitatis* with a cover of leather; and a red book of commemorations and of the mass of Jesus and of Requiem to be celebrated every Wednesday.

In 1474, the Dean caused to be built a new chamber with a chapel over the gateway at the entrance to the vicars' houses; the chamber *(et le drawth)* being so arranged that the infirm vicars could hear mass in the chapel.

The Dean also gave three *murras, anglice Masers*, with gilt bands, of the value of 53*s.* 4*d.*, to the use of the vicars, and a good table cloth "de twyll" for the high table in their hall.

In 1477, Dean Heywode gave a very great bell to the cathedral church, which was cast in London and cost £100. It was called "*in vulgari*, The belle," and hung in the south tower of the west front. The bell was consecrated and hallowed on November 14th, by Robert, bishop of Achonry (in Ireland), suffragan of John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The ceremonial is described with much detail, (see Appendix), and at the conclusion of it, all who had sung or taken any part therein dined joyfully with Thomas Heywood in the deanery.

In 1481 the Dean gave to the cathedral church *duas capsellas, anglice monstrance*, of silver-gilt, curiously wrought, for containing relics, and assigned them to the custody of Dan William Hukyns, chaplain of St. Blase's chantry and keeper of St. Chad's Head; the value of the same being £4 13*s.*

In the following year he gave to the church, at a cost of £26 3*s.* 4*d.*, a new pair of organs *magne quantitatis et forme decentis*, to stand in the *pulpitum* or loft over the screen at the entrance of the quire. He also gave a new pair of organs, at a cost of £12, to stand in the new fabric opposite the Jesus altar, to serve for the solemn Jesus mass every Wednesday.

There are also recorded further gifts in the same year (1482) of a best altar-cloth of twill for the high altar, a good altar-cloth of the same stuff for the altar of Jesus and St. Anne, another for the altar of St. Blase, and a fourth to the altar of St. Chad, "in the chapel where his head is wonderfully honoured."

The Dean, at his own proper cost, also caused all the windows of the chapter-house to be glazed, with images of the Apostles and other pictures on the roof and walls. He also added a wooden wainscot and glazed the window in the vestibule or entry. The cost of the whole was £46.

The cathedral church as well as the city of Lichfield seem to have prospered in a marked degree under the active as well as munificent rule of Dean Heywood. His generosity kindled the generosity of others.

The fully detailed account of the election of Dean Heywood, *per inspirationem*, in 1457, after describing his repeated refusals of the office, gives these as the words of his eventual acceptance :

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Heywood, canon of the cathedral church of Lichfield, elected to the deanery of the same cathedral church by my brother canons, with regard to my consent to the said election, being urged thereto by the repeated and reiterated entreaties of my brethren, and being unwilling to resist the Divine Will, in the name of Christ whom I have invoked to my aid, and trusting in the Divine Clemency, I give my consent, to the praise and honour of God, and of His mother Mary, and of St. Chad the confessor, and of all the saints of God."

The brother canon, who acted as chronicler of the election, concludes by describing his new chief as by birth and age, as well as in morals, life, and learning, pre-eminently suited for the office, and as one who would be sure to uphold the ancient rights of their church, both in matters spiritual and temporal.

At the death of Thomas Heywood in 1492, after a decanal experience of thirty-five years, Lichfield must have felt that the aged Dean had abundantly fulfilled the pious expectations that were entertained at his entering upon the office.

I desire to express my obligation to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, and particularly to Canon Lonsdale, Honorary Librarian, for entrusting to my care the three volumes described in this paper.

I have also to thank Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for transcribing for me the interesting part of Vol. II. which forms the Appendix to this paper.

APPENDIX.

Ordinacio sive fundacio Cantarie Sancti Blasii.

In Dei nomine. Amen. Universis Christi fidelibus innotescat. quod venerabilis vir magister Thomas Heywode. in utroque jure Bacallarius. ac in decretis doctor licentiatus. Decanus ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. Anno domini millesimo [quadringesimo] sexagesimo sexto. ad honorem et laudem sancte Trinitatis. sancti Cedde presulis. sancti Blasii martiris. Autoritate et consensu Reverendi in Christo patris et domini Domini Johannis Hals. Dei gracia Coventr' et Lich. episcopi. Ac eciam unanimi consensu et assensu ejusdem ecclesie Capituli. fundavit et ordinavit unam Cantariam Sancti Blasii martiris. quasi ex opposito sedis Episcopalis situatam. et unum presbiterum ad altare ejusdem Cantarie missam perpetuo celebraturum. Primo dominum Willelmum Hukyns. capellanum perpetuum ejusdem Cantarie nominavit et providit Qui capellanus et successores sui pro tempore existentes dicte Cantarie capellani. et quilibet capellanus pro tempore suo de Abbate et Conventu de Halesowen ordinis premonstratensis Wygorn' dioces' percipiet annuatim imperpetuum. Ad ffesta Michaelis et Pasche. per equales porciones Centum solidos. de Novem marcis. quas per suas literas patentes et indentatas. sigillo eorum communi sigillatas. decano et capitulo Lich. singulis annis terminis predictis solvere obligantur. Et reliquos viginti solidos de sex libris predictis capellani cantariarum et novi Collegii infra clausum Lichfield situatum. annuatim in terminis predictis realiter percipient. de prefatis Abbate et conventu de Halesowen. pro recepcione capellanorum dicte cantarie in ipsorum consorcium. Ac eciam quod intersint et quilibet eorum intersit in anniversariis parentum suorum dum vixerit. Et post obitum suum In anniversariis ejusdem Magistri Thome decani. in choro et in habitu chorali. dicentes et psallentes pro anima sua et parentum suorum. et omnium in ordinacione sua nominatorum. una cum vicariis choralibus ecclesie cathedralis Lich. juxta formam ordinacionis prefati Magistri Thome Heywode decani. et concessionis dictorum capellanorum confectam. et sigillis eorum sigillatam. una cum sigillis dicti Reverendi patris. Ac decani et capituli ecclesie cathedralis Lich. sigillatam ut plenius in eisdem continetur. 1466.

Quantum repeperunt (sic) Abbas et conventus pro pencione.

Et memorandum quod de premissis sex libris annuatim solvendis per dictos Abbatem et Conventum de Halesowen et eorum successores imperpetuum decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Lich. et eorum successoribus ad usus supradictos. et pro obitu suo annuatim per eosdem in Monasterio suo predicto celebrando juxta formam in dictis literis indentatis, et eorum sigillis sigillatis plenius expressatam. predictus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus solvit dompno Johanni adtunc abbati. et ejusdem loci conventui quadringentas marcas legalis monete anglie.

ad emend sibi possessiones. aut redditus. ex quibus possit annuatim dicta pecunia provenire. et residuum in commodum Monasterii sive domus predicte utilitatem conversi. ¶ Et prefati Abbas et Conventus cito post cum parte dicte pecunie emerunt de Bevyce Hampton possessiones et redditus suos in Civitate Lich. ac terras et pasturas suas juxta Lich. vocatas Pownes feledes. ad valorem annuum quasi viginti marcarum. licencia domini Regis ad hoc habita et concessa et mortizata in forma juris regni Anglie. ¶ Et cum altera predicte summe porcione predicti Abbas et conventus de Halesowen quendam prioratum in diocese Wygornie ad annualem valorem viginti marcarum. nomine Todforde. suo monasterio inperpetuum appropriarunt.

De duobus pelvis (sic) *argenti.*

Insuper predictus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus dedit ex sua devocione mera et deliberavit eisdem Abbati et Conventui duas pelves de argento, cum Egles deauratis in fundo ponderis sexaginta novem unciarum precii decem librarum. et ultra. ut deserviant ponantur et situantur super altate (*sic*) sancti Kenelmi martiris in capella ejusdem diebus solemnibus et festivis. ad Dei laudem et complacenciam. et dicti martiris honorem.

Quantum solcitur voluntarie per abbate[*m*].

Et quia prefatus Beves Hampton postquam sua terras pasturas et tenementa infra Lich. et juxta ut prefertur. predictis Abbati et Conventui vendidit et deliberavit. ex quadam convencione inter eosdem facta, quandam summam annualem decem marcarum de eisdem Abbate et conventu durante vita sua habere debuit. prefatus decanus ex sua benevolencia et voluntate propria prefatos abbatem et conventum de annuali pensione novem marcarum ecclesie Lich. solvenda per spacium duodecim annorum quibus prefatus Beves supervixit. pro eisdem annuatim ecclesie Lich. solvit et satisfecit.

Item tempore quodam quo prefatus decanus fuit aput (*sic*) Halesowen, dedit abbati et conventui decem marcas et servientibus prout decuit.

De Ornamentis capelle.

Item idem Magister Thomas Decanus dedit et contulit omnem ornatum ad dictam cantariam sancti Blasii congruentem. Et ad celebracionem missarum ibidem per dictum dominum Willelmum Hukyns dicte cantarie capellanum modernum et successores suos imperpetuum unum bonum missale. cum literis capitalibus aureis. et unum calicem deauratum ponderantem viginti uncias tria vestimenta sacerdotalia. et alia ornamenta pro altari et apparatu ejusdem congrua et conveniencia.

De edificio facto in novo collegio.

Item idem Magister Thomas cito post in vita sua videlicet Anno domini Millesimo CCCC^mo^ sexagesimo octavo. edificari fecit suis expensis novum pistrinum et pandoxatorium de ij bayes infra domum. cum duabus cameris supra pro frumento et brasio custodiendis. Et eandem domum cantariarum cum tegulis cooperiri fecit. Ac furnum et fornacem ibidem stabilari fecit. suis propriis expensis. ad summam viginti marcarum. ad salutem anime sue. et commodum dictorum capellanorum. 1468.

Item contulit eisdem capellanis xl. solidos. ad fabricam loci ubi ciphorium situatur. et ad vitriacionem fenestrarum ibidem. qui locus est competens ornatus. et satis honestus.

Item idem Magister Thomas Decanus predictus contulit eisdem Capellanis caminum ferreum. ad usum eorundem tempore iemali in aula eorum communi. precii viginti solidorum.

Item dedit commitive capellanorum predictorum unum mensale bonum de panno bilicino. anglice twyly. precii vj s. viij. d.

Ordinacio sive fundacio Cantarie Jesu et sancte Anne.

Ad honorem nominis domini nostri Jesu Christi. et sancte Anne matris beatissime Marie virginis. Magister Thomas Heywod. in utroque jure Bacallarius. et decretorum doctor admissus. Ac ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. Decanus. Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC sexagesimo octavo fundavit et construxit suis expensis Cantariam perpetuum desuper fabricatam. ex parte boriali ecclesie cathedrali predicte. cum gloriosa Imagine Jesu Christi unum ibidem stantis. et cum Imagine sancte Anne ibidem eciam defixa. Et ordinavit et providit dominum Willelmum Brodbent primum capellanum perpetuum ibidem celebraturum tempore suo. Et alios capellanos successores suos ibidem perpetuo celebraturos. juxta vim et formam ordinacionis sue. auctoritate et consensu Reverendi in Christo patris et domini. Domini Johannis Hals Coventrensis et Lich. episcopi. Ac eciam unanimi consensu et assensu tocius ejusdem ecclesie cathedralis Lich. capituli ut in literis inde confectis eorum sigillis sigillatis plenius continetur. Dedat' sigilla (*sic*) communis pontificalis et sigilli communis capitularis in ecclesia cathedralis Lich. in loco capitulari ejusdem Septimo die mensis Januarij. Anno Domini. Millesimo. CCCC^mo^ sexagesimo octavo. ¶ Qui quidem capellanus et quilibet successorum suorum pro tempore suo percipiet annuatim pro salario et sustentacione sua ad duos anni terminos videlicet Invencionis Sancte Crucis. et sancti Martini in yeme per equales porciones Centum solidos de Abbate et conventu de Lylleshull. ¶ Et capellanus quicunque ipsius cantarie pro tempore existens. residebit in camera sibi limitata. cum capellanis cantariarum in novo collegio eorundem. ¶ Qui capellani seu cetus capellanorum percipient eciam de prefatis Abbate et Conventu annuatim ad terminos predictos triginta tres solidos. et quatuor denarios de decem marcis quas Abbas et Conventus de Lylleshull tenentur annuatim solvere. decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Lich. prout in literis indentatis inter dictos abbatem 1468.

et conventum et decanu et capitulum ecclesie Lich. inde confectis liquet manifeste. ¶ Sed cum tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis de predictis xxxiij^bus^ solidis et quatuor denariis per eos ut predicitur percipiendis predicti capellani seu cetus capellanorum collegij novi predicti. solvent decano et canonicis residenciariis et alijs ministris in obitu et exequiis seu anniversariis ipsius decani existentis omni anno. juxta formam et modum limitatum et conscriptum in literis indentatis. et inter predictos Magistrum Thomam Heywod. decanum et capitulum Lich. ac ipsos capellanos cantariarum. et prepositum et cetum eorundem factis et eorum sigillis alternatim sigillatis.

Quantum dedit Abbati de Lylleshull' pro pensione.

Et memorandum quod pro premissis decem marcis per Abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull annuatim solvendis in terminis sancti Martini et Invencionis Sancte Crucis per equales porciones per dictos Abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull. et eorum successores imperpetuum. Decano et capitulo ecclesie Lych. et eorum successoribus ad usus supradictos. Ac pro obitu suo annuatim per eosdem in monasterio suo predicto celebrando. et missam cotidianam per unum de canonicis ejusdem et septimanatim celebrandam juxta vim et formam in dictis literis indentatis inter dictos Robertum tunc abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull et eorum successores et Decanum et capitulum Lych. et eorum successores factis. et eorum sigillis sigillatis. Ac per Reverendum patrem et dominum. dominum Johannem Coventrensis et Lich. episcopum confirmatis. et ejus sigillo sigillatis plenius expressatis. et plenius in eisdem continetur prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus solvit dompno Roberto ad tunc Abbati et conventui ejusdem loci. quadringentas marcas legalis monete Anglie ad emendas sibi possessiones et redditus. ex quibus possit annuatim dicta pecunia provenire. Et residuum in commodum Monasterij sive domus predicte utilitatem converti. ¶ Et prefati Robertus Abbas et Conventus cito post emerunt terras redditus et possessiones apud Brugenorthe. ac eciam hospitale sancti Johannis ibidem sibi dari et appropriari auctoritate domini regis. ac domini comitis Salopiae patroni pretensi. et omnium quorum interest consensu. plenarie sibi assignari procurarunt. ad valorem annuum quadraginta marcarum. ¶ Insuper prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus dedit dicto domino Roberto ad tunc abbati ex sua mera devocione ad usum magnatum ibidem hospitancium rubiam pendenciam unius lecti de Redsay et Wolstyde. cum le curtence et dowbull' frengeth'. et cum coopertorio lecti de eadem secta valoris vij librarum. ¶ Item fieri fecit parvas cameras in dormitorio ibidem pro quolibet canonico. Et coopertorium dormitorij. et fenestras vitreas ibidem. ad summam expensarum. ¶ Item et contulit eisdem ad ornatum altaris capelle beate Marie unum pannum pictum cum rosis. satis congruum. cum duobus curtence ejusdem secte precij xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Necnon temporibus. quibus illuc progrediebatur. distribuit pecunias et ministris largiter prout decuit. ¶ Item prefatus. Magister Thomas Heywode decanus dedit prefati abbati xx°. die sem-
1480. tembris (*sic*) Anno Domini M°. CCCC° lxxx° unam peciam deauratam stantem cum coopertorio. cum signo campane in capite coopertorij. ad deserviendum sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum.

Item memorandum quod Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus contulit dicto

altari Jesu et sancte Anne in capella predicta in ecclesia cathedrali Lich. et capellanis perpetuis ibidem successive deservituris. et missas celebrantibus unum missale competens. calicem bonum cum patena deaurata ponderis xxj. unciarum et ultra. Et tria vestimenta sacerdotalia videlicet. unum bonum vestimentum. cum suis apparuris Rubium de crỳmsỳn velvet. Secundum vestimentum cum suis apparuris de blodio serico. Tertium vestimentum. de nigro. pro missa de Requiem. diebus veneris. cum nota de cantanda cum verbo Jhu. in pluribus partibus et vicibus conscriptum cum albis et paruris. et singulis alijs dictis vestimentis necessarijs et convenientibus. cum duobus corporalibus cum duabus tecis pro eisdem. Necnon quatuor lintheamina honesta et decencia super idem altare. ac lintheamen depictum. cum Imagine beate Marie in medio. ad cooperiendum ipsum altare post complecionem missarum ibidem celebratarum. Item quatuor ornamenta pro altari videlicet unum de blodio serico. et tria de steynet Warke. Item duo manutergia. Item j pelvis de Masselyn. Item due fiole stannee. Item j paxillum. Item j pulvinar super quo jacet missale. ¶ Pro quibus libro. calice. vestimentis. et indumentis altaris calice. ac singulis supradictis. sentencia excommunicacionis lata est in omnes illos qui eosdem vel aliquem seu aliquid eorundem surrepuerint seu alienaverint. vel aliquid de illo libro abraserint seu minuerint in fraudem quoquomodo. ¶ Que omnia et singula jam collata. necnon per ipsum dominum Decanum imposterum conferenda. quilibet capellanus ejusdem cantarie pro tempore existens conservabit. reparabit et manutenebit. et amplius faciet. prout in ordinacione prefati magistri Thome Heywode plenius continetur.

Item prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus contulit. Anno domini Millesimo. CCCC^{mo} octogesimo primo. Altari cantarie Jesu et sancte Anne ad manus domini Johannis Wryght capellani ejusdem cantarie. sibi et successoribus suis ibidem capellanis. ad honorem Jesu fruituris unum bonum vestimentum album sacerdotale de albo velvet. cum albis paruris et singulis ipsis convenientibus. et cum nomine Jhu. sepius in paruris dicti vestimenti designato. precij. V. marcarum. 1481.

Donacio et collacio pensionum terrarum pratorum pascuarum et possessionum. Succentori et Cetui vicariorum hic nominat'. necnon servicia divina et onera que dicti vicarij supportabunt. prout est hic expressum.

Ad honorem nominis Jesu Christi. domini nostri. prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode. decanus suprascriptus devote contulit et dedit ad opus et utilitatem vicariorum choralium ecclesie cathedralis Lich. pensiones. terras. et possessiones subscriptas. videlicet quoddam messuagium in Chesturfelde. juxta Lichefelde. necnon terras. prata. pascua. et pasturas. infra parochiam de Schenstoñ. Coventreñ et Lich. [dioc.'] situata. Ac redditum capitalem valoris annui quinque marcarum. et quinque solidorum de Johanne Teddesley. emptoꝛ. ¶ Necnon tres pasturas vocatas Emley pyttes juxta locum qui dicitur. Hylhalmore. Et quatuor acras terre arabilis in le gaỳfelde. valoris annui. xx. s. de Johanne Petỳ emtoꝛ (*sic*). ¶ Ac eciam novem seliones pasture. juxta ffulfengrene. divisim jacentes que vocantur. Newlande. annui valoris. ij. s. de domino Thoma

Stykbuk. emptoꝫ. ¶ Necnon idem Magister Thomas Decanus emit unum Messuagium. terras et prata apud Bromley Regis. et redditus capitales ad summam. quasi. v. s. nuper empta de Agnete relicto Thoma Pope. et nunc uxor Johannis Staunton. valoris annui. xxj. s. et ultra. et sic empta. ut prefertur. pro. xx. li. solutis dicte Agneti et domino feodi viz. Willelmo Presse pro feodo suo. xiij. s. iiij d. pro introitu. xx. d. et in aliis diversis expensis. ad summam. vj. s. viij. d. Et sic summa totalis circa adepcione juris et possessionis predicte xxj. li. que erant recepte de quinquaginta marcis deliberatis per prefatum decanum vicarijs. et positis in eorum archivis ad emendas possessiones ad valorem. xl. s. annuatim prout sequitur inferius.

Item Idem Magister Thomas Heywod emit unam parcellam prati vocatam le Brownes flat iuxta Salterbrygge in feodo de Allerwas. de Johanne Browne ad valorem annuum. xx. s. et pro illo fundo solvit sibi. xv. li. et pro finis et expensis vicariorum ibidem existentium in curia pro securitate illius prati. v. s. x. d. Et sic quinquaginta marce que erant posite pro securitate empcionis terrarum in baga et in cista communi expenduntur. totaliter in ipsis duabus parcellis de Bromley. et Allerwas. et ultra de bursa dicti domini decani per quatuor marcas. et. v. s. x. d. ut patet evidenter. et sic valor dictarum duarum possessionum extendit ad xlj. s. per annum. Annuamque pensionem quinquaginta trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum percipiendam annuatim de Abbate et conventu de Dala in comitatu Derbiensis. quam de et cum bonis sibi adeo collatis perquesivit. Et sic omnia promissa ex parte decani sunt perfecte completa. Deo gracias.

¶ Summa omnium predictorum illis collatorum. ix. li. ix. s. et plus. ut pꝫ.

Deditque idem Magister Thomas Decanus. et eisdem vicarijs realiter deliberavit quinquaginta marcas. ad emendas terras et tenementa de valore annuo xl. s. que summa. l. marcarum sunt (*sic*) expensa pro hujusmodi empcione terrarum. ut supra scribitur. ¶ Ac eciam ne per tardas soluciones firmarum omnium terrarum et tenementorum, annueque pensionu (*sic*) predicte. jacturam seu dampnum incurrerent. Valorem annui redditus omnium premissorum. viz. ix. li. x. s. dictis vicariis pre manibus contulit et donavit. ¶ Insuper dictus Magister Thomas pro conservacione et defensione Juris dictorum vicariorum in premissis ad cistam eorum communem x. li. monete Anglie concessit. dedit pariter et liberavit. ¶ Necnon postquam predicti vicarij omnes et singuli in loco capitulari congregati. prefatum magistrum Thomam decanum in confratrem ipsorum et participem oracionum suarum receperunt et fecerunt cum solempnitate in hujusmodi actu usitata. et in martilagio confratrem. et oracionum suarum participem scribi fecerunt. Et cuilibet vicario et adtunc confratri suo libere dedit in manibus vj. s. viij. d. ad numerum xxj. vicariorum ad tunc existencium.

¶ Summa. vij. li.

Hinc est preterea quod Petrus Burrell. succentor cetusque vicariorum ad tante rei geste memoriam. pro temporalibus quantum cum Deo possunt spiritualia refundere cupientes. de voluntate et consensu expressa dominorum decani et capituli ecclesie cathedralis Lich. prediet'. ac omnium singulorum aliorum quorum interest in hac parte. pia mentis intencione ex unanimi

assensu omnium pariter et consensu per scripta indentata sponte et libere remotis omni dolo et fraude. pro se et successoribus suis concesserunt unam integram et solidam Cantariam perpetuam futuris temporibus in ecclesia cathedrali predicta imperpetuum duraturam. viz. unam missam apud altare in honore nominis Jesu et sancte Anne. matris beate virginis Marie. per eundem magistrum Thomam Heywode dum steterit decanus ex parte boriali ecclesie cathedralis predicte noviter in sublime erectum. per unum de convicarijs dicte ecclesie capellanum. viz. ad hoc idoneum dicendum et celebrandum omnibus diebus cujuslibet anni imperpetuum. pro bono et prospero statu ac salute corporis et anime dicti magistri Thome. dum vixerit cum oracione et colecta speciali sub uno. Per dominum. viz. *Omnipotens. sempiterne Deus. miserere famulo tuo. &c.* Ac cum secreta. *Proficiat. quesumus Domine &c.* Et post communionem. *Sumentes qs*[a] *Domine &c.* Atque similiter pro anima ejusdem Magistri Thome. cum ab hac luce migraverit in missa prefata dicetur oracio sive collecta. *Deus cujus misericordie non est numerus &c.* Secreta *Quesumus Domine Deus noster &c.* Et post communionem .*Presta quesumus omnipotens Deus. per hec sancta que sumpsimus &c.*[b] Ad quam quidem missam sicut premittitur celebrandam. Succentor qui pro tempore fuerit unum vicarium cetus vicariorum ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existencium omni ebdomada in sua tabula directoria signatum deputabit et assignabit. ¶ Qui quidem vicarius sic deputatus et assignatus juxta exigenciam cursus sui. omni die veneris qualibet septimana sibi limitata imperpetuum missam solempnem de nomine Jesu cum nota ad altare predictum solenniter celebrabit et decantabit. seu per alium convicarium presbiterum cum collectis et oracionibus antedictis celebrari et decantari faciet. Cui quidem vicario qui missam omni septimana modo quo prefertur celebrabit. dicti succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis omni septimana de bonis suis communibus. xij. [d.] ¶ Insuper prefatus succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt. quod in dicta missa solenni de nomine Jesu omni die veneris hora septima ut premittitur celebranda presentes erunt ante ymaginem Jesu in altari supradicto in loco congruo ad hoc desuper fabricato sex vicarij. et quatuor choriste cantatores magis idonei ecclesie cathedralis predicte per succentorem ejusdem pro tempore existentem deputandi et assignandi. qui in habitibus suis choralibus ibidem induti in missa ipsa organorum voces personari faciendo dulcius et devocius quo poterint decantabunt perpetuo in futuro. ¶ Concedunt eciam pro se et successoribus suis. quod prefati sex vicarij cum quatuor choristis antedictis. per succentorem deputati. Antiphonam devotam et convenientem nomini Jesu. cum versiculis et oracionibus consuetis. ac cum prostracionibus et genufleccionibus pie devocionis affectu statim post Completorium in choro dicte ecclesie finitum. choram dicta Imagine Jesu. omni die veneris cujuscumque septimane imperpetuum. organorum melodia solenniter decantabunt. ¶ Quibus vicarijs. quinquaginta. s. et quatuor choristis. x. s. de bonis communibus dictorum vicariorum ad quatuor anni terminos. dicti Succentor et Cetus vicariorum pro eorum laboribus et diligencijs in premissis promiserunt persolvere. Ac se et successores suos ad solucionem hujusmodi oneraverunt. et suis scriptis obligarunt. ¶ Absente tamen vicario seu chorista

[a] *Sic.*

[b] The writer has evidently got confused between the post communion for St. Matthias's day, and that beginning with the same words in the Salisbury mass-book in *Orationes pro defunctis.*

in missa seu antiphona predicta cessabit sua solucio proporcionabiliter. prout se duxerit absentand. Nisi ille vicarius alium vicarium. et chorista. alium choristam. loco suo substituerit ad cantandum. et cantaverit in ejus absencia in premissis. ¶ Rursus prefatus Petrus Succentor et cetus vicariorum predictorum concesserunt pro ipsis et successoribus suis. quod in Missa de Requiem per Capellanum cantarie Jesu omni die veneris ad idem altare juxta ordinacionem dicti Magistri Thome Heywode cum nota celebranda convenient iiij^{or} vicarij ecclesie cathedralis predicte per succentorem pro tempore existentem omni die veneris qualibet septimana limitati. qui statim post missam nominis Jesu ad altare predictum eodem die celebratam. et finita dictam missam de Requiem cum nota pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum solenniter decantabunt. ¶ Quibus quidem quatuor vicarijs. missam ipsam de Requiem decantantibus. viij. s. iiij. d. sterlingorum ad quatuor anni terminos de bonis dictorum vicariorum communibus persolvere spoponderunt. et se et successores suos. ad solucionem hujusmodi imperpetuum oneraverunt. et scriptis suis prenominatis obligaverunt. ¶ Ulterius ut excitetur populus christianus ad audiendam tam missam quam antiphonam nominis Jesu predictam devocius convenire. prefati succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt pro ipsis et successoribus suis. quod sacrista dicte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerit. vel ipsius quicunque minister sive familiaris. magnam campanam per spacium et intervallum competens. bis tintinnabit. et post binas tintinnaciones ante dictam missam de Jesu solennem prefatam campanam ad eandem missam congrue pulsabit. Necnon ante predicte antiphone inchoacionem bis. per intervallum competens. ipsam campanam tintinnabit seu tintinari (*sic*) faciet. Quodque idem sacrista omnia lumina cepi (*sic*) in dictis missis et antiphona de nomine Jesu necessaria et opportuna exibebit perpetuo in futurum. cui quidem sacriste pro hujusmodi luminis exibicione ac prefate campane tintinnacione et pulsacione modo quo prefertur fiend xiij. s. iiij. d. de bonis communibus [me]moratis. ad terminos supradictos fideliter solvere promiserunt. Et idem succentor et cetus vicariorum ad solucionem hujusmodi se et successores suos forma que supra obligaverunt. ¶ Preterea cum Succentor ecclesie cathedralis predicte qui nunc est. et imposterum erit juxta ordinacionem dicti Magistri Thome circa assignacionem et limitacionem vicariorum et chorestarum qui ut prefertur in missis de nomine Jesu. et Requiem. ac antiphonam de eodem nomine Jesu interesse et decantare debeant multiplices labores in ea parte ac alias ut prenotatur pati debeat et teneatur. Idem succentor et cetus vicariorum volunt et pro se et successoribus suis concesserunt. quod idem succentor pro hujusmodi laboribus suis. et ut diligenciam suam exactam adibeat in premissis. percipiat et habeat. iij. s. iiij. d. de bonis eorum communibus annuatim ad quatuor anni terminos usuales sibi equis porcionibus persolvend. ¶ Postremo prefatus succentor et cetus vicariorum pro se et successoribus suis volunt quod si quod absit premissa omnia et singula. et prout in eorum scriptis indentatis ac sigillis tam dominorum decani et Capituli et eorum communibus conscribuntur. non observaverint. seu ea in omnibus et per omnia non adimpleverint etc. bene licebit dominus Decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existentibus de bonis ipsorum vicariorum communibus vj. s. et viij. d. nomine pene exigere et levare. et in usus fabrice ecclesie cathedrali Lich. predicta convertere absque ipsorum seu successorum suorum contradiccione seu impedimento aliquali imperpetuum. ¶ Et preter premissa ipsos et successores suos tam ad solucionem pene quam implecionem et observacionem perpetuam omnium et singulorum premissorum sub quibuscumque sentenciis et

censuris ecclesiasticas in eos si desides vel necligentes in premissis imposterum fuerint per decanum et capitulum dicte ecclesie pro tempore existentes. fulminandis compelli et cohercerí. omnimodis appellacionibus ac juris et facti remedijs ipsis quomodolibet competentibus seu competituris postpositis omnino et semotis. ¶ Ad que eciam omnia et singula premissa firmiter observanda. et perimplenda omni dolo et fraude postpositis et semotis. dicti succentor et cetus vicariorum predictorum ipsos et successores suos in ipsorum puris conscientijs coram Deo et angelis Dei ejus imperpetuum et sicut volunt coram Deo et summo judice in die extremi judicij respondere. et preter hec omnia bona sua communia presencia pariter et futura obligarunt. per scripta sua indentata. ac sigillo communi dominorum decani et capituli et communi sigillo dictorum vicariorum sigillata manifestius declarantur.

Collata vicarijs Lich' ad celebrandum (sic) missam cursalem ad altare Jesu et beate Anne sub eorum periculo custodiend'.

Contulit eciam et de facto deliberavit idem Magister Thomas Heywod predictis vicarijs ad deserviendum altari predicto nominis Jesu et sancte Anne imperpetuum sub eorum periculis et reparacionibus in missa solemni nominis Jesu omni die veneris. et missa cursali et cotidiana per eos perpetuum celebranda ut perfertur unum bonum calicem argenteum et deauratum cum patena deaurata ponderis quasi viginti unciarum. ynameld in pede cum Imagine crucifixi. cum tribus vestimentis sacerdotalibus. unum viride de Bawdekyn pro ferialibus diebus. contulit. alterum de viride serico. cum stellis deauratis acupictum. contulit. et tercium de Wolstyd blodio. cum rubio orfrey ante et retro. et unum bonum missale magne quantitatis cum coopertorio de coreo. ¶ Item alium librum rubrium de commemoracionibus factum et de missa Jesu. et de Requiem omni die veneris celebranda. Necnon alium parvum librum notatum de missa de Requiem omni die veneris post solennem missam de Jesu. ¶ Item restat ibidem liber confectus de missis et cantibus. et ad honorem Jesu in missis et antiphonis Jesu omni septimana decantandis solenniter cum versiculis et collectis antiquitus devote usitatis. Et sic domino duce imperpetuum consequendis. Necnon idem vicarij predicta sic collata et imposterum conferenda sustinebunt reparabunt et reformabunt. et ipsa seu alia cum ipsa seu aliquid ipsorum defecerint seu defecerit exhibebunt suis propriis expensis imperpetuum ad predictos usus ad honorem Jesu. Amen.

Expense facte in fabricando novam cameram cum capella sub et supra portum introitus in mansionem vicariorum.

Item prefatus magister Thomas Heywod. Decanus antedictus in prospera vita sua videlicet anno domini Millesimo CCCC° septuagesimo quarto. et etatis sue sexagesimo quinto expensis suis. et de sua liberalitate vera. fabricari fecit novam cameram cum capella et alijs domibus ad hec necessarijs cum domibus inferioribus videlicet sub et supra simul cum porta introitus ibidem 1474.

similiter conjunctis videlicet ad finem venelle que ducit a villa usque ad ecclesiam cathedralem Lich. ad partem occidentalem ecclesie satis decore et comodifore edificat' videlicet ad communes usus vicariorum similiterque cameram et le drawth pro infirmis vicarijs qui ad ecclesiam accedere non valent. Capella vero. ut idem infirmus cum servientibus ibidem missam audire valeat tempore congruo. Et ut in eadem capella vicarij poterunt in libris per eosdem et alios comitive collatis et ibidem positis temporibus congruis studere vel orare. Necnon ad supramedia domus satis fortis juxta cameram fabricatur et facta est pro evidencijs rotulis. thesauris suis et jocalibus ibidem conservandis. et alie domicule in eadem ad usus communes maxime comodiferos. Alie vero domus inferiores ad usus communes. ad eorum beneplacitum magis comodiferos. Qui sumptus et expense pro premissis et eorum apparatu in singulis ibidem positis et habitis. tam in plastura et vitriacione et singulis aliis prout sunt et apparent extendunt se ad summam xxxij. li. ut patet per parcellas in paupiris (*sic*) inde scriptis parcellatis.

Et notum sit universis. quod voluntas et ordinacio dicti Magistri Thome Heywode decani de voluntate et beneplacito succentoris et cetus vicariorum. hec est. Quod edificia sua predicta precipue ad supra edificata. nullo modo deputentur seu assignentur alicui private persone cetus vicariorum non infirmo. seu alteri. sed tamen cedant et occupentur modo et forma supradictis preterquam aliquis de familia regis regine principis seu ducis infra clausum ad tempus residentis. ad mandatum officiariorum suorum ibidem assignetur seu hospitetur ad tempus breve et hoc tamen cum magna difficultate societatis in quantum honeste fieri valeat contradictio fiat.

Item memorandum quod Idem Magister Thomas decanus proprius per longa tempora dedit Cetui vicariorum in numerata pecunea (*sic*) xl. li. pro anniversario parentum suorum. et sui post mortem suam imperpetuum celebrando omni anno ut in indenturis inde confectis plenius continetur.

1478. Item idem Decanus fecit optimam reparacionem omnium domorum apud Chesturfelde. cum novis portis et hostijs et omnibus necessarijs ad hec. expensis suis. Anno Domini M°CCCC°. lxxviij°. ad summam iiij^{or} li. viij. s. vij. d. ut patet per billam de manu M' Thome Godsalfe officiarij.

Item alia vice fecit novam cameram super introitum ante.[a] ac novum Kylne de nova secta in coquina posita cum expensis suis alijs ibidem ut patet intuentibus.

Item ante hec predicta idem magister Thomas dedit tres murras anglice Masers comitive vicariorum in superficiebus deauratas ad deserviendas eisdem valoris. liij. s. iiij. d. et nuper unam mappam bonam de twyll pro alta et longa tabula in aula congruenter.

Sanctificacio sive benediccio magne campane de Jesu.

1477. Memorandum quod xiiij° die Mensis Novembris videlicet in crastino sancti Bricij episcopi. Anno Domini Millesimo. CCCC°. lxx°vij^{mo} Reverendus in Christi pater et dominus Dominus

[a] *apud chestrefelde* added in a somewhat later hand

Robertus Archadeñ episcopus. et suffraganeus domini Johannis divina gracia Covent̃ et Lich. episcopi. consecravit et sanctificavit maximam campanam. vocatam in vulgari. Jhc belle. in campanili ex parte australi ecclesie cathedralis Lich. habitam ex industria et donacione Magistri Thome Heywod. decani ecclesie cathedralis predicte. ad honorem Dei et nominis Jesu. ac omnium sanctorum et ecclesie predicte decorem. presentibus ad tunc in dicta solemnitate in campanili predicto. dicto decano et Magistro Rogero Walle Canonico residenciario. cum pluribus vicarijs et choristis dicentibus psalmos. et decantantibus antiphonas et latanias (*sic*). prout ipsum servicium satis devotum requirebat. una cum dicto Reverendo patre consecratore dicente consecrationes. obsecraciones et oraciones decantantes satis et valde devotas cum signis et crucibus et uncionibus quas pluribus vicibus super eandem campanam Jesu. sic descriptam in quinque partibus campane et unctam sacra unccione delibatam. ¶ Et post hec cum a campanili usque in ecclesiam pervenerint. Dominus episcopus incepit *Te Deum laudamus.* Et totus chorus illuc veniens et obvians procedebat a fine ecclesie occidentali. bini. bini. cantando et solenniter complendo dicto episcopo subsequente in pontificalibus usque ad altare Jesu in parte. boriali situatum ex fundacione dicti decani ibidem celebravit et decantavit solenniter missam. cum melioribus cantatoribus ecclesie. Et omnibus completis. dictus dominus episcopus consecrator et dicti cantatores et coadjutores seu coadjuvantes in domo dicti decani prandiderunt leti. In nomine Jesu salvatoris nostri. Datum in tempore Regis Edwardi iiij^{i}. Anno Septimo decimo.

Data et collata cetui vicariorum per M. T. Heywode.

In primis prefatus Dominus decanus contulit cetui vicariorum. quoddam messuagium bonum in Chesturfelde juxta Lychefeld. una cum terris et pratis pasturis et pascuis ibidem annui valoris. quinque marcarum. ac redditus capitalis eidem messuagio pertinentis ad summam. v.s. ¶ Empt̃ de Johanne Teddesley.

¶ Summa. V. marc'. v.s.

Item tres pasture vocate Emley pyttes juxta Hylhalmore. cum quatuor acris terre arrabilis in le Gayfede valoris annui. xxj. s.

¶ Summa. xxj. s.

Item Novem seliones pasture juxta ffulfeñgrene. prout divisim jacent in campo que vocatur Newlond. valoris annui duorum solidorum. empte de domino Thoma Stykbok capellano.

¶ Summa. ij. s.

Item procuravit eisdem vicariis quamdam annualem pensionem de abbate et conventu de Dala. in Comitatu Derbie.

¶ Summa. liij. s. iiij. d.

Item unum Messuagium cum terris pratis et pasturis apud Bromley regis. emptum de

Agnete Pope. nuper uxore Thome Pope. ad valorem annualem. xxj. s. ¶ Item sunt eidem messuagio annexi Redditus capitales ad summam. iiij^{or}. s. et ultra.

¶ Summa. xxv. s.

Item unam parcellam prati vocatam Brownesflat juxta Salters brygge in feodo de Allerwas. emptam de Johanne Browne de eadem. et valet per annum. xx^{ti}. s.

¶ Summa. xx^{ti}. s.

Summa Recepcionis omnium predictorum. ix. li. xiij. s.

Unde sex vicarij in Missa et antiphona de Jesu decantantes annuatim percipient. lij. s.

Item quatuor choriste decantantes in eisdem missa et antiphona percipient omni anno. x. s.

Item quatuor vicarij decantantes in missa de Requiem. omni die veneris percipient per annum. viij. s. viij. d.

Item Succentor pro intabulacione et deputacione decantancium predictorum. percipiet annuatim. iij. s. iiij. d.

Item Sacrista pro pulsacione et tintinacione campane de Jesu. ad predicta servicia omni die veneris per Annum percipiet. xiij s. iiij. d.

Item vicarij chorales pro missa cursali per eosdem ad altare Jesu singulis diebus celebranda per annum percipient. lij. s.

¶ Summa solucionum pro dictis omnibus fiendis. Vj. li. xix. s. iiij. d.

Et sic omnibus et singulis persolutis pro labore et oneribus supradictis ut seriatim patet. ¶ Adhuc remanent. liij. s. viij. d. inter vicarios in communi dividenda. ad eorum commune proficium et commodum singulare eorundem.

Roopefelde. Cranefelde. et due acre terre.

1485. Et memorandum. quod prefatus Magister Thomas Decanus dedit et concessit predictis vicarijs Anno Domini. M^{o}. CCCC^{o}. lxxx^{o}. v^{to}. unam pasturam vocatam Roopefylde. ad valorem de claro per annum xiiij. s. et viij. d. Item unum campum sive clausuram vocatam Cranefylde. precij de claro per annum. ij. s. iiij. d. Item duas acras terre arrabilis in Oxonbury. precij. xvj. d. per annum. Summa omnium de claro. omnibus oneribus supportatis. xviij. s. iiij. d. que omnia emit de Johanne Palmer. de Lichfelde. et deliberavit evidencias inde dictis vicarijs. Quapropter ipsi vicarij spontanie et voluntarie concesserunt et se et successores suos obligaverunt sub sigillo suo communi. quod ipsi suis expensis exibebunt duos cereos de cera ponderis. viij. librarum. et ponentur in die parasceves omni anno ante sepulcrum immediate post imposicionem corporis

dominici ardentes et extunc continue sic permanentes usque ad dominicam resurreccionem. Et tunc illud quod remanet et superfuerit de ipsis duobus cereis per manus sacriste vel de ejus mandato videlicet unus cereus sic remanens deliberetur capellano cantarie Jesu et beate Anne ad usus ejusdem capelle. et alius detur capellano sancti Blasij ad usus ejusdem capelle. et sic fiat annuatim imperpetuum.

On an inserted slip in the same hand:

Item prefatus dominus Decanus dedit predictis vicarijs unum pratum vocatum Smallmedoo juxta le Walle. quod emit de Thoma Halsey. quod clare valet annuatim. iij. s. iiij. d

Item edificari fecit unum bonum orreum super fundum eorum vocatum Roothall quod orreum locatur annuatim pro iiij. s. vj. d.

Item deliberavit eis redditum capitalem de Chesturfeld quasi ad. v. s. Summa trium parcellarum extendit ad xxij. s. x. d. quas parcellas dedit eis ad eorum commodum in recompensum. vj. s. viij. d. quos solvit illis in supplementum de . v. marcis. et pro tenente de Chesturfeld. et exnunc omnia habent in propriis manibus. quo ad omnia onera sustinenda. ad eorum utilitatem et dicti decani exoneracionem. Et sic summa omnium parcellarum in diversis partibus conscriptarum dictis vicarijs collatarum videlicet in precedenti folio ix. li. xiij. s. ¶ Item supra in ista parte folij pro Ropefeld et duabus. acris in Oxenbury et Cronifeld (*sic*) clare xviij. s. iiij. d. Et in hoc scripto trium parcellarum ad Summam. xij. s. x. d.

Unde Summa totalis omnium. xi. li. iiij. s. ij. d.

De profundis.

Item ipsi vicarij concesserunt quod in die anniversarij parentum ipsius domini Thome decani dum vixerit. et post ejus decessum in die anniversarij parentum (*sic*) ipsius statim post missam de Requiem dicent unanimiter et choraliter in choro permanentes una cum canonicis residenciarijs et capellanis cantariarum novi collegij ibidem psalmum. *De profundis.* cum versiculis congruentibus et Oracione. *Deus cui proprium est misereri.* Et ad statum dicti vicarij vel unus eorum nomine dabit et ministrabit cuilibet canonico residenciario interessenti et dicenti sic cum alijs de choro. ij d. Et cuilibet vicario similiter ibidem dicenti. j. d. Et cuilibet capellano cantariarum ibidem remanenti et dicenti ut prefertur. j. d.

Item prefati vicarij vel aliquis eorum nomine dabit octo choristis dicentibus psalmum *De profundis.* similiter ad tunulum (*sic*) predicti decani et parentum suorum. statim post missam de Requiem. quamcicius simul poterunt ibidem interesse. et sic dicere pro anima dicti domini Thome decani parentum suorum. et omnium fidelium defunctorum. iiij. d. Ut in literis inde confectis et eorum sigillo communi sigillatis. plenius continetur.

Due demonstraciones.

1481. Item in festo sancti Clementis. anno Domini. M°. C.C.C.C^mo. octogesimo primo. prefatus magister Thomas Heywode. decanus in loco capitulari. coram suis confratribus. dedit ecclesie cathedrali Lich. duas capsellas. anglice monstrance argenteas deauratas et curiose fabricatas pro reliquis in eis conservandis. Et tradite fuerunt ad tunc domino Willelmo Hukyns. capellano cantarie sancti Blasij. ac custodi capitis sancti Cedde. ad valorem. iiij. li. et xiiij. s.

Magna organa. in pulpito.

1482. Item cito post festum nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste. anno Domini M°.C.C.C.C°. octogesimo secundo. ex providencie et sumptibus magistri Thome Heywode decani antedicti. conferuntur ecclesie cathedrali Lich. organa nova magne quantitatis. et forme decentis. ad honorem sancti Cedde et ornatum ecclesie. precij. xxvj. li. iij. s. iiij. d. totaliter de sumptibus et expensis predicti decani.

¶ Summa. xxvj. li. iij. s. iiij. d.

Organa de Jesu.

Item proprius predictus Decanus dedit unum novum par organorum ecclesie predicte. et stant in nova fabrica ex opposito altari Jesu. ad deserviend. in missa solemni de Jesu omni die veneris in sempiternum. precij xij. li.

Mappa data summo altari.

1482. Item xij^mo die mensis Marcij. Anno Domini.M°. CCCC^mo.octogesimo secundo. prefatus magister Thomas decanus sepedictus. in sua propria persona. contulit Deo. sancte Cedde. et summo altari ecclesie cathedralis Lich. suam optimam mappam de panno bilicino anglice twŷlŷ. ad usum summi altaris. et deliberatum manibus Johannis Paxson sacriste ejusdem ecclesie. et per ipsum receptum.

Mappa data altari Jesu et sancte Anne.

Item eodem die et anno contulit altari cantarie Jesu Christi salvatoris et sancte Anne matris Marie unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino predicto. ad usum ibidem serviencium. et tradita fuit manibus domini Johannis Wrygth ad tunc ejusdem cantarie capellani perpetui.

Mappa data altari sancti Blasij.

Item eodem die et anno prefatus Decanus contulit altari sancti Blasij in dicta ecclesia cathedrali Lich. ad usum perpetuum deserviencium ibidem dum duravit unam mappam bonam de twŷlŷ. et deliberavit eam manibus domini Willelmi Hukyns. eisdem cantarie capellani.

Mappa data altari ubi restat caput sancti Cedde.

Item prefatus Decanus dedit altari sancti Cedde in capella ubi caput ejus mirifice honoratur. unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino. et tradita fuit manibus domini Willelmi Hukyns ejusdem capelle custodis.

Campana Jesu.

Item antedictus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. dedit ecclesie cathedrali Lich. maximam campanam in campanili australi. Londonijs conflatam. per dominum Robertum Domini Johannis Hals episcopi suffraganium consecrata. et campana Jesu per eundum vocatam. ad valorem in tot C. li.

De vitriacione et pictura domus capitularis.

Item idem decanus ex sumptibus suis propriis omnes fenestras domus capitularis fecit de novo vitriari cum apostolorum ymaginibus et alijs picturis in summitate et super muros. cum tabulatu ligneo sub et supra ut decet. cum vitriacione introitus de novo ad eandem. precij. xlvj. li.

De tabula ad altare sancti Blasij.

Item prefatus decanus fieri fecit tabulam de Alablastur' scultam (*sic*) cum historia sancti Blasij episcopi. et fecit eam poni in capella sancti Blasij pone altare. ubi perpetuam fundavit cantariam.

Quomodo et quare viginti marce sunt posite in thesaurio.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Thomas Heywode decanus ecclesie cathedralis Lich. de meis propriis bonis posui viginti marcas in auro et argento. in una baga de corrio. et posita est in quadam cistula anglice a trussyng cofur. que omnia sunt posita in sista (*sic*) de et cum quatuor

1483 clavibus in domo superiori Thesaurarie videlicet xviij°. die mensis Julij. Anno Domini. M°.C.C.C.C°. octogesimo tercio. ad hunc finem et intencionem que secuntur (*sic*) Videlicet si ita contingat quod absit. quod infra decem annos primos post decessum meum ab hac luce Abbas et Conventus Monasterii de Halesowen. Premonstratensis ordinis Wygornie diocesis de et super solucione novem marcarum. Seu abbas et conventus de Lyleshyll. Coventrensis et Lich. diocesis de et super solucione decem marcarum. vel Abbas sive conventus Monosterii (*sic*) sive domus de Dala ordinis Premonstratensis. Coventrensis et Lich. diocesis. de et super solucione annue pensionis. quatuor marcarum. Decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Lich. debitarum ad usus devotos concessarum. deputatarum et ordinatarum prout in eorum literis indentatis et eorum sigillis communibus sigillatis plenius continetur. Ac per eorum superiores. et tandem per sedem apostolicam plenius in omnibus confirmatarum ut in eorum literis et bulla apostolica. sunt expressat'. in aliquo contrarium pretenderint. aut solvere contradixerint. seu terminis statutis satisfacere de facto omiserint. seu aliquis eorum contradixerit et solvere recusaverit. tunc volo quod dicti contradictores et hujusmodi suas pensiones solvere temporibus congruis et assignatis recusantes implacitentur et judicialiter conveniantur. judicio ecclesiastico vel seculari prout magis convenient expedire. juxta discrecionem mandatum et supervisionem Decani et Capituli ecclesie cathedralis Lich. pro tempore existencium. de et cum expensis et pecunijs istius. et summe viginti marcarum in eadem positarum juxta juris exigenciam et racionem congruam in hujusmodi lite faciend. ¶ Quod si nulla lis et discordia super hujusmodi solucionibus annuarum pensionum predictarum infra decem annos proximos sequentes post obitum meum habeatur seu fiat. sed ipse soluciones annue pacifice et debite persolvantur ut in predictis scriptis continetur. tunc volo. et ultime voluntatis mee est. et erit in testamento meo expressatum. quod prefate viginti marce ponantur et expendantur in ornamentis ecclesie cathedralis emendis. ad Dei et sancti Cedde beneplacitum. et dicte ecclesie ornatum et decorem. juxta decani et capituli pro tempore existencium discretam et congruam voluntatem. ¶ Et fieri volo sub obtestacione divini judicii. et majoris excommunicacionis sentencii pena. quam incurrunt ipso jure violatores et infringentes ultimam voluntatem defuncti. ipso facto. Presentibus in deliberacione hujusmodi summe pecunie. Domino Decano. R. Wall. J. Whelpedale. et T. Mille Cononicis (*sic*) Residenciariis. et. M. Thoma Godsalf notario publico et clerico capitulari. die mensis et anno supradictis.

Acta de et super consensu Decani et Capituli de oblacionibus legatis vel alio modo collatis Imagini Jesu Christi et altari ejus ac Sancte Anne.

1483 Memorandum quod undecimo die mensis Aprilis. Anno Domini Millesimo. C.C.C.C. octogesimo tercio. in loco capitulari ecclesie cathedralis Lich. dominis Thoma Heywode decano. Wall. Whelpdale et Mille. Cononicis (*sic*) residenciarijs congregatis et Capitulum facientibus. voluerunt statuerunt et ordinarunt unanimi consensu et assensu. quod omnes oblaciones. donata. legata et collata Imagini Jesu Christi seu ejus altari et sancte Anne ibidem situato ex parte borieli (*sic*) in ecclesia

cathedrali predicta situato cedant et convertantur ad sustentacionem conservacionem et augmentacionem ornamentorum et paramentorum ipsius cantarie Jesu Christi ad majorem ornatum et decorem ipsius Imaginis et Capelle in qua situatur. Et post hec dicte oblaciones donata legata et collata cedant et convertantur partim in ornamentis seu paramentis in dicta ecclesia Lich. ad divinum cultum. Ac eciam pro parte in utilitatem fabrice ecclesie cathedralis predicte. juxta piam et sinceram devocionem Decani et capituli pro tempore personaliter residencium. prout eis melius videbitur expedire. exceptis solucionibus subscriptis. integre convertantur. juxta vim forman et effectum et conservacionem perpetuam cujusdam bulle papalis et indulgenciarum domine Sixti pape quarti. Anno pontificatus sui undecimo super predictis. pro salute animarum graciose concesse et habite ut in eadem plenius continetur. Et ad majorem effectum et complecionem intencionis ipsius bulle. dicti domini decanus et capitulum voluerunt et ordinarunt quod per eosdem et suos successores omni anno eligatur et deputetur aliquis fidedignus ad predictam recipienda. et ut prefertur distribuenda. qui in inchoacione officij sui jurabit tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangelijs coram eisdem. quod erit dicte ecclesie et in officio suo diligens et fidelis. et de receptis suis et expensis ac solucionibus suis circa premissa. in fine cujuslibet anni. fidelem reddet compotum coram ipsis Decano et capitulo. ¶ Nec grande aliquid faciet cum dictis oblatis datis seu collatis sine consilio et assensu decani et capituli Lich. pro tempore existencium vel majoris et sanioris partis eorundem. ¶ Qui quidem officiarius sic deputatus recipiet pro labore suo et diligencia sua hujusmodi annuatim juxta arbitrium dictorum Decani et capituli racionabiliter moderatum. ¶ Ordinarunt insuper et statuerunt dicti Decanus et capitulum quod Decanus et quilibet canonicus residenciarius qui dicto compoto prefati officiarij in loco capitulari interfuerit. et eidem diligenter et effectualiter attenderit post completum compotum percipiet per manus officiarij predicti—xij. d. et clericus capituli presens. vj. d. de receptis supradictis pro labore. ¶ Residuum vero omnium oblacionum et collatorum predictorum cedant integre usibus supradictis. ¶ Insuper prefati Decanus et capitulum. eligerunt et deputarunt eisdem die et loco dominum Johannem Wrygħt capellarum cantarie Jesu et Sancte Anne Officiarium predictum ad premissa omnia et singula facienda coram ipsis. tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis juramentum ad tunc prestitit ad exequendum fideliter et diligenter ut prefertur. ¶ Presente Magistro Thoma Godsalf Clerico capitulari. Notorio (*sic*) publico premissa omnia vidente et audiente. die mense et anno domini supradictis.

Copia bulle papalis Indulgenciarum.

Sixtus Episcopus. servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Salvator noster 1481.
Jesus Christus Dei filius summo patri consubstancialis et coeternus. ut humanum genus Ade primi parentis privaricacione. eterna morte dampnatum. salvum faceret. et ipsi patri reconsiliaret. de ejusdem patris sinu ad hujusmodi mundi infima descendere. et ex virgineo utero carnem nostram assumere. et tandem post habitam salutiferam inter homines conversacionem nobis que per eum ad eternam capescendam salutem datam plenam instruccionem. crucis patibulo affigi. et

temporalem mortem subire dignatus est. Unde nos pie considerantes humana merita ad salutem ipsam consequendam fore penitus imparia fideles quoslibet ad visitandum ecclesias et alia pia loca spiritualibus locis muneribus indulgencijs videlicet et remissionibus libenter inducimus. ut per hoc et aliarum sanctarum operacionum exercicium. eternam beatitudinem valeant feliciter adipisci. Cupientes igitur ut. altare salvatoris domini nostri Jesu Christi et sancte Anne ad quod sicut accepimus. Dilectus filius Thomas Heywod. decanus ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. unam eorundem salvatoris et sancte Anne ymaginibus in eo honorifice collocatis. et aliam ad Sancti Blasij. in eadem ecclesia sita. altaria perpetuas capellanias cantarias nuncupatas cum certo honere missarum inibi perpetuo celebrandarum aliarumque devocionum tunc expressarum suis proprijs expensis construi. et edificari fecit a Christi fidelibus congruis frequentetur honoribus. ac ut debita devocione habeatur. fidelesque ipsi eo libencius devocionis causa confluant ad eandem. et ad illius ac dicte ecclesie in qua sicut eciam accepimus ossa corporis sancti Cedde confessoris honorifice recondita existunt structurarum et edificiorum reparacionem et conservacionem. Necnon calicum librorum et aliorum ornamentorum ad divinum cultum necessariorum empcionem et fulciamentum (*sic*) manus provicius porrigant adjutrices. quo ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gracie uberius conspexerint se refectos. de omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Panli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi. auctoritate apostolica tenore presencium statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes et singuli fideles Christi [a] vere penitentes et confessi qui altare eorundem Salvatoris et Sancte Anne predictum. in corporis Christi ac ac (*sic*) ipsius sancti Cedde. necnon sancte Anne festivitatibus. ac in die martis in ebdomada penticostes. a primis vesperis usque ad secundas vesperas eorundem festivitatum inclusive. devote visitaverint annuatim. et ad reparacionem manutencionem et fulcimentum predicta manus porrexerint adjutrices ut prefertur. septem Annos. et totidem quadragenas indulgenciarum consequantur. ¶ Quodque prefatus Thomas. et pro tempore existens dicte ecclesie decanus. et ipsius ecclesie decanatu vacante presidens capituli ecclesie prefate. quatuor confessores presbiteros seculares vel cujuslibet ordinis regulares in ecclesia predicta deputare valeat. qui omnium et singulorum fidelium eorundem ad altare Salvatoris et sancte Anne hujusmodi causa indulgencie hujusmodi consequende pro tempore confluencium confessiones audire. illisque auditis. ipsos et eorum quemlibet a quibuscumque eorum peccatis criminibus delictis et excessibus dummodo talia non sint propter que sedes apostolica esset merito consulenda. auctoritate predicta absolvere. eisque penitenciam salutarem injungere valeat. Presentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis. ¶ Volumus autem quod oblaciones et pia suffragia que per ipsos Christi fideles pro hujusmodi indulgencia consequenda pro tempore fieri contigerit. in altarium [et] [b] ecclesie predictorum structurarum reparacionem et [conservacionem. Necnon calicum librorum et aliorum ornamentorum hujusmodi empcione et] [b]

[a] *Ipsi* in MS.

[b] The words in brackets are omitted in the MS. and are supplied from the recapitulation of the *bulla* in the succeeding document.

fulciamentum (*sic*) et non in alios usus omnino convertantur. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostri statuti ordinacionis et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contrarie. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit. indignacionem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat̃ Rome apud sanctum Petrum Anno incarnacionis dominice Millesimo C.C.C.C. octogesimo primo. pridie Idus ffebruarij. Anno pontificatus nostri Anno undecimo.

Copia literarum per modum Indenture confectarum magno sigillo Capitulari sigillatarum de et super ratificacionem et collaudacionem literarum apostolicarum concessarum et indulgenciarum utlintatem[a] *visitancium omni anno Imaginem Jesu et aliqua contribuencium. et qualiter quatuor confessores deputati. eos poterint absolvere in omnibus exceptis casubus prope reservatur. et quod omnes oblaciones collata et donata cedant in usus predicte capelle Jesu sub forma et modo sequentibus.*

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas indentatas visuris et audituris. Thomas Heywode Decanus. Ac Rogerus Wall. Johannes Whelpedale. Thomas Milly. Ricardus Shirborne et Thomas Raynolde Canonici Residenciarij ecclesie cathedralis Lich̃. capitulariter congregati et capitulum facientes. Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Literas sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri. Domini Sixti divina providencia pape quarti. Ipsius vera bulla plumbea bullatas cum filo serico. sanas veras integras omni suspicione sinistra carentes recepimus. et diligenter inspeximus. tenorem subsequentem continentes. [*Here follows the text of the papal bull as above*]. ¶ Nos vero intime considerantes. quod pia mater ecclesia de animarum salute solicita devocionem fidelium per quedam munera spiritualia remissiones videlicet et indulgencias imitare consuevit ad debitum famulatus honorem. Deo et sacris edibus impendendum ut quanto crebius et devocius illuc confluit populus christianus. assiduis precibus Salvatoris graciam implorando. tanto delictorum suorum veniam et gloriam regni celestes consequi mereantur eterna. ¶ Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia cathedralis Lich̃. predicta in qua confratres et canonici residenciarij vicarij et alij ministri ejusdem. ipsi Jesu Christo continue sunt famulantes. congruis honoribus frequentetur. omnia et singula in dictis literis apostolicis contenta humiliter et devote acceptamus et collaudamus. Necnon ut ea in omnibus et per omnia perpetuis temporibus observentur. Nos Decanus et Capitulum supradicti pro nobis et successoribus nostris volumus statuimus et ordinamus unanimi consensu et assensu nostris. quod omnes oblaciones. donata. legata. et collata Imagini Jesu Christi. seu ejus altari. et sancte Anne ibidem ex parte boriali in ecclesia cathedrali predicta situatis cedant et convertantur ad sustentacionem conservacionem et augmentacionem ornamentorum et paramentorum ipsius Cantarie Jesu Christi ad majorem ornatum et decorem ipsius Imaginis et capelle in qua 1484.

[a] *Sic* for *utilitatem.*

situatur. Et extunc residuum hujusmodi oblacionum donatorum legatorum collatorum partim in ornamentis seu paramentis in dicta ecclesia cathedrali Lich. ad divinum cultum ac eciam pro parte (et *erased*) ad utilitatem fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis predicte juxta piam et sinceram devocionem Decani et capituli pro tempore personaliter residencium. prout eis melius videbitur expedire. Exceptis solucionibus subscriptis integre convertatur. Et ad majorem effectum et complecionem intencionis ipsius bulle ac conservacione eiusdem. ¶ Nos decanus et capitulum supradicti volumus statuimus et ordinamus quod aliquis fidedignus ad predictas oblaciones donata. legata. et collata recipienda. et ad usus in dicta bulla expressatos ut prefertur convertenda omni anno de cetero per nos et successores nostros eligatur et deputetur. qui in inchoacione officij jurabit tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangelijs coram nobis quod erit in officio suo circa premissa diligens et fidelis. et de receptis. expensis ac solucionibus suis per ipsum in hac parte faciendis. in fine cujuslibet anni fidelem reddet compotum coram nobis Decano et capitulo supradictis seu successoribus nostris. Nec grande aliquid faciet cum dictis oblatis. datis. seu collatis. sine consilio et assensu decani et capituli Lich. pro tempore existencium vel majoris et sanioris partis eorundem. ¶ Qui quidem officiarius sic deputatus salarium recipiet pro labore et diligencia sua hujusmodi annuatim juxta arbitrium dictorum decani et capituli racionabiliter moderandum. ¶ Ordinamus insuper et statuimus nos decanus et capitulum supradicti quod decanus et quilibet canonicus residenciarius ejusdem ecclesie cathedralis qui dicto compoto prefati officiarij in loco capitulari annuatim faciendo personaliter interfuerit. et eidem diligenter et effectualiter attenderit. post completum compotum percipiet per manus officiarij predicti. xijd. et clericus Capituli presens. vjd. de receptis supradictis pro labore. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium atque fidem. Nos Decanus et Capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. antedicte presentibus Sigillum nostrum commune apponi fecimus. Data Lichefeld. in domo nostro Capitulari xij°. die Mensis Marcij. Anno Domini Millesimo. C.C.C.C°. octogesimo quarto.

Donacio Magistri Thome Heywode decani Lich' facta Decano et Capitulo Lich' de certis Messuagijs. terris. pratis. pascuis. et pasturis in dominijs de Allerwas et Bromley Regis jacentibus prout sequitur.

Item memorandum quod Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus sepedictus dedit contulit et in sua ultima voluntate inter alia disposuit. quod messuagium cum suis pertincijs in Allerwas. terre. prata. pascue. pasture et redditus capitales. que emit de Nicholao Amys de Hondesacre in possessione juxta consuetudinem curie de Allerwas. ad opus Ricardi Welles. Laurencij Smyth coci. Willelmi Rokeley ffysshemonger. et Henrici Parker de Frodley. remaneant. et redditus ac proventus eorundem remaneant imperpetuum ad usum et proficium decani et canonicorum residenci(arior)um in ecclesia cathedrali Lich. per manus Canonici residenciarij et Communarij ejusdem ecclesie in fine anni distribuend. juxta ratum cujuslibet residenciarii. ¶ Item simili modo voluit et disposuit. quod decanus et canonici supradicti habeant et percipiant omnia Messuagia redditus prata terras pascua et pasturas in dominio de Allerwas que emit de Roberto ffysscher et juxta consue-

tudinem curie ibidem ad opus domini Willelmi Hukyns capellani. Ricardi Welles. Willelmi Fraunces. et Christofori Harper. ad proficium ipsorum dominorum decani et Canonicorum residenciariorum eciam per manus dicti communarij ad recepcionem predictorum et solucionem prefatis decano et capitulo fiend deputat̃. ¶ Insuper prefatus magister Thomas Decanus voluit et ordinavit. quod predicti decanus et capitulum habeant et percipiant in forma suprascripta quatuor pasturas suas quas emit de Willelmo Mogge Bocher de Lich̃. videlicet pasturam vocatam Hay by the brok. pasturam vocatam Nellfoder et pasturam vocatam Hethfelde. infra dominium de Bromley Regis existentes. que quidem quatuor pasture sic per ipsum empte sunt per cartas et munimenta in manibus suis una cum domino Johanne Paxson sacrista ecclesie Lich̃. Willelmo Rokeley ffysshemonger de Lich̃. et Ricardo Welles juxta formam cartarum inde factarum ad intencionem ipsius decani. ut ipse faciant juxta disposicionem suam in premissis. ut prefertur. juxta majorem confidenciam quam in ipsis pre aliis posuit et prefixit etc. ¶ Et omnes evidencias et scripturas tradidit et deliberavit eisdem. que ad predictam pertinent et concernunt ad manus Magistri Thome Mylle canonici residenciarij. ¶ Prefata vero omnia et singula dedit et concessit prefatus Magister Thomas decanus prefatis decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedrali Lich̃. pro tempore existentibus. ut orent pro salut̃ anime sue. et ut supervideant efficaciter. quod omnia et singula divina servicia que ex Dei gracia fieri providit et ordinavit in ecclesia cathedrali Lich̃. predicta. debite et congrue exequantur et fiant juxta ordinaciones in ea parte factas. et per reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Johannem Dei gracia Coven̄. et Lich̃. Episcopum. ac Decanum et capitulum ecclesie Lich̃. debite et solempniter confirmatas. Ac demum per sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum Dominum Sixtum divina providencia papam quartum ratificatas et confirmatas. videlicet ordinaciones suas factas de duabus Cantarijs suis in ecclesia Lich̃. fundatis. videlicet unam in honore sancti Blasij martiris. Et aliam in honore nominis Jesu et sancte Anne matris beate Marie virginis. Ac de decantacione misse solempnis et antiphone de nomine Jesu omni die veneris per sex vicarios et quatuor choristas. Necnon misse de Requiem. cantande per quatuor vicarios statim post missam solempnem predictam. Et misse cursalis per unum vicarium ibidem perpetuo quolibet die celebrande. Ac eciam ordinaciones super solempni celebracione divinorum tempore anniversarij sui perpetuo annuatim celebrandi. Et aliorum serviciorum suorum in suis ordinacionibus nominatorum juxta corticem et formam ipsarum ordinacionum prout in eis plenius continetur. ¶ Insuper idem Magister Thomas concessit eciam ut[a] oblaciones. legata. donata et collata Imagini seu altari de nomine Jesu et sancte Anne fundato cedant usui dicte capelle juxta concessionem summi pontificis predicti sub plumbo. quam concessionem et suam disposicionem prefati decanus et capitulum ad tunc existentes ratificarunt. et sic fieri unanimiter concesserunt. ut in eorum Registro et in literis indentatis inde confectis ac sigillo magno communi sigillatis plenius continetur.

Donacio Magisti Thome Heywode Decani facta pauperibus in domo pauperum in Bacunstrete de duabus acris prati valoris annui vij. s. prout sequitur.

Item idem Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus prefatus. Anno Domini. M°.C.C.C.C°. lxxxv°. dedit et contulit domui pauperum. sive pauperibus in Domo elemosinaria in Lichefeld. in 1485.

[a] *Premissa* added in margin in another hand.

vico vocato Bacunstrete degentibus sive existentibus. et successoribus suis. temporibus futuris et imperpetuum duraturis. duas aeras suas prati in feodo de Bromley Regis jacentes in le Myllenherñ. juxta le Seggeplek. ibidem. quas nuper emit de Ricardo Ruggeley et Agnete uxore ejus. de Longdon. que quidem due acre sunt in manibus dominorum Johannis Paxson. Willelmi Hukyns. et Roberto Collet capellanorum. et Willelmi Rokeley flysshemonger de Lichfelde juxta formam et consuetudinem Curie de Bromley Regis. ut in copia curie inde facta et habita plenius continetur. Ut ipsi pauperes percipiant per manus predicte domus custodis. supervisoris. sive gubernatoris ad eorum proficium et sustentacionem redditus inde provenientes imperpetuum. Et ut ipsi pauperes et sui successores orent pro anima dicti Magistri Thome Heywod. parentum suorum. et omnium fidelium defunctorum imperpetuum. Amen.

XIX.—*On a thirteenth-century Oak Hall at Tiptofts Manor, in Essex.*
By Professor J. Henry Middleton, *F.S.A.*

Read November 28, 1889.

Our Fellow Mr. A. J. Butler has been kind enough to draw my attention to the very interesting old manor house of Tiptofts, near Saffron Walden, in Essex, which is now used as a farm-house, and is the property of Brasenose College, Oxford, of which Mr. Butler is the Bursar. On visiting the place I was much surprised to find that the original house, built wholly of oak, of which a considerable portion still exists, is as early in date as the second half of the thirteenth century.

I know no other existing example of domestic architecture in wood, at least in this country, of so early a date as the thirteenth century, and I have therefore thought that the following notes and the accompanying drawings might be of sufficient interest to be worth laying before the Society of Antiquaries.

The moat which surrounds this manor-house is still almost perfect, but the original building has been to so large an extent destroyed and concealed by later additions, that at first sight, from the outside, there is little or nothing to suggest the existence of any structure earlier than the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

A careful examination, however, of the interior shows that enough still remains of the original building to enable one to form a very good notion of what the whole house must have been like when first constructed.

The general plan and arrangement of the building appear to have been the same as those commonly adopted for the larger class of manor-houses in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This type of house consisted of a large hall, for the use of the manorial lord and his retainers, as a living room, dining room, and to some extent as a sleeping place at night. It was divided into nave and aisles, like a church, with an open roof, partly resting on the two rows of columns which separated the nave from the aisles.

The great stone hall of Oakham, in Rutlandshire, is one of the most perfect

existing specimens of this type of house. It dates from about the middle of the twelfth century, and has two rows of semi-circular arches resting on circular stone columns with richly carved capitals. Almost the only point in which this noble piece of domestic architecture differs from ecclesiastical work of the same date is the internal arrangement of the windows, each of which has in its recess a stone seat.

In many other cases, as in the hall of Chepstow castle, these internal window-seats are the only things which now mark the domestic use of the building.

In addition to this large hall, the manorial house of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appears usually to have had a "with-drawing" room at the dais end, for the private use of the owner of the house, and, at the other end, a kitchen and buttery opening straight into the hall.

The screen which cuts off a passage between the hall and its kitchen, such as still exists in the old halls of Oxford and Cambridge, was a later development which was not universally adopted till the fifteenth century.

At Tiptofts little more now exists than one bay of the house, together with the cross wall pierced with two doorways at the kitchen end. (See plan on Plate XVI.)

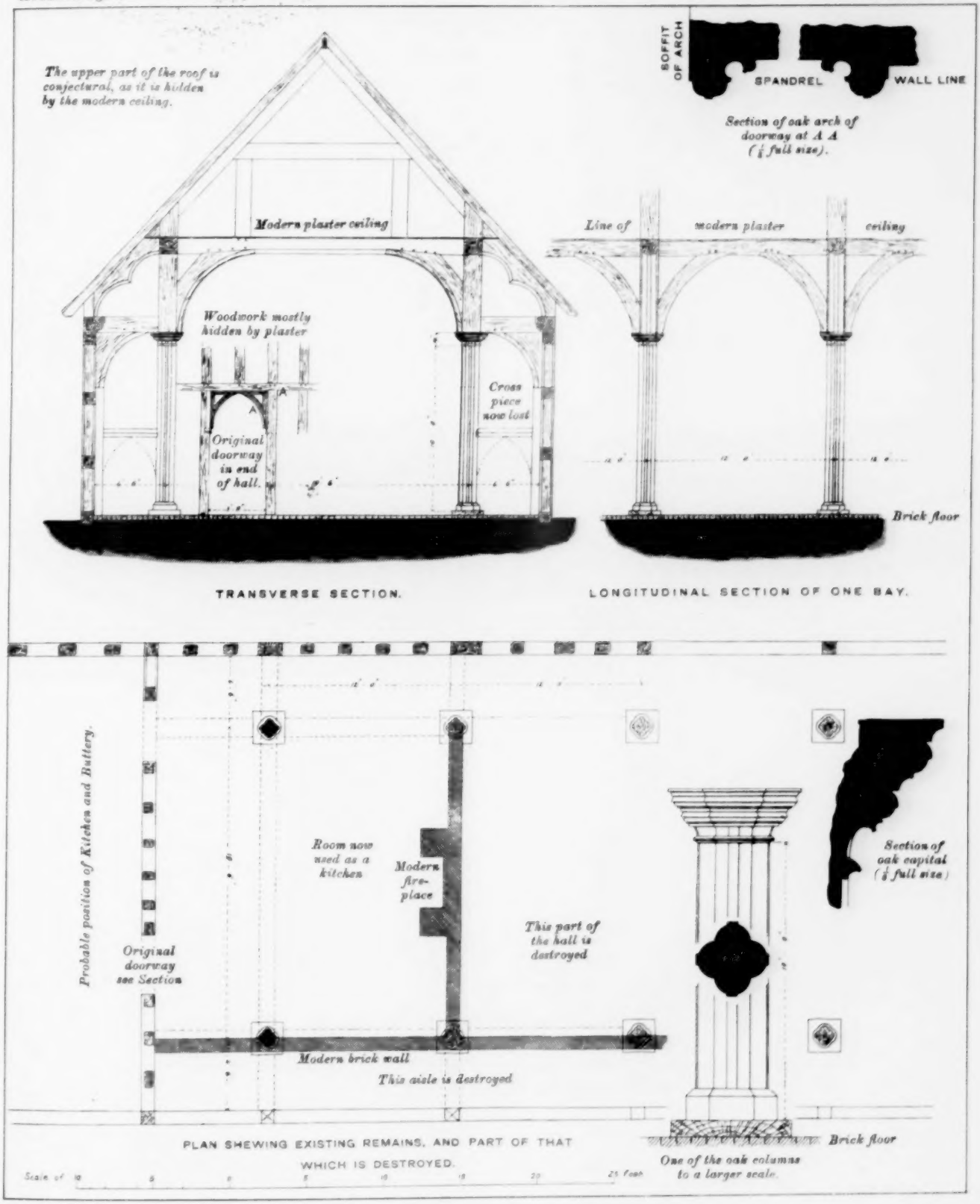
Fortunately this one bay is sufficient to give the general design of the hall, though no evidence now exists to show what its complete length may have been. The accompanying plan shows how much still remains; some of the bays which are now missing, their place being occupied by modern rooms, are indicated by the lighter tint.

The width of the central space or nave is 19 feet 6 inches measured from centre to centre of the columns; the aisles are 4 feet 6 inches wide, giving a total roof-span of 28 feet 6 inches. The intercolumniation or longitudinal distance from centre to centre of the columns is 12 feet.

The whole structure is built of oak, the external walls with massive timbers of very varying size, framed in square panels, and filled in with the wattle and dab thinly coated with plaster, which was so much used in medieval times, more especially in counties such as Essex and Cambridgeshire, where the want of good building-stone caused timber to be more largely used than in districts where good free-stone was to be found.

The pillars of the nave are remarkable for their elaborate mouldings, and their very perfect state of preservation, in spite of their being more than six centuries old.

Each is cut in the solid out of one oak tree, except the capitals and bases, which are in separate blocks. The shafts of the columns and the caps are very



TIPTOFTS MANOR HOUSE, ESSEX.

richly moulded in characteristic early-English forms. It is these mouldings which show the work to be of the thirteenth century.

As is usually the case with wood-work of this early date, the mouldings are not specially adapted to the requirements of wood; they are under-cut, and in every way designed as if they had been meant to be worked in stone.

About half way up each column the start of a horizontal strut across the aisles is worked in the solid, and a deep tenon is cut for this, and for a thinner strut under it, which was probably curved, as suggested in the transverse section. These struts are now missing.

The roof, which rests on the columns and side walls, is framed of very massive timbers, with curved and moulded struts, as shown in Plate XVI.

The upper part of the roof is now hidden by a flat plaster ceiling of modern date.

In the cross wall (at A A) there still remains half of the original early-English door-arch, with deeply-cut stone-like mouldings, as shown in Plate XVI.

The other doorway to the kitchen or buttery has been modernised, but its opening still exists.

During a severe earthquake, which in 1884 did much damage in this part of Essex, the nineteenth-century brick additions to Tiptofts were seriously split, and almost thrown down, but the thirteenth-century oak structure happily received no injury.

In the earlier part of this century a great deal more of this magnificent old hall is said to have existed, but it was unfortunately destroyed to make way for new rooms and staircase.

It is much to be hoped that the portion which still remains, being of such unique interest, may be carefully preserved by Brasenose College. At least we know that it is safe as long as the college bursar is so enthusiastic an antiquary as is our Fellow Mr. A. J. Butler.

Postscript.

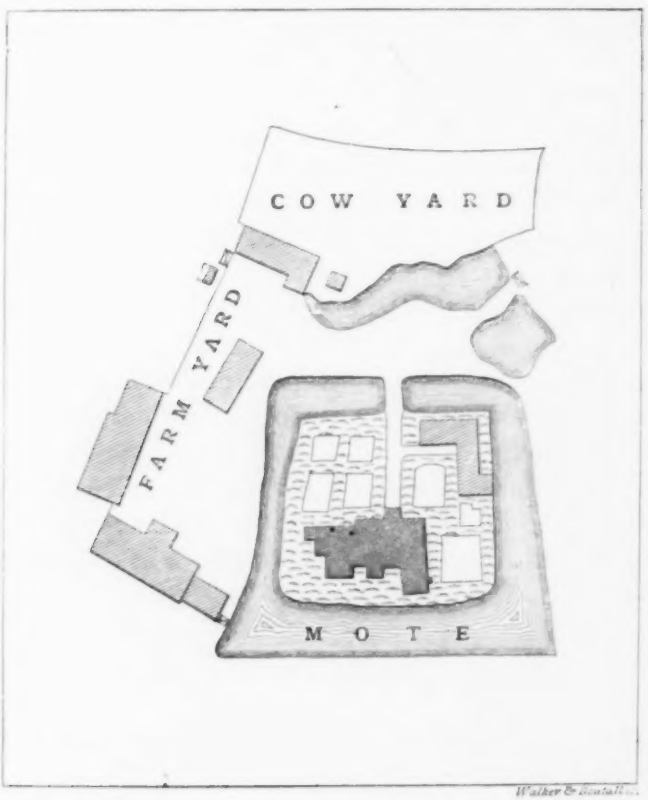
Mr. Butler has kindly sent me the following information as to the date when this house came into possession of Brasenose College:

John, Lord Mordaunt, by his last will recites that, whereas he and Lady Johane his wife and Sir Lewis Mordaunt (by the name of Lewis Mordaunt Esquire) by their indenture dated 3rd Nov. 5th year of Elizabeth (1563) did enfeoffe Sir William Peter, Sir Henry Tyrell and others (among other things) of all his manorial landes to certain use (among which), the manor of Tiptoftes for X years, then to Lord Wyndsor for X years, and then to Brasenose College.

The *Terriar* of 1602 gives the following list of the buildings which belonged to the manor:

> The scite of the sd. Mannor House, with 2 Barns, a Dovehouse, one Heyhouse, one Cowhouse, one Stable, a cartshed; one court-yard within the moate, and outward yard, a cow-yard and one orchard.

The accompanying plan is enlarged from a college map dated 1746. It shows the moat in its complete form crossed by one bridge leading straight to the porch of the manor house, and also the farm and cow-yard with their respective buildings.



Tiptofts Manor House; copy of plan dated 1746, in the possession of Brasenose College, showing the moat and the general arrangement of the buildings.

XX.—*On a Roman villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire; and on Romano-British houses generally.* *By Professor* J. Henry Middleton, *F.S.A.*

Read December 5, 1889.

Roman Villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire.

This recently discovered Roman villa stands at the foot of a hill, in a very beautiful situation, in one of the valleys of the Cotswold hills, about three miles from Winchcombe, in Spoonley Wood.

This elevated and yet sheltered district, with its rich soil and fine timber, appears to have been a favourite place of residence for wealthy Romans.

Remains of several other houses of Roman date have been found within a short distance of Spoonley, and no doubt many others still remain hidden below the soil.

The valley where the Roman villa I am about to describe stands is the property of Mrs. Dent of Sudeley castle, and the thanks of all antiquaries are due to her for the trouble and money she has expended, both in excavating this very perfect example of a Romano-British house, and also in roofing over and protecting in other ways the crumbling walls and mosaic pavements of the house: a very important and difficult task, which, in this case, has been carried out with unusual judgment and skill.[a]

The general plan and arrangement of the Spoonley villa are similar to those adopted for many other Roman houses in Britain, and more especially in Gloucestershire.

[a] Much of the skilful protection of the remains is due to the Rev. W. Bazeley, Hon Sec. of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, who has given much time and trouble to the superintendence of the excavations.

This plan, which appears to be a typically British one, is very unlike the usual plan of Roman villas in Italy.

Instead of rooms grouped round open atria and peristyles, with large unglazed windows or even open archways directly facing into the roofless atrium, we find a system far more suited to the colder and damper climate of Britain.

The larger villas of this type are in the form of a complete quadrangle, with a *porticus* or covered verandah, very like a medieval cloister, running round all four sides in the interior of the quadrangle. The windows of the villa opened on to the interior of the square, and were sheltered by the roof of the "cloister," as well as by being furnished with glazed casements.

The villa at Woodchester is one of the finest and most perfect of this cloistered quadrangle type.

In other cases, as we see at Spoonley, the rooms, with their sheltering verandah, only extended along part of three sides of the square; and the rest of the space was merely surrounded by a precinct wall enclosing a large courtyard in front of the villa (*see* plan, Plate XVII.).

The whole space occupied by the villa and its courtyard is (roughly) about 170 feet by 190 feet.

The villa stands facing N.W. with its back to the hill; and close by it, on the N.E. side, a stream runs, with a plentiful supply of very pure and cool water springing from the limestone hill behind the house.

The approach to the house is through a wide doorway in the centre of the wall of the courtyard, exactly opposite the main entrance through the verandah into the chief public room or *tablinum*.

A roughly-paved path led across the court from the outer doorway to the house.

The only other door into the court was near the chief furnace-room on the S.W. and was probably intended for the use of slaves passing from the interior of the villa to get wood and attend to the fire for the baths.

The general distribution of rooms appears to have been as follows:

In the central block the chief living rooms, including the winter *triclinium* and the kitchen.

In the S.W. wing, the baths, and some well-warmed apartments for winter use.

In the N.E. wing, a series of unheated rooms, perhaps for use in summer, or possibly for the slaves who attended to the indoor work of the house.

As there is no internal communication between this wing and the rest of the house, this latter supposition is perhaps the more probable.

The verandah is carried all round the three blocks, except at its two ends, where it is stopped on the S.W. side by the projecting cold bath-room, and on the opposite side by a room of similar proportions and size.

In looking at the plan as a whole, one is struck by its uniformity on the two sides of the central *tablinum* (No. 21). The architect has evidently thought that a perfect balance of wing with wing was essential to the good effect of the whole composition.

I will now give some description of the various rooms in each block, beginning with the end of the S.W. wing, by the small side door out of the courtyard.

No. 2 on the plan is a chamber for stoking the large furnace (3), which heated the baths.

This chamber has an external door, by which wood could be brought in to feed the furnace.

At 4 is the entrance to the baths from the courtyard. On the left of the entrance-passage is a cold bath, about 16 feet by 11 feet 6 inches, with, on one side, a wide opening to the passage. Two steps lead down into the bath. The floor is formed of flag-stones, covered, together with the walls, by a thick coating of the hydraulic *opus signinum*, or cement made of lime and pounded brick or pottery, a similar cement to that which is always used to line the channels of Roman aqueducts.

Vitruvius frequently recommends this use of pounded pottery, *e.g.* at II. v. § 1, "si quis testam tunsam et succretam ex tertia parte adjecerit, efficiet materiæ temperaturam ad usum meliorem."[a]

In the Spoonley villa, this *opus signinum* is also used for another purpose; it had not only the property of resisting water, but it could also resist fire, and so the interior of the stone furnaces and the horizontal smoke flues under the floors, to some distance from the furnaces, were thickly lined with *opus signinum* in order to protect the stone, which would otherwise have been calcined into lime.

Nos. 5, 7 and 8 are bath-rooms, with hypocaust floors covered with elaborate mosaics.

The whole of this group of bath-rooms is completely cut off from the rest of the house, and could only be entered from the open court.

The hypocausts of all three rooms were heated from the same furnace (3); and the smoke and hot air finally escaped in square flue-pipes up the walls of room No. 8.

[a] See also Vitruvius, VII. i. § 5. Pliny's remarks about the use of *testæ tunsæ* (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 54), are copied from Vitruvius, as is nearly all that Pliny wrote about architectural matters.

Beyond the bath-rooms is another range of apartments (Nos. 10, 12 and 13), with hypocaust floors heated by a second furnace (No. 11) projecting outside the house.

As in the case of the bath-rooms the hot air was carried up above the roof in flue-tiles set in the walls of the more distant rooms. These vertical flue-tiles are shown on the plan.

This list of rooms completes the S.W. wing.

The verandah (No. 9), which sheltered the inside of this wing, has its floor at a lower level than the rest of the villa. Two steps lead down to it at the end, and also at the doorway into the court. At the N.W. end the verandah is stopped by the projecting cold bath.

In the central block, No. 14 was evidently the kitchen: in it is a circular well neatly lined with stone, 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, No. 15 on the plan.

Nos. 16, 16, indicate some old stone steps which have been used to mend the paving of the kitchen and of the verandah outside it, which in other places was paved with a plain mosaic made of large *tesserae*. There was probably a good deal of traffic at this point, and hence the floor-mosaic needed repair.

At 17 are the two stone uprights of a table, of which the top slab is now missing.

The two unheated rooms by the kitchen, at the south angle of the house, were probably store-rooms for food, or other servants' offices.

Next to the kitchen comes a large chamber into which projects a small, well-heated room (No. 18), with its mosaic hypocaust floor raised 2 feet 8 inches above the general floor-level, and approached by a short flight of stone steps.

From the position of this room, near the kitchen, and the design of its mosaic floor, it was evidently the winter *triclinium*. The part occupied by the dining-tables has a mosaic of plain large *tesserae*, while the rest of the floor has a very elaborate pattern.

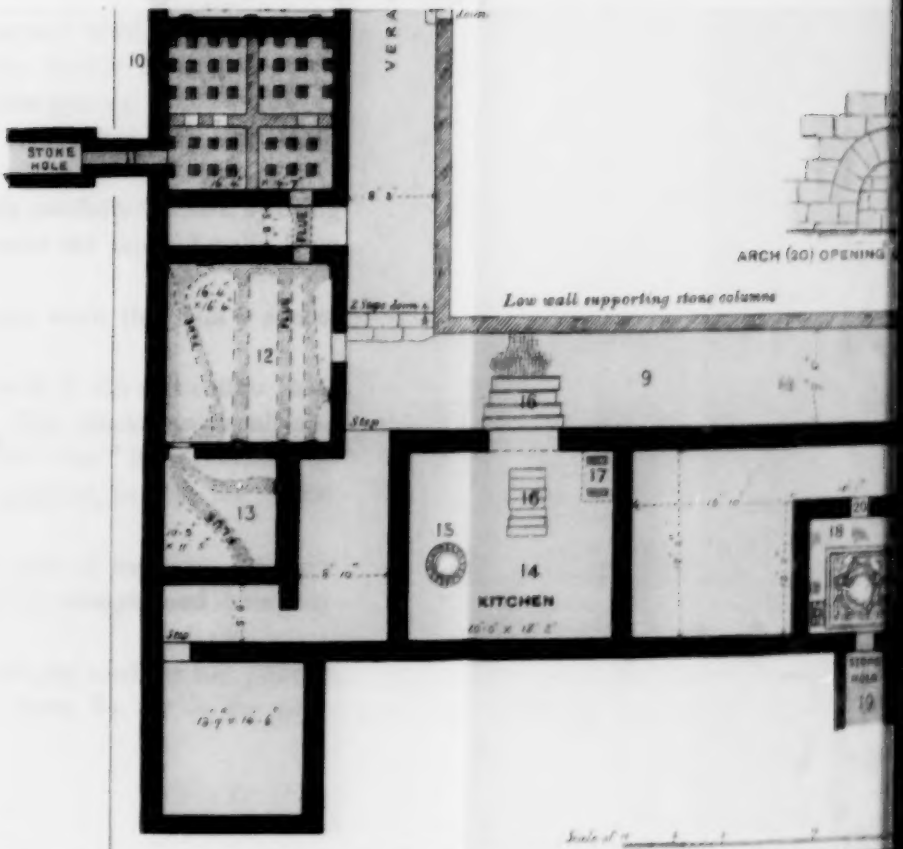
A projecting furnace (No. 19) heated the hypocaust of the *triclinium*, and on the opposite side is a small low arch (No. 20), opening into the space under the *suspensura* floor, to enable the slaves to clear out the accumulated soot and ashes among the *pilae* which support the floor.

The same furnace communicated with horizontal stone flues running under the floors of several rooms (Nos. 21, 23, 24 and 25) in the central block, which were probably living rooms for winter use.

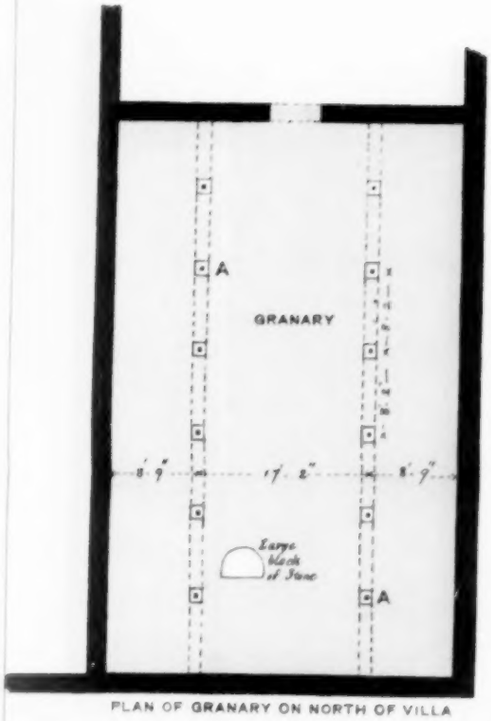
The central chamber in the central block appears to be what is usually called the *tablinum* (No. 21), a large room in two parts, with a wide opening between them.[a]

[a] See Vitruvius, VI. iii. § 5.

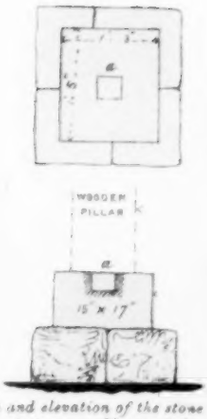
11 *Furnace.*
12 & 13 *Hypocausts on horizontal stone flues.*
14 *Kitchen.*
15 *Well lined with stone.*
16 16 *Old stone steps used for paving.*
17 *Supports of a stone table.*
18 *Raised hypocaust floor with mosaic, reached by 5 steps, probably the winter triclinium.*
19 *Furnace.*
20 *Small archway opening under the hypocaust floor; see sketch.*
21 *Tablinum.*
22 *Mass of masonry, added later.*
23 *Passage.*
24 *Hypocaust.*
25 *Lobby.*
26 *Large hall.*
27 *N.E. wing with separate entrance.*
28 *Stone base of an altar?*
29 *Central door-way.*
30 *Smaller side door.*
31 *Pathway to central entrance.*



PLAN OF A ROMAN VILLA IN SPOON

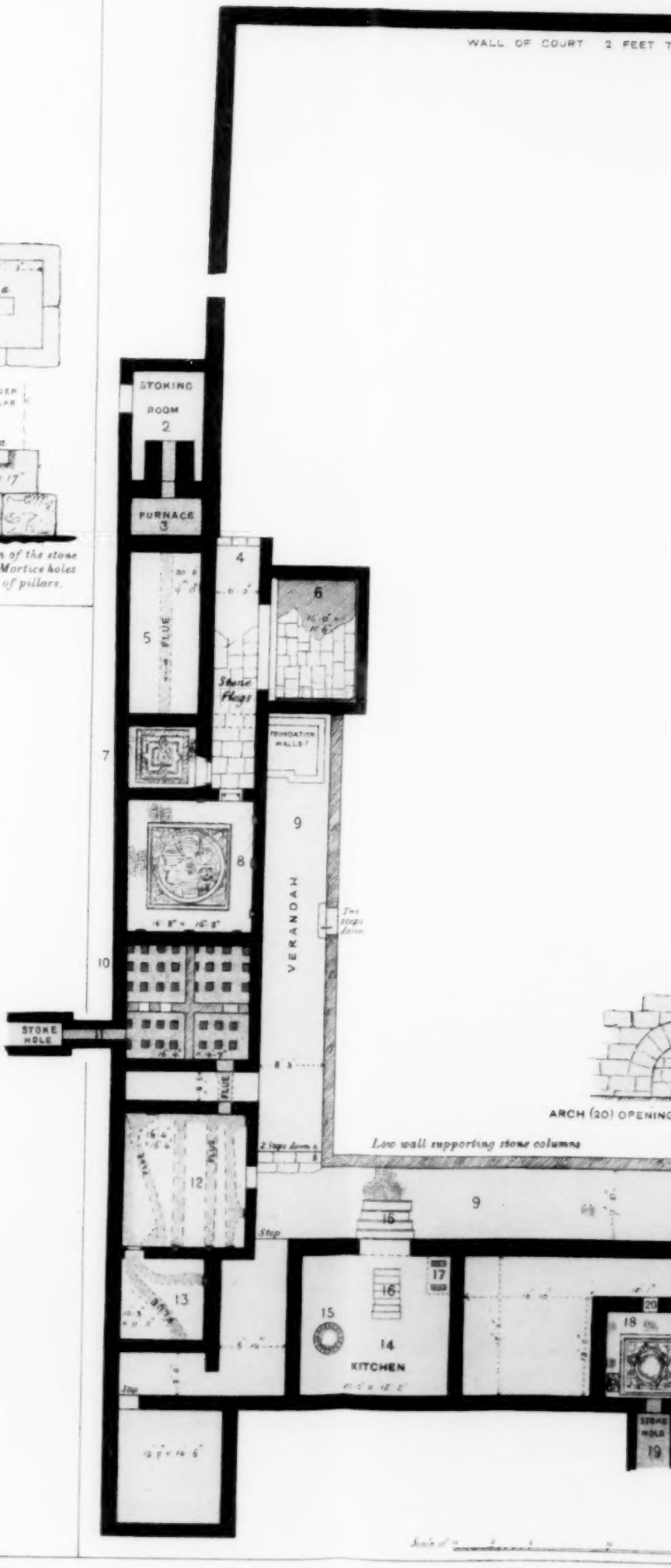


PLAN OF GRANARY ON NORTH OF VILLA

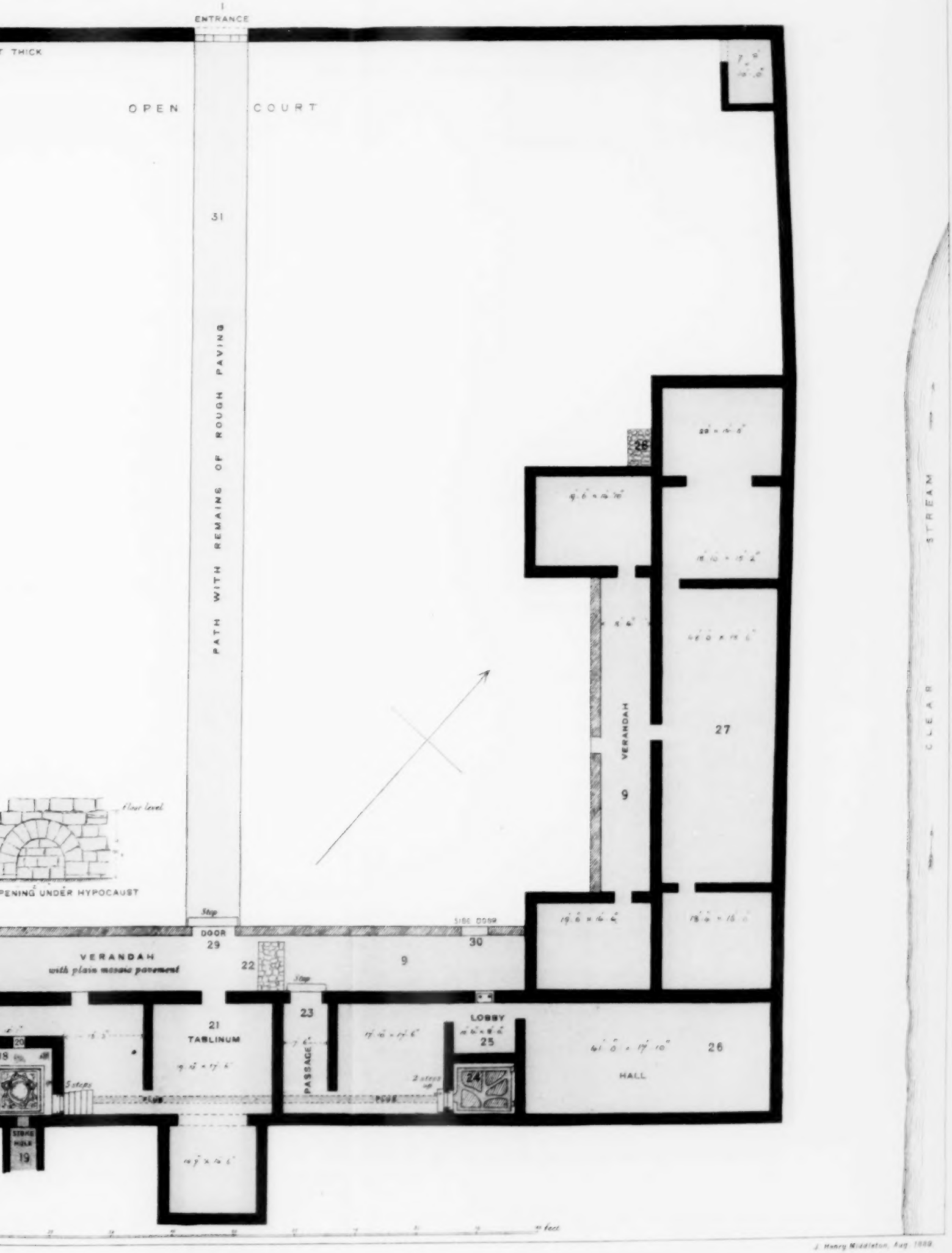


Plan and elevation of the stone bases A A a a. Mortice holes for wood tenons of pillars.

1 *Entrance into the Court.*
2 *Stoking room.*
3 *Furnace.*
4 *Side entrance to the baths.*
5 *Bath-room with hypocaust and mosaic pavement, now lost.*
6 *Cold bath lined with "opus signinum."*
7 & 8 *Bath-rooms with mosaics on hypocaust floor.*
9 9 *Verandah with stone columns.*
10 *Hypocaust on cross stone walls and brick pilae.*
11 *Furnace.*
12 & 13 *Hypocausts on horizontal stone flues.*
14 *Kitchen.*
15 *Well lined with stone.*
16 16 *Old stone steps used for paving.*
17 *Supports of a stone table.*
18 *Raised hypocaust floor with mosaic, reached by 5 steps, probably the winter triclinium.*
19 *Furnace.*
20 *Small archway opening under the hypocaust floor; see sketch.*
21 *Tablinum.*
22 *Mass of masonry, added later.*
23 *Passage.*
24 *Hypocaust.*
25 *Lobby.*
26 *Large hall.*
27 *N.E. wing with separate entrance.*
28 *Stone base of an altar?*
29 *Central door-way.*
30 *Smaller side door.*
31 *Pathway to central entrance.*



PLAN OF A ROMAN VILLA IN SPOONI



J. Henry Middleton, Aug. 1888.

POONLEY WOOD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



The main entrance to the house (No. 29) is opposite the *tablinum* door.

No. 22 shows a block of masonry which at some time has been added, blocking up the walk along the verandah, for what purpose it is impossible now to say.

Beyond the group of well-heated rooms, at the end of the central block, is a large hall (No. 26), 41 feet long by nearly 18 feet wide, which has no hypocaust or hot-air flues under its floor. It is difficult to say what its use may have been.

The N.E. wing has no internal connection with the rest of the house, and consists of rooms with no hypocaust floors or other visible means of heating. This may have been the range of working and living rooms of the household slaves.

The verandah along this side is stopped by a projecting room, which balances the cold-bath room in the opposite wing.

A low solid mass of masonry at the end of the N.E. wing (No. 28) may possibly have been the base of a domestic altar.

The rest of the circuit of the court is merely enclosed by a single wall, 2 feet thick.

It appears probable that the owner of this house possessed a sufficient number of slaves to cultivate a farm of considerable size.

The large granary, shown in my plan a short distance from the house, bears witness to this, and there are probably considerable further remains of farm buildings to be discovered below the present level of the ground.

Very little of the existing walls of the house were standing to a greater height than from two to three feet.

The whole upper surface of the walls has now been carefully levelled, by using the old stones which had fallen down, in order to protect the exposed walls from further injury.

Materials and Construction.—As is usual with Roman work this villa is almost wholly built with the nearest local materials.

The walls, which average about 2 feet thick, are built of the soft oolitic limestone of which the Cotswold hills mainly consist. The blocks are small and roughly squared; the mortar, being made of the inferior "fat" lime, obtained by burning the same oolitic stone, has almost wholly perished, as also the stucco which once covered the walls.

In fact, the only cement which still remains is part of the *opus signinum* mentioned above, in which the pounded pottery has given strength and durability to the soft local lime.

Bricks appear to have been rare, and are very sparingly used for the *pilae* of one or two of the hypocaust floors, especially that of room No. 10 on the plan.

The vertical flue-tiles up the walls of some of the rooms are all of burnt brick of the usual type, about 7×5 inches in section.

The few *pilae* bricks which have been found average 12 to 16 inches square by about 1½ inch thick.

The upper story with the sleeping apartments appear to have been of wood.

The whole of the roofing was covered with the "Stonesfield slates," which were so much used by the Romans in this district of Britain.

Numerous quarries where this "Stonesfield slate" could be obtained exist among the Cotswold hills—one of them within two or three miles of Spoonley Wood.

These slates were cut into a lozenge shape, about 16 to 17 inches long by 11 or 12 inches wide. Each was drilled at its upper angle and fastened by a very massive iron nail, as is shown on the drawing of the verandah.

The best-preserved mosaics have been roofed over by Mrs. Dent to protect them; sufficient of the original Roman slates were found in a perfect state to cover most of these new roofs, which thus show in a very interesting way what the original appearance of the Roman roofing must have been.

At the same time this has proved the best way to save the Roman slates from injury or loss.

The verandah (9, 9) which sheltered the inside walls towards the court appears to have consisted of rows of stone columns resting on a dwarf wall, and supporting a lean-to roof, as I have shown in the accompanying restoration (Plate XVIII.).

Almost the only doubtful point is the distance at which the columns were spaced from centre to centre.

These columns are worked in the local oolite, with very delicately-moulded capitals and bases. In some cases the whole was worked out of one block of stone.

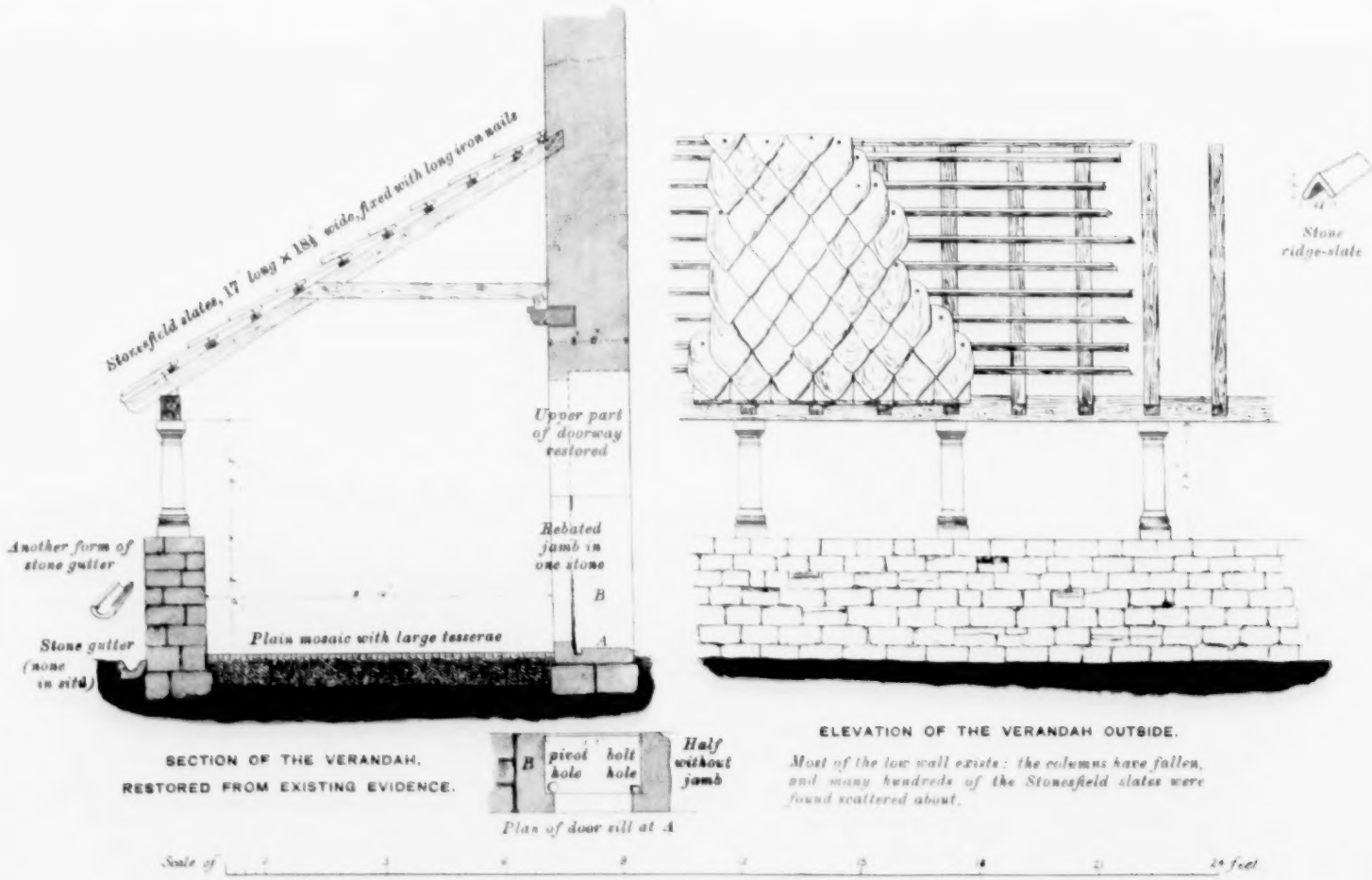
The mouldings, of which I have given sectional drawings (Plate XIX.), are very interesting from the great minuteness of their members, and their unlikeness to any capitals or bases which are found in Italy. Of all the classical styles they approximate most nearly to the Roman Doric, but at the same time the designs show distinct local peculiarities.

In many respects these mouldings resemble some of those used in medieval English Gothic work more closely than any of the usual classic forms.

As is often the case with Roman columns, these from the Spoonley verandah appear to have been worked, mouldings and all, on a lathe.[a]

[a] See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 19.

Note.—The woodwork of the roof is conjectural.



SECTION OF THE VERANDAH, RESTORED FROM EXISTING EVIDENCE.

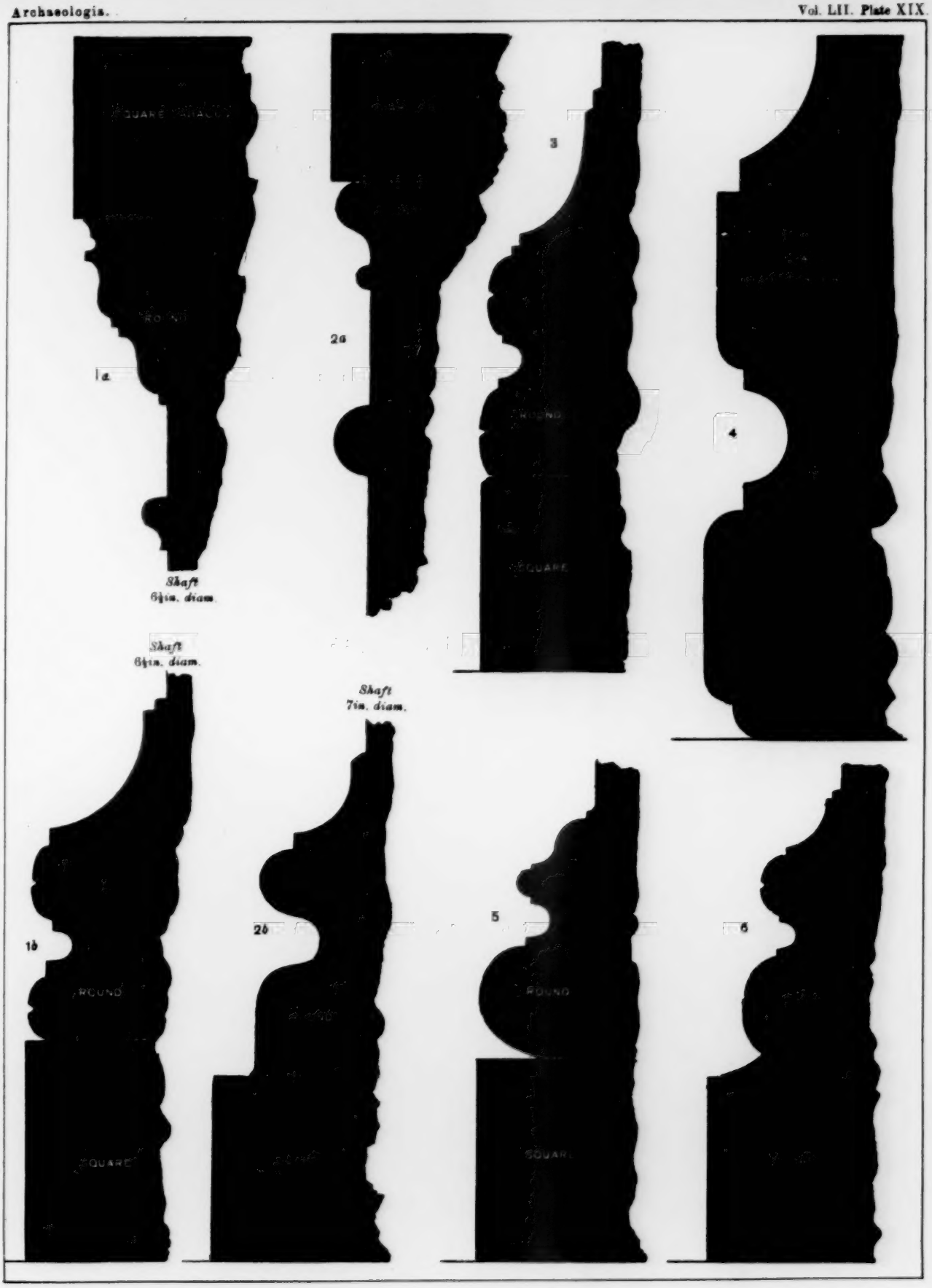
Plan of door sill at A

ELEVATION OF THE VERANDAH OUTSIDE.

Most of the low wall exists: the columns have fallen, and many hundreds of the Stonesfield slates were found scattered about.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Feet

SPOONLEY VILLA, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. — SECTION AND ELEVATION OF THE VERANDAH.



FIGS. 1—4, SECTIONS OF CAPITALS AND BASES FROM THE SPOONLEY VILLA.

FIGS. 5, 6, SECTIONS OF BASES FROM THE GREAT WITCOMBE VILLA.

(All the above are half full size, except Fig. 5, which is quarter full size).

The floors of most of the rooms appear to have been of mosaic, but, in some cases, stone flags were used.

In the verandah the floor was of mosaic, without any pattern, made of grey and white *tesserae*, about an inch square.

In some of the rooms very delicate mosaics were found, with elaborate patterns of the usual kinds, but formed with unusually small *tesserae* very carefully fitted. This minuteness of workmanship in mosaic is usually a proof of early date.

Under the earlier emperors small well-jointed *tesserae* were used, but in the second century A.D. the mosaics became rapidly coarser, with large carelessly-fitted *tesserae*; till, under Diocletian, at the end of the third century, Roman mosaics reached their lowest point of degradation, both in design and in workmanship.[a]

With such very beautiful and delicate mosaics as these in the Spoonley villa, we may, I think, safely date the building before the year 100 A.D.

The minutely-worked mouldings of the verandah columns afford another proof of early date, as, in the case of Roman mouldings, we find a rapid degeneration taking place in the second century, just like that of the mosaics. The mouldings get steadily coarser, their members larger, and the execution rougher.

As I have already mentioned, the space under the tables in the winter *triclinium* has quite plain mosaics, while the elaborate pattern is concentrated in that part of the room where the floor would be most visible. In the same way in the bath-rooms (Nos. 7 and 8) a wide plain border round the walls probably marks the place where benches for the bathers were placed.

Great variety and brilliance of effect is gained in these very beautiful mosaics by means of very simple colours and materials. The red is of burnt brick, very bright in tone; the white is a very fine close limestone; blue-grey a hard lias limestone; pale blue another variety of limestone; and pale yellow, a very hard close-grained stone. Great skill is shown in the way these various tints are arranged so as to enhance each other's chromatic value, and the general effect of these stone and brick mosaics is quite as rich as that of the most costly marble *tesserae* of Italy or Numidia.

The patterns, too, are exceptionally rich and graceful, in most cases geometrical or conventional floral designs, which in the hands of Roman artists were always very superior to their rather clumsy subjects with figures of gods, men, or animals.

[a] The most minutely delicate mosaics in Rome are those of buildings dating from the reign of Augustus, as, for example, the Regia and the temple of Castor in the Forum, and in the so-called House of Livia on the Palatine hill.

A very rude panel with the bust of a man holding a rake was found in room No. 5. This has been taken up and framed; as the rest of the mosaic in that room was too much broken up to be saved or repaired.

Unfortunately the mosaics were not bedded in the cement made with pounded brick which was used for the furnaces and the cold bath, and so the whole of the *rudus* and *nucleus* is now in a soft, pasty state; and there is nothing to hold the *tesserae* in their place.

Heating Arrangements.—With regard to the system of heating employed in the Spoonley villa we find that a very large proportion of the house was heated, and that three distinct furnaces were provided.

In many cases, instead of the usual hypocausts with *suspensurae* supported on rows of *pilae*, the rooms were warmed by horizontal stone flues, about 6 by 8 inches in section, running under the floors, thus giving a much more moderate heat than when the whole space under the floor was hollow and filled with hot air from the furnace. Various gradations of heat were given to different rooms by building more or fewer of these horizontal flues.

In some rooms only one flue seems to have run straight across, while in others the flues branched off in different directions leading to the vertical flue-tiles at various points in the walls; thus giving a much larger surface of heated floor.

In room No. 24 this complicated system of flues (shown on the plan) must have given nearly as much heat as the *suspensura* and *pilae* system.

In the heated rooms great care was taken to make the door fit closely, so as to keep out the cold air. The door-sill and jambs were formed of large blocks of stone with a rebate, against which the door shut, carried all round the door-way. This is shown on the drawing of the verandah.

Each sill has in it a round hole to receive the bronze pivot on which the door worked, and, at the other end, a square hole for the bolt to drop into.

Granary.—At a distance of 50 or 60 feet to the N.W. of the villa are remains, not yet completely excavated, of part of the farm buildings which belonged to the owner of the house.

The chief part which is now visible is a large barn or granary, about 54 feet by 34 feet 8 inches wide (*see* plan).

This seems to have been very like a medieval barn, with two rows of wooden pillars supporting the roof, and dividing the building into a "nave" 17 feet 2 inches wide, with "aisles" 8 feet 9 inches wide.

The side walls are now only about 2 feet high, and the wooden pillars are, of

course, wholly gone, but many of their stone bases remain, each formed of one block resting on a rough foundation. In the top of each block is cut a mortice-hole to receive the tenon of the wooden post to which it formed a base (*see* plan).

Vitruvius (VI. vi.) gives an interesting description of the farm buildings, which were usually adjuncts of a country villa, the *granaria*, *horrea*, the stables for cart horses and cattle, and other buildings of the same class.

Among the various objects discovered during the excavation of the Spoonley villa none are of any exceptional interest.

In metal, were some iron knives and tools, door-hinges, and a very pretty little bronze bowl plated with silver, like a mirror.

The pottery is of common Roman forms, including some fragments of so-called Samian; and of local ware some urns, two-handled cups, and *mortaria*, the interiors of which are studded with grit in the usual way, to facilitate the bruising of soft cooked vegetables.

Many pieces of window-glass were found, and a fragment of a glass *patera*, with a simple pattern of rings and lozenges cut with the lapidary's wheel.

A large number of small bronze coins were dug up here, and at other places in the neighbourhood, mostly of Tetricus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, and Constantine, together with a few of Carausius and Allectus. A large number of bronze coins of the last two emperors have recently been found in various parts of Britain, so that they are now much less rare than they used to be.

Roman Houses in Britain.

I may perhaps be allowed to add to these notes on the Spoonley villa a few general remarks on Roman houses in Britain, and the chief points in which they differ from Roman houses in Italy. These differences fall naturally under two separate heads: first, those due to the colder climate, and second, those which came from the use of different local materials.

I. *Climate.*—Though devoid of originality or even of good taste in artistic matters, the Romans were above all things a thoroughly practical people; skilful engineers rather than graceful designers, and so it is natural to find that their first thought was to build their houses in the manner which was most comfortable and convenient in the special country where each was situated.

Thus we find that, as early as the time of Augustus, Vitruvius writes (VI. i. § 2) "sub septentrione aedificia testudinata et maxime conclusa et non patentia, sed conversa ad calidas partes oportere fieri videntur." That is to say, that houses in northern countries were to be wholly roofed over,[a] and as much shut in from the cold as possible, as well as being set facing a warm aspect.

I may here remark that many writers on Roman houses seem to have fallen into two errors—first in thinking that the Romans had one fixed type of house, and, second, in writing as if all the rooms of a Roman house, bedrooms included, were on the ground floor.

Now the truth is, that even in Italy the Romans built their houses, especially the country villas, with very great diversity of plan; each house was designed specially to suit its site, aspect, the lie of the ground, the best views that could be got, and many other practical considerations, so that it is a serious error to treat this subject as if any one fixed type existed. Again, with regard to the upper stories, the ancient Romans seem to have had nearly as much objection to sleeping on the ground floor as the modern Italians have, and a house of any importance which had no upper story was probably as rare as it is in England now. In Pompeii every house had at least one upper floor.

In many cases, even remote from crowded cities, houses of great height, with three or four stories, seem to have been frequently built by the Romans.

Very interesting evidence of this was supplied by a mosaic picture found a few years ago in Algeria, but now destroyed.[b]

This mosaic, dating from the fourth century A.D., was one of those found in the large villa of a Roman pro-consul of Northern Africa; the picture itself gave a perspective view of the exterior of the house which contained it. The house is of great extent and height, with square tower-like projections at the angles; it varied from four to five stories in height, with large latticed windows in the upper stories, and very few windows with iron gratings on the ground floor. The general aspect of the house is not unlike that of a medieval palazzo in Italy.

In Britain the reasons for not sleeping on the ground floor would be no less strong, and though in many cases the upper stories of Romano-British houses

[a] Vitruvius uses the word "testudinata" for roofing generally not necessarily implying a curved vault. Cf. VI. iii. § 2.

[b] Drawings of this valuable mosaic were published by the French Archaeological Society at Constantine, under the title *Les Mosaiques d'Oued Atmenia*. In other cases, such as in reliefs, when houses are represented, we nearly always see the same system of having the large well-lighted rooms on an upper floor.

were built of wood, yet we must not expect to find sleeping apartments among the ground-floor rooms, which are, in Britain, all that we can ever hope to see still in existence.

The main difference that the colder climate of Britain caused in the plan and arrangement of Roman houses was that the roofless *atrium*, so common in Italy, was usually omitted.

The Roman *atrium* was surrounded by rooms which had large unglazed openings facing straight into the roofless space. This, at least, was the Roman custom during the early years of the empire, as we see in the so-called "House of Livia" on the Palatine hill; a method only suited to a hardy race of people living in a mild climate.

Instead of rooms opening on to these roofless *atria*, we find in Britain that the windows of the house were much more universally glazed, and in a large number of cases a further protection against cold and rain was given by a sheltering verandah, which was carried along the whole line of building.

The villa at Spoonley is a good typical example of this system: the further development of this plan was such an arrangement as we see at Woodchester and Lydney in Gloucestershire, where the buildings form a complete quadrangle round which the verandah is carried like a monastic cloister.

It is interesting to note that there is in Rome one house which is designed rather in the British than in the usual Italian fashion.

This is the House of the Vestals, of which I have published a plan in *Archaeologia*.[a] This house was built for the use of six wealthy and luxurious ladies, and that is probably the reason why the plan adopted is the warmest and most comfortable that could be devised, quite unlike the usual airy open houses of Italy.

In the Vestals' house the verandah round the quadrangle consisted of a magnificent marble peristyle, with two orders of columns, one above the other, but, in spite of this difference of material, the plan as a whole is far more like that of a British than of an Italian house. Even in the Vestals' house, however, the central *tablinum* was open to the peristyle, whereas in Britain it would probably have had a door and glazed windows, as is the case at Spoonley.

Though many windows in Roman houses in Italy were filled in with glass, set in casements of wood or bronze, yet it seems not to have been uncommon, at least in early times, to omit the glass, and merely fill in the opening with a metal grill or a thin slab of marble pierced with holes, forming some simple grill-like pattern.

[a] Vol. XLIX., p. 391 *seq.*

In Britain, on the contrary, the use of glass for windows seems to have been far more common. Sheet, crown, and even cast slabs of plate glass were used. Even ground glass for obscured windows has been found.

In most instances the panes of glass seem to have been set in wooden casements, but in some cases the casements were of bronze, very like the one found in Pompeii, divided by "glass bars" into four small panes, which were kept in their place by a moveable screw nut, so that a broken pane could be readily replaced.[a]

It is not usually known that even stained glass windows were used by the Romans. Considering their wonderful skill in making glass of various brilliant colours, it would have been strange if they had never used coloured glass for windows.

These stained windows appear to have developed out of the use of pierced marble slabs for filling in window openings. At first the piercings were left open, but then in some cases bits of brilliant coloured pot-metal were cut to the right shape, and fitted into the holes in the marble, different colours being selected for various parts of the open pattern, thus giving a rich jewel-like effect, very like the glass and stucco windows used by Moslem races in Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere.[b]

In Italy plates of talc (*lapis specularis*) and other natural transparent substances were used for windows, especially in early times, but in Britain the use of glass appears to have been universal. Pliny[c] mentions a special blue glass called "cylon" which was used for windows. Another point in which Romano-British houses differed from those in Italy was the far more general use of methods of artificial heating.

In Italy we usually find that a very small part of the house possessed hypocaust floors.

For example, in the large and magnificent villa of the younger Pliny, at Laurentium, so minutely described by him in one of his letters,[d] only two small rooms appear to have had any arrangement for heating.[e]

He describes one of them thus: "Adhaeret dormitorium membrum, transitu

[a] The use of the screw (*cochlea*) was known to the Romans, though during medieval times it seems to have been forgotten.

[b] Justinian's church of St. Sophia at Constantinople had pierced marble windows filled in with pieces of coloured glass: some which exist are of cast, not blown glass, of a deep sapphire blue; each piece is about 9 × 7 inches.

[c] *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 162.

[d] *Ep.* ii. 17.

[e] See Haudebourt, *La Laurentine Maison de Pline*, Paris, 1838.

interjacente, qui *suspensus et tubulatus* conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illuc digerit et ministrat." The phrase *suspensus et tubulatus* would mean "having a hypocaust floor and flue-tiles up the walls," but this reading is a purely conjectural one which does not occur in any of the MSS. and the word "tubulatus" is not used in this sense by any other writer. All that can be said is that the emendation is a possible one.

In this respect, as well as in plan, the House of the Vestals is very like a Romano-British house.

Not only on the ground floor, but even upstairs, there are whole suites of rooms which have hypocaust floors, giving an amount of heated space which is far in excess of what was usual in Italy.

In some Romano-British villas more than half the rooms are provided with hypocausts.

In this respect also the Spoonley villa is a good typical example of its class. A reference to the plan will show how large a proportion of floor-space is heated, either with hypocausts or with horizontal smoke flues.

Moreover, in Italy, it is, as a rule, only in hot baths that we find the square flue-tiles, which were fixed against the walls and so caused not only the surface of the floor, but also the whole area of the wall to radiate heat.

But in Britain, as for example at Spoonley, we find many cases in which the wall flue-tiles are used not only in the baths, but also in the living rooms of houses, and in many other ways far greater care was taken to heat the houses in this country than those in Italy.

It had for long been a very doubtful question how the smoke from hypocausts and wall-flues was finally discharged into the air above the roof of the house. No existing Roman house is sufficiently perfect to solve the problem, but fortunately very clear evidence on this point is given by the Algerian mosaic picture mentioned above.

This shows a regular series of chimney-stacks, exactly like those we build now, rising above the roof, and each surmounted by a chimney-pot, or smoke-cowl, very clearly shown.

This shows us that the smoke, after passing up the walls in the various square flue-tiles, must have been collected in some horizontal or upward sloping channel, and so brought to a common exit in the chimney-stack.

As wood was the usual fuel, and what little soot there was would collect under the *suspensurae* of the hypocaust, there can have been no necessity for sweeping the wall-flues, a thing which must have been almost impossible.

In a few cases in Britain, as for example, in the villas near the Roman coal mines in the Forest of Dean, coal seems to have been sometimes used instead of wood to heat the hypocaust furnaces; in these cases it is probable that inconvenience was found to arise from the choking of the wall-flues.

In most places however in Britain (as in Italy) wood was the only fuel used by the Romans in their houses, and it was not till comparatively modern times that coal was used in the better class of houses.[a]

II. *Peculiarities caused by different local materials.*—The main differences in the construction of Romano-British houses as compared with those in Italy arose from the absence of the *pozzolana* (*lapis Puteolanus*), which, when mixed with lime, made the strongest and hardest concrete and cements, of the highest durability, and with perfect hydraulic properties.

Having to use the ordinary sands and limes of Britain, which make a very inferior kind of concrete, the Romans built their walls of stone or brick throughout, not of concrete merely faced with bricks, as in Italy.[b]

Thus, instead of triangular bricks, which were universally used in Rome, rectangular bricks were employed in Britain, and the wall was built of solid brickwork throughout, or else, more commonly, with two or three "lacing-courses" of brick at regular intervals in the height of stone walls.

When stone was used, either alone or with brick "lacing-courses," the blocks were usually not very large, and only the external blocks were squared more or less accurately and finally dressed on their exposed face. The internal mass of the wall was of rubble, very inferior in strength and cohesive power to the concrete of Italy.

Finely dressed ashlar was rarely used, as in almost all cases the surface of the wall was covered with stucco.

The character of the stone masonry of the Romans in Britain varies very much in accordance with the nature of the local stone.

In very few cases has stone been brought from any distant quarry, the Roman rule being always to use as much as possible the local materials.

[a] In the fourteenth century the evils of coal smoke were beginning to be felt, so that the citizens of London petitioned the king to prohibit the import of "sea-coal," on the reasonable ground that its smoke sullied the purity of the snow-white houses of London.

A few years later an Italian, who visited England on an embassy to the Court, wrote down in his notes that some of the English were so poor that they used "black stones" instead of wood for fuel.

[b] The Roman method of facing concrete walls with triangular bricks is described in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LI. p. 41 *seq.*

Considering this, the uniformity of the character and design of Roman work, wherever it is found, is very remarkable, and shows wonderful skill in the adaptation of very different local materials to the special Roman notions of what was desirable in a building.

On account of the inferiority of the concrete made with British materials we find that vaulted ceilings are much less common here; *contignationes* or wooden floors being used where concrete vaults would have been used in Italy.

And, partly owing to the weakness of the Romano-British rubble walls, it was far more common in this country to construct the upper stories of wood, probably overhanging the ground floor, as we see still existing in a few cases at Pompeii. The construction of wooden storeys with framed timbers filled in with two layers of "wattle and dab," and then covered with stucco, is described by Vitruvius.[a] The method employed was like that of many fifteenth-century timber houses in England.

These over-hanging timber storeys appear to have been called *maeniana*, the projecting joists on which the front wall rested were *contignationes pensiles*.

In Italy the roofs were usually covered with tiles of baked clay, or, in the more splendid palaces and temples, with slabs of white marble like those used by the Greeks, or with plates of bronze thickly gilded.

In south-west Britain the commonest form of roofing seems to have been slabs of the so-called "Stonesfield slate," cut in lozenge form and nailed with very large iron nails. The drawing of the Spoonley verandah gives the usual shape and arrangement of these stone slates.

This highly laminated limestone is found in a great many places in England.

One large quarry worked by the Romans was at Kineton Thorns in Gloucestershire, where long ranges of barrack-like stone sheds for the workmen have been found.

In some places in Britain clay tiles were used, like those in Italy, but they are comparatively rare.

The construction of hypocaust floors in Britain was modified on account of the inferior nature of the concrete of which the *suspensurae* were made. In Italy the pozzolana concrete was so strong that few *pilae* were needed to support the concrete floor, and, in some cases, the *pilae* were wholly omitted, the floor being then a solid slab of concrete, like a block of stone, supported only at its edges.

Again in Italy the *pilae* seem to have been always formed of baked brick, but in some parts of England, especially in Gloucestershire, bricks seem to have been

[a] II. x. § 20.

costly, and are very sparingly used. Thus at Spoonley, and at the fine villa at Chedworth, in the same county, nearly all the *pilae* are made of stone, in spite of the local stone being a soft oolite which has no great power of resisting fire.

At Chedworth some of the *pilae* are square monolithic pillars, with a very rough cap and base worked out of the same block, but it was more usual to build up the *pilae* of several courses of roughly squared stone; large slabs of stone were then laid on the tops of the *pilae* to receive the thick bed of concrete which formed the *suspensurae*.

In some cases these stone *pilae* and the inside of the furnace and stoke-hole were lined with *opus signinum* to protect the stone from the fire, which otherwise might have burnt it into lime. This was the case at Spoonley, as is mentioned above.

Another British peculiarity was the heating of floors, not with *suspensurae* resting on *pilae*, but merely by horizontal flues, like drains, running under the floors. These were built of rough stone, and the number of flues in each room varied according to the amount of heating power that was desired.

In some cases only one flue crossed the room, in other cases the flues were so numerous that nearly as much heating surface was given as if a regular hypocaust had been made.

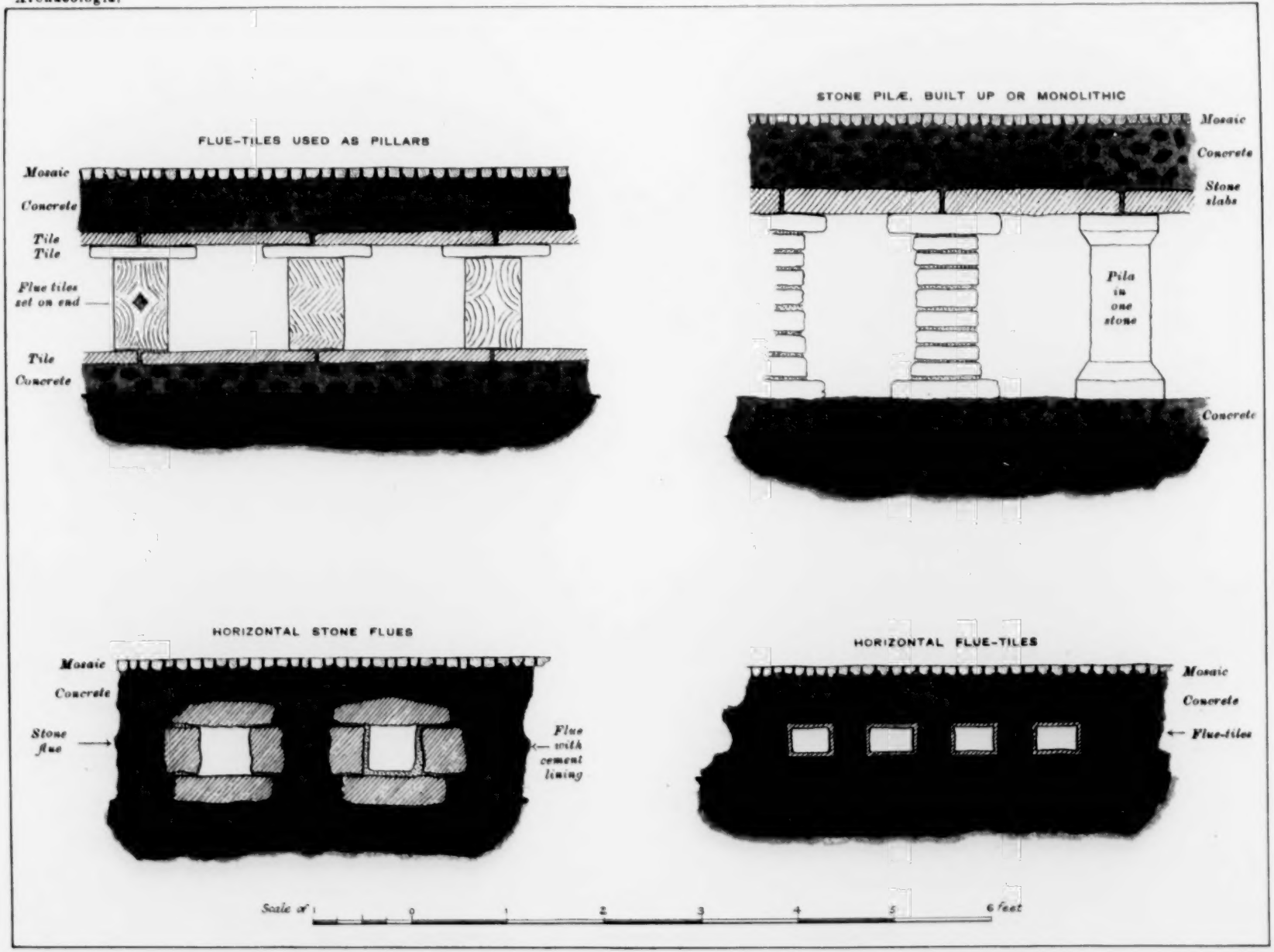
Another method occasionally used in Britain was to rest the concrete floor on rows of wall flue-tiles laid horizontally instead of vertically. The hot air from the furnace first passed under the floor along these flue-tiles, and then went upwards in similar flues set in their usual position against the face of the walls.

In a few cases, as, for example, at Bath, a very curious use was made of these flue-tiles, probably in places where they were specially abundant, that is, they were used as *voussoirs* for arches and vaults, for the sake of combined strength and lightness, just as concrete made of pumice-stone was used in the vaults of houses in Rome.

All the various ways of constructing hypocausts described above are shown in Plate XX.

Water supply.—In certain parts of Britain, especially in Shropshire and Somersetshire, the water supply to the houses and public baths was exceptionally complete.

In Italy lead was costly, as it had to be imported mostly from Britain or Spain, but in the neighbourhood of the rich lead mines in the Mendip hills and elsewhere lead was so cheap and plentiful that it was used in a much more lavish



FOUR METHODS OF CONSTRUCTING HYPOCAUST FLOORS USED IN ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAS.

way than in Italy for supply-pipes, cisterns, and even for lining large baths.[a] One of the large public baths at Bath offers a most remarkable example of this; it was wholly lined with great plates of lead, 10 feet long by 5 feet wide and about half an inch thick.[b]

The lead supply-pipes were larger and of thicker lead than is usual in Italy, and more of them were used.

Some British examples are as much as 14 inches in diameter, in these cases the pipe is rectangular in section, made of two plates of thick lead, one forming the bottom and sides of the pipe, while the other is a flat plate soldered across to form the top or lid of the large box-like pipe.

In most cases however the pipes are formed, like those in Italy, by bending a sheet of lead 10 feet long round a circular wooden core, which allowed the sheet to be hammered into circular or rather oval shape. The edges were then brought together and securely soldered.[c]

In British towns, as in Italy, large lead mains were laid under the paving of the streets, and rising mains branched off right and left to the houses, leading up to cisterns on the upper floors, from whence descending supply-pipes were laid on to various parts of the house, exactly like the modern system. Air-chambers were often introduced to diminish the risk of pipes bursting from the hydraulic pressure, the confined air acting as a spring.

A cubical lead box was usually placed at the point where the rising main to the house branched off from the main in the street; this seems rather a clumsy way of making a junction, but it apparently answered its purpose very well.

Very neatly made water-cocks and draw-taps of bronze were used, the *epistomiae adplumbatae* of Frontinus; the turn-cocks in the mains had moveable key-handles like those now in use. In the public baths at Bath the largest water channel, which was cut in stone, had a sliding bronze sluice-door working in a grooved bronze frame fixed in its place with lead; this regulated or wholly shut off the supply.

The draw-taps were very like those used in Italy, often formed in the shape of an animal's head, with handles either fixed or more often moveable; they are frequently very graceful in form, and are always very skilfully made and fitted so as to avoid leakage.

[a] In Italy pipes of clay or even of stone were frequently used for the water supply: Vitruvius calls these *tubuli*, and uses the word *fistulae* for lead pipes; see Vitr. VIII. vi.

[b] The whole of this lining was stripped off and sold by the Corporation of Bath for old lead; a quite inexcusable act of vandalism.

[c] See Vitruvius, VIII. vi. § 4.

Methods of decoration used in Britain were as much like those in Italy as the nature of the local materials would allow.

Almost the only sign of provincial influence is the general low standard of the Roman sculpture in Britain, and the peculiarities of the British mouldings, which are frequently very unlike those used in Italy.

The mouldings of the Spoonley verandah columns are a good example of this (see Plate XIX.), they are more varied and more delicate in execution than those of Italian houses.[a]

This is not however always the case with Romano-British mouldings; they are often very coarse and heavy, especially during the third and fourth centuries.

Stucco reliefs and mural paintings in Britain are very like those in Rome, and the general design of the mosaic pavements is closely similar in all Roman houses, whether the house is built in Britain, Gaul, Greece, Africa, Spain, or Italy.

The only difference is the use of British stone and burnt brick, instead of marble for the *tesserae*.[b]

In a few places imported marble has been found in Britain, both in solid blocks and in thin slices (*crustae*) for floors or wall linings, but this is quite exceptional; as a rule only local materials occur, especially in the private houses of the Romans.

The chief cases where marble has been found were in the "Basilica" at Silchester, which was, in part at least, lined with veneers of white Luna marble, and in some of the temples in the south of Britain, where solid blocks were used.

It seems strange that the richly coloured serpentines of Cornwall, and the alabaster of Derbyshire, were so little used by the Romans, who were usually keen to discover any new decorative material.

I have seen what was apparently Cornish serpentine among the ruins of the Flavian palace on the Palatine hill, but I know no example of its use in a Romano-British building.

A great deal more might be said about the construction and arrangement of Romano-British houses, but I believe the above brief notes give the main differences between the houses of the Romans in Britain and in Italy.

[a] There is a special interest in these Romano-British mouldings owing to their great likeness to many of the mouldings used in England by the Norman builders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A direct classical influence is clearly to be seen in many of these.

[b] See above the materials of which the Spoonley mosaics are made.

XXI.—*On the sculptured alabaster tablets called Saint John's Heads.*

By W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A., Assistant-Secretary.*

Read January 16, 1890.

Scattered up and down England in museums, churches, and private collections, are a number of small sculptured tablets or panels of alabaster, of which the principal feature is a head lying on a dish or charger, generally flanked by figures of saints and sometimes with other accessories.

These tablets have been more or less a puzzle to antiquaries for a long time, and various conjectures have been put forward as to the meaning of the subjects represented.

Most of the known examples bear traces of painting and gilding, and they appear to be of the same date, and many of them from the same workshop.

The earliest notice of these tablets that I have come across is that by Dr. Stukeley in his *Palæographica Britannica*, No. ii. published in 1746. Opposite page 52, he gives an illustration of one of these tablets, then in his possession, which he thus describes:

> I have some elegant pieces of old sculpture in alabaster, in *mezzo relievo*, which I take to have been portable or private altars high raised. one of them, has belonged to some chapel dedicated to St. *John Baptist*. It was given me by my worthy and learned friend, *Samuel Gale*, Esq; 'tis exactly a foot in height, below, is the whole figure of the *Baptist* in prison, his hands bound: above, his head in a charger, but of a larger size. the bare head is three inches and a half in height, incompass'd with saints and martyrs. the beard in both these figures, is represented short, broad, and even at bottom. for the readers curiosity the sculpture of it is here exhibited.

On November 12th, 1789, one of these tablets was exhibited to the Society of

Antiquaries by the Rev. John Pridden, who described it as representing "the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus and surrounded by five figures." This tablet is figured in Schnebbelie's *Antiquaries Museum*, published in 1791, and in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*,[a] published in 1811; and in both cases is described as the head of St. John the Baptist.[b]

The next notice of these sculptures is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[c] where the late Mr. J. B. Nichols, in a letter to the editor, takes exception to Mr. Pridden's description of the tablet exhibited to the Society in 1789, adding: "The foregoing will, I think, be found to be by no means the truth." After stating that he possesses two sculptures in alabaster of very similar design, he quotes a long letter from Dr. Meyrick, who gave him one of the panels, putting forward what he calls a "more correct account of the design" of the sculptures. Dr. Meyrick's theory was that "The Carving represents the Syrian legend of the image of Christ, which originated probably soon after the siege of Edessa in 540, and which asserts that Christ gratified the faith of King Abgarus by granting to him his picture, the perfect impression of his face on linen, his having invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews."

The theory put forth in Dr. Meyrick's letter was immediately challenged, also in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824[d] by the Rev. Edward Duke, the possessor of another of these tablets. Mr. Duke reviews the descriptions of the other tablets given by Nichols and Stukeley, as well as Dr. Meyrick's theory, and suggests that the sculptures were really intended to represent "*the personification of the Holy Trinity*, surrounded by saints, martyrs, and defenders." This theory he based on the idea that the central head is that of God the Father, that God the Son is typified by a figure in base, and God the Holy Ghost by a representation of the soul at the top.

The correspondence was continued by the owner of another tablet, who signed himself "T. A.," and by another writer under the initials "E. I. C." Both these writers urged that the central subject represented the Vernicle or image of Our Saviour's face.[e]

[a] Vol. iv. part ii. page 461.

[b] It is also engraved in Fosbroke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, published in 1825, but is there described as representing the Syrian legend of the head of Christ, a theory put forth by Dr. Meyrick in 1824.

[c] Part i. 397.

[d] Part ii. 209.

[e] *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824, part ii. 292, 293.

In 1850, the late Mr. John Gough Nichols contributed a valuable note on these tablets to the volume of *Bury Wills and Inventories* published by the Camden Society, in which he upholds the old theory that these carvings represent St. John's head, surrounded by figures of other saints.[a] I shall have to refer to this note again.

In 1855, our Fellow Mr. J. E. Nightingale exhibited to the Archæological Institute one of these tablets, which is described and figured in the *Archæological Journal* as the head of St. John the Baptist.[b]

In 1871, our late Fellow Mr. Albert Way communicated some remarks on these tablets to the Royal Archæological Institute, in a description of a sculptured image of St. John the Baptist found in Easton church, Hants. Mr. Way's remarks are as follows:

> Numerous small tablets of alabaster have been noticed and figured in archaeological works, and of these several have been brought before the Institute, in which various figures of saints are found introduced, mostly as accompaniments of a peculiar subject that has been regarded sometimes as the vernicle, or the *verum icon*, the head of our Lord, but which appears undoubtedly intended to represent the severed head of St. John the Baptist in a charger—the *caput Johannis in disco*—a subject of frequent occurrence in various works of an ornamental character, and amongst these upon seals and personal appliances. It may be here remarked that certain objects of this description have been regarded, it is believed with much probability, as having been associated with some special feeling of veneration connected with the *cultus* of St. John the Baptist.[c]

The latest contribution on the subject is a paper in the *Transactions of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society* for 1886, by our Fellow the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D, describing an example belonging to the vicar of Findern, Derbyshire. Dr. Cox reviews the various theories already put forth, but accepts none of them, suggesting instead the entirely novel one, that the sculptures represent some version of the so-called "St. Gregory's Pity."[d]

We thus have five explanations of these carvings to consider:

1. That they represent the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, with figures of saints, etc.;
2. That the central subject is the image of our Lord's face given to Abgarus after the siege of Edessa;

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories* (Camden Society), 255. [b] *Archaeological Journal*, xii. 184.

[c] *Archaeological Journal*, xxix. 93.

[d] Since the present paper was written Dr. Cox has expressed to me his entire concurrence with my explanation of these sculptures.

3. That the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are represented;
4. That the central head and disc represent the vernicle, or imprint of our Saviour's face;
5. That the sculpture represents a variety of "St. Gregory's Pity."

This last theory has been worked out by Dr. Cox with much care and ingenuity, and, despite the fact that the so-called "St. Gregory's Pity" is invariably represented differently in English art, we might be disposed to accept it, had we not strong evidence in support of another explanation.

On the same grounds we cannot accept either of the two seemingly reasonable theories that the principal subject represents our Lord's face.

The theory that the three Persons of the Trinity are represented, though ingenious, will not hold, since several of the tablets have no third subject which can symbolize one of the three Persons.

The remaining theory, that the sculptures represent the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, accompanied by figures of saints and other accessories, is, as I hope to show, not only the most likely, but one that is supported by very strong evidence.

In the cathedral church of Amiens is preserved as a most precious relic the front part of a human skull, brought thither from the East in 1206, and reputed to be part of the skull of St. John the Baptist. It heads the list of relics in an inventory of 1347, but is simply described as "caput beati Johannis Baptistæ."[a] The inventory of 1419 calls it "faciem beati Johannis Baptistæ," and describes it as set in a silver dish adorned with precious stones, and furnished with a jewelled cover, also of silver, in the form of a man's face.[b] The inventory of 1535 describes it in great detail as being enclosed in a covered vessel of gold, given by king Louis XI. (1461-1483), and adorned with divers jewels and pearls, all of which are enumerated.[c] The relic was in much the same state when Du Cange

[a] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 254.

[b] 1419. In primis habemus faciem beati Johannis Baptiste incastratam in pelvi argentea munita per ora lapidibus preciosis. videlicet. saphiris. smaragdis. granatis. thopasionibus et pellis. et in summitate faciei subtus cristallum sunt lapides incastrati saphiri et smaragdi et quinque grosse pelle. Item super dictam faciem est facies hominis de argento in qua sunt multi anuli infixi de auro et monilia sunt etiam alii plures lapides preciosi inter quos est unus grossus saphirus in fronte dicte faciei. et in dextera parte faciei ipsius est unus magnus camaheu cum facie hominis ligata ad modum Sarracenorum.—*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 277.

[c] 1535. Ung vaissel d'or de viij carres a quatre pietz avec le couverchel tout dor donne et offert a lhonneur de Dieu et monseig. St. Jeh. Baptiste par deffunt de bonne memorie le Roy Loys xj de ce nom pesant ensemble 1 marcz x unches.

published an engraving of it in 1665, in his *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste*, which is reproduced in vol. xxv. of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

It is not necessary to enter at length into a history or description of the relic; I must, however, call attention to one feature.

Du Cange, in describing the relic itself, says:

Au dessus de l'oeil gauche est un petit trou en longueur, qui a donné suiet à quelques uns de dire, que comme Herodias, suivant le rapport de Saint Hierosme, ayant reçeu la testle de Saint Precurseur, en perça de l'éguille de ses cheveux la langue, de laquelle ce Saint avoit repris

Aud. vaissel et couverchel sont quatre unches et deux estrelins dargent dore qui font la cloture du couverchel sur ledit vaissel lesquelz sont prisiez aud. poix pour x.

Item dedens ledit vaissel dor y a ung plat dor auquel repose le face du chef monseig. saint Jeh. Baptiste pesant xviij marcs deux unches et sur le bord dud. plat y a deux esmeraudes six saphirs deux amatistes deux topasses et trente deux perles en unze assietez les armes de France environnees de xiij perles et une petite esmeraude sur le couronne pesant xviij marcs.

Aud. grant vaissel dor sur led. plat ou repose ladite face y a ung visage enrichy de plusieurs pierres precieuses et deux chapiaulx dor ausquelz y a plusieurs pierres precieuses tant perles rubis saphirs que aultres petites pierres comme cy après sont specifiees. ladite face avec ses joiaulx qui y sont attachez pesant quinze marcs dor.

Au couverchel du dessusd. grant vaissel dor y pendent et sont attachies six agnus dor dargent lun grant lautre moyen blanc et les quatre aultres dargent dore avec affique dargent dore a ung gros doublet avec quatre perles.

Et primes en hault et au millieu de lad. face y a une fleur dor et six pampes emmailles de blanc et rouge au dessus ung escu couronne les armes de France en laquelle fleur a ung ballet prisie ix^{e}. ou mil escus.

Aupres de lad. fleur du coste dextre a ung gros saphir brut mis en or a quatre crampons lun pardevant a este prisie xxx escus.

Item en hault du coste dextre aupres dudit grant saphir a ung fort maillet garny de douze perles trois saphirs et ung ruby au millieu . . . . . .

Item au menton dudit chef pend une grande pieche dor en laquelle est emprint d'un coste un Eloy assiz soubz un pavillon et a laultre coste une saint Andrien.

Item une nostre dame en forme dun tablian garnie de plusieurs perles a lentour.

Item du coste senestre aupres du ruby ballet ung catton dor garny dun grant saphyr.

Item un fort maillet dor garny de six grosses perles au millieu dudit maillet a ung ruby ballet et au dessus une pointe de diamant ou une fleur blanche.

Item une aultre fort maillet dor garny de douze perles quatre esmeraudes et au millieu un ruby ballet.

Au dessous du menton de ladite fache est ung sanctuaire de cristal qui se baise et est ou on fait les estanemens.

Item un noble a la rose—ung noble Henry—ung lyon—un real—un demy escu de Roy—ung philippus—un escu au soleil—ung demy noble Henry—ung petit tableau auquel est ung saint Jehan icelluy tableau garny de trois perles.—*Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 350.

ses incestueux adulteres, elle luy en donna aussi dans les yeux, et que mesme elle porta le coûteau sur le sourcil.[a]

In confirmation of the story told by Du Cange, I exhibit a photograph of part of the magnificent carved screen on the north side of the choir-stalls at Amiens, begun in 1531, where in one of the panels Herodias is shown in the act of striking St. John's head with a knife over the left eye. Below the carving is the title:

Le chef saint Ihan fut a table pose.
Puis dun cousteau dessus loeul incise.

In an excellent description of these sculptures by MM. Jourdain and Duval,[b] particular attention is drawn to the incident of Herodias and the knife, and the writers add in explanation:

L'os frontal qui constitue la majeure partie de la relique de S. Jean-Baptiste conservée dans le trésor du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens, paraît en effet percé au dessus de l'œil gauche comme par un coup de poinçon ou stylet. Le trou est de forme circulaire et peut avoir une ligne de diamètre.[c]

Now in most of the alabaster panels under notice the head has a deep oblique cut on the forehead over the left eye, and in one case this is indicated by painting. Since this can in no way be connected with the head of Our Lord, it is quite clear that it represents the place where Herodias is said to have struck the head of St. John with her knife.

I have no doubt many instances in illustration can be found, but it will suffice for my purpose to quote one.

Among the subjects embroidered on one of the splendid herse-cloths belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company are four figures of angels, each holding a charger with the head of St. John Baptist, the patron saint of the Company. In each case the head has a bloody wound over the left eye, and on an accompanying scroll are the words:

CAPAT (*sic*) IOHIS BAPTEST (*sic*) · I̅ · DISCO[d]

[a] *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste* (Paris, 1665), 135.

[b] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, ix. 161.

[c] *Ibid.* ix. 228.

[d] See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. vi. 245.

But the fact of these sculptures representing St. John's head is placed beyond all doubt by one of the tablets before us, that belonging to Lord St. Levan. This has round the edge of the dish whereon the head lies traces of a black-letter inscription, of which the important words fc̄i ıo̅h̄s ℬ are plainly visible on close examination. Another example has the head circumscribed: **Caput ſancte ıſtorie.**

It should also be noticed that in the tablet belonging to the Rev. B. W. Spilsbury, the head is plainly shown with a severed neck.

I think it may now be taken as proved that the head is not that of Our Lord, but of St. John the Baptist.

That the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger was a favourite subject in medieval art in sculpture, seals, paintings, and personal and domestic ornaments is well known. An excellent example in stone may be seen in the east alley of the cloisters at Christchurch, Oxford, where it is carved on one of the keys of the vault. The head of St. John the Baptist also occurs on the thirteenth century seals of the prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England. Among the ornaments in the cathedral church of Exeter in 1327 were ten cushions embroidered with the head of St. John and five shields;[a] and "vj silver spones with Sancte John heddes of them" occur in a will of 1527-8.[b] The will of John Fell, chantry priest of St. William's altar in York Minster, dated 1506, contains an entry of special interest as connecting the St. John's heads with the famous relic at Amiens:

> To my lord Robert Wannop, abbot of Sanct Mary Abbay at York, to dispose aftur his mynd, a Sanct John Baptist heid of Amyas, liyng in a platur of tree, gyltid and gratid with stonys.[c]

There was also "a Saint John's hed of wood" in the misericorde of Westminster Abbey in 1540.[d] The splendid inventory of Henry VIII.'s jewels and plate in the Society's possession[e] also contains several rich examples of St. John's heads:

[a] 1327. Inventory of the cathedral church of Exeter.

Decem cervicalia, unde quatuor debilia, unum coopertum ex altera parte cum panno de samito, broudata cum capite Sancti Johannis et quinque scutis.—Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter*, 314.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* v. 237.

[c] *Ib.* iv. 244.

[d] *Trans. London and Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 357.

[e] MS.

Item a litell tablet of golde of Saynte Johns Hedde (f. 139b).

Item an Image of saynt Johns hedde set in a disshe of Agathe garnysshed w^t^ golde and set w^t^ divers small rubies (f. 195b).

Item Saynt Johns hedde in a disshe of Agathe garnysshed w^t^ silver guilt and set upon a foote of silver guilte[a] (f. 196).

One of the companion volumes now in the British Museum also contains the entry:

Item a picture of Sainte Johns headde in a dishe of earthe.[b]

This was probably one of the painted terra-cotta tablets made in large numbers at Lyons about the end of the fifteenth century, of which an imperfect specimen is in the British Museum. It consists of a square frame, represented as jewelled and enamelled, enclosing a circular dish with the head of St. John the Baptist circumscribed:

INTERNAT · MVLIER · NO · SVRG · MA · IOH̄A · BAP.

(*i. e.* Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major Johanne Baptista.)

A cast of the central portion of one of these tablets was lately presented to the Society by our Fellow the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A.

I have also met with a Scottish example:

1542. Inventory of James V. King of Scotland.

Item sanct Johnis heid with ane perle.[c]

The following miscellaneous entries from inventories and other documents are interesting:

1446. Will of Joan, widow of Nicholas Blackburn of York citizen and mercer.

To her maid Joan Gray, a St. John's head with all its appendages.[d]

1453. Inventory of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

An old pall for Saynt Johnys hedd.[e]

[a] One of these is doubtless the "litle Cup of Agath with a hed lying in it" among the effects of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, about 1540. *Misc. Gen. et Herald.*, iv. 5.

[b] *Harl. MS.* 1419 A. f. 133.

[c] *A Collection of Inventories and other records of the Royal Wardrobe, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1815) p. 66.

[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 19.

[e] *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 313. Probably the St. John's head was fixed up in the old chapel, as it is not mentioned elsewhere in the inventories.

1466. Inventory of Ewelme hospital, Oxon.

Item a Seynt Johes hede, peynted with silver foill.[a]

1468. Inventory of Elizabeth Sywardby.

In the chapel:

De j capite Sancti Johannis Baptistae depicto iijd.[b]

1472. Will of John Baddesworth, rector of Laxton, Notts.

Communitati cantariarum (apud Suthwell) j magnum caput Sancti Johannis Baptistae in uno tabernaculo.[c]

1479. Goods of Henry Higgin of Nottingham, butcher.

Unum caput Sancti Johannis Baptistae, pretii vs.[d]

1499-1500. Goods of Nicholas Wildgoose of Nottingham.

j. cofera et vj. capita Sancti Johannis Baptistae valent viij d.[e]

1523. Will of John Drake of Rochester.

Item lege dompno Nicholao Dersingham monacho capud Sancti Johannis Baptistae.[f]

1524-5. Inventory of John Grene of York, glover.

A Sancte John hede ij s.[g]

1534. Inventory of the goods of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in his palace at Rochester.

In the brode galary.

Item a saint Johnes hedde standing at thende of the altere.

Item a boke pontificall lying vnder the same saint Johnes hedde.[h]

1536. Letter from Anne Ronand (Madame de Bours) to Lady Lisle, March 24th.

Mentions that her daughter "sends you a little silver cup and a head of St. John to put in a cabinet."[i]

1538. Inventory of Grey Friars, Winchester.

ij seynt John headys ij d.[k]

1539. Will of Nicholas Metcalfe, archdeacon of Rochester.

Item I bequeth to Mr psone of Westhamfield the table of seynt Johñ baptist in the hall.[l]

1554. Inventory of Thurstan Tyldisley.

In the chapel at Myerscough,

One saincte Johns Hedde.[m]

[a] Napier, *Historical notices of Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 128.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 163.

[c] *Ibid.* iii. 202.

[d] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 22.

[e] *Ibid.* iii. 72.

[f] *Rochester wills* (Somerset House), vii. f. 305.

[g] *Test Ebor.* v. 195.

[h] *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd S. v. 297.

[i] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (Henry VIII.), x. 213.

[k] *Archaeologia*, xliii. 246.

[l] *Rochester wills* (Somerset House).

[m] *Lancashire and Cheshire wills* (Chetham Soc. xxxiii.), 112.

There can be little doubt that some of these entries relate to such alabaster tablets as those before us, although nothing is said about the material, nor any hint given of the design.

Fortunately one entry has been found which describes one of these tablets in terms which leave no doubt as to its identity with the St. John's Heads now under consideration; it forms the text for Mr. Nichols' admirable note in the Camden Society's *Bury Wills and Inventories.*[a]

By will dated September 2nd, 1522, Agas Herte of Bury St. Edmunds, widow, bequeaths *inter alia* to her son Richard Jaxson:

> a Seynt Johis hede of alabastr̃ w^t^ Seynt Pet̃ and Seynt Thom^a^s and the fygur of Cryst, w^t^ a choche of red sarsnet and grene ffrengyd.

She also leaves to another person:

> a lytyll Seynt John's hed of alabaster w^t^ a scriptur, *Caput Sci Johis Baptiste,* w^t^ a clothe of golde w^t^ romayn letters of blacke weluet.[b]

The first example, it will be noticed, exactly describes several of the tablets exhibited, and it is within the bounds of possibility that one of them may be the actual tablet formerly belonging to Agas Herte.

The second example gives the complete inscription on the tablet already described as bearing the words "ſcī iohīs B."

The earliest notice I have found of a St. John's head of alabaster appears to be in an inventory of St. Kerrian's church, Exeter, 1417, which, after describing two images "de alabastre," mentions:

> unum discum cum capite Johannis Baptistae.[c]

but the fact of its being alabaster is not stated.

A will, dated 1432, of Isabella Hamerton of York, widow, contains an undoubted example. Among her bequests to Dan John Branthwate, chaplain, is:

> unum lapidem alabastri secundum formam capitis Sancti Johannis Baptistae.[d]

[a] Appendix, 255.

[b] *Bury Wills and Inventories,* (Camden Soc. 49), 115, 116.

[c] Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of Edmund Stafford* (bishop of Exeter), 483.

[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 23.

A St. John's head of alabaster was also among the ornaments of St. Katharine's chapel, Bridport, in 1473.[a]

An exceedingly fine example is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, consisting of the head only, with the hair and beard disposed in wavy curls. It is of fifteenth century date.

The alabaster, of course, came from the well-known pits at Chellaston, near Derby, now unfortunately almost exhausted, but which formerly yielded the whole of the material for the alabaster slabs and monuments to be found in various parts of England. It was even exported to France and elsewhere.

A number of documents have lately come to light which show not only the source of the alabaster, but that these St. John's heads were carved and painted in large numbers in the town of Nottingham. The documents referred to occur amongst the corporation muniments, and have lately been printed in the useful series of volumes entitled *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*.

The earliest of these documents is the record of an action brought on October 31st, 1491, by Nicholas Hill against William Bott for the value of fifty-eight St. John's heads, part of them in tabernacles and "howsynges," delivered to him to sell, and of which the said William will not render his account, wherefore the said Nicholas is injured, and has damage to the value of five marks, etc.[b]

In January, 1494-5, the same Nicholas Hill, described as an "alablasterman," or worker in alabaster, and elsewhere as an imagemaker, figures as defendant in an action brought against him by one Robert Tull, "husbondman," for non-payment of 12*d.* still due to him out of his wage of 3*s.* for carrying divers images and heads of St. John Baptist from Nottingham to London.[c]

In 1499, Nicholas Hill, "alablasterman," again appears as defendant in a suit brought against him by Thomas Grene of Beeston, "playsterer," for a head of St. John the Baptist, price 16*d.*[d]

We thus have proof of St. John's heads of alabaster constantly issuing from one workshop alone, for a period of at least eight years, of their being sent to London and probably elsewhere, and of so large a number as fifty-eight at a time being delivered to a salesman to dispose of.

In 1530, John Nicholson, "steynour," brought an action against John Cottyngham, "ymagemaker," for detinue of a St. John's head, and half a quarter

[a] *Hist. MSS. Commn., Appendix to the 6th Report*, 488.

[b] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 18.

[c] *Ibid.* iii. 28.

[d] *Ibid.* iii. 499.

of gold, price 10*s*., which head had been delivered to Cottyngham to be painted, but had not been returned.[a]

In the same year William Walsh of Chellaston sued the same John Nicholson, "steynour," for 18*d*. due to him

> pro cariagio unius plaustrati lapidis de alabaster a Chellaston usque Notyngham.[b]

How far we are justified in assuming that the alabaster tablets before us were all produced by the Nottingham alabastermen and imagemakers,[c] I am not prepared to say. Their probable date agrees very well with the time when large numbers were being carved at Nottingham, and their curious general similarity of arrangement is suggestive of their issuing from one workshop or common centre.

The examples of these tablets that have come under my notice are twenty-seven in number, but four of these, as well as another doubtful example, are at present missing, and I have not been able to find any traces of them.

The tablets are all oblong in form, and range in size from 4½ inches to 18 inches in length.

They may be divided into four classes:

A. In which the head alone occurs, with an accessory in base;

B. In which the head is flanked by two saints, and has an accessory in base;

C. In which other accessories are added at the top;

D. In which two more saints are introduced above the other pair;

The smallest tablets mostly belong to classes A. and B., and the largest to class D.

The central subject in every case represents the head of St. John the Baptist, lying on a plain round dish. In at least six of the tablets the cut in the forehead over the left eye is shown, and in another instance is represented by painting. Where the colour remains the eyes are depicted as open. The hair and beard are varied in treatment, and usually gilt; and the edge of the dish sometimes has a narrow band of gold or colour.

[a] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 180.

[b] *Ibid.* iii. 182.

[c] Other Nottingham "alablastermen" and imagemakers, though not mentioned in connection with St. John's heads, were: Nicholas Godeman (1479), John Lingard 1495), Walter Hylton (1496), Thomas Hill (1499 and 1502), and Richard Starky (1529).

The dexter saint in tablets of classes B and C, and also of class D, where he always forms one of the lower pair, is in every instance I have seen St. Peter with a key and book. He is usually represented standing, but occasionally sitting, and he sometimes wears the triple-crowned tiara as bishop of Rome.

The sinister figure corresponding to St. Peter is in every case an archbishop, in albe, cope, and mitre, holding a cross and book. This is a usual way of representing St. Thomas of Canterbury. In an example figured by Stukeley, and now missing, the sinister figure is shown as St. Paul.

The accessory at the base of all four classes is either:

(1) A half-length figure of Our Lord standing in a tomb; or

(2) The Holy Lamb.

A solitary example has instead of either of these a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin with the infant Saviour.

The example figured by Stukeley has a whole length figure of Christ.

The figure of Christ is invariably represented as naked, and wearing the crown of thorns. The position of the arms is constantly varied, scarcely any two examples being alike; and the hands are either bound, or so disposed as to show the print of the nails, or to point to or hold open the wound in the side. In no instance is the right hand raised in benediction. The idea is clearly therefore to symbolize our Lord's Death and Passion, and not His triumphal Resurrection from the sepulchre.

The figure of the Holy Lamb conveys the same idea.

The accessory at the top in tablets of classes C and D consists generally of two angels holding up in a cloth, or in a pointed oval, a small naked figure to represent a soul.

In two cases an angel's head and wings occur, and in one instance a row of five angels.

One very fine example has the rare individual figures of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

In four of the six tablets of class D one of the upper pair of saints is St. Katharine, and two have figures of St. James the Great.

In such panels as retain traces of their original colouring the field is painted green, and diapered with groups of five white spots encircling a red spot. This peculiar device is characteristic of medieval sculptures of alabaster of the date of these tablets, which probably came from the same workshops.

The back of nearly all the tablets is flat, but roughly cut away for some reason at the bottom. They also all have two or more stumps of latten wire

fastenings run in with lead. This appears to have been the usual way of securing sculptured panels and images in position, and reference to it is occasionally found in churchwardens' and other accounts, as, for example, in those of Leverton church, Lincolnshire:

> For lattyn wyer for ye ymage of alybaster.[a]

Of tablets of type A only five examples are known: of types B and C seven and eight examples of each respectively; and of type D five, to which we may perhaps add a sixth. There is also a record of one very doubtful example.

It will be convenient to describe the several panels in detail before propounding any explanation of the meaning of the sculptures.

1. (*Type* A.) *John Parker, Esq. F.S.A.*



A "St. John's Head" of alabaster in the possession of John Parker, Esq. F.S.A. (½ linear.)

Height, 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches; width, 5$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

This is the most simple in style and character of all the examples of these tablets that have yet been noticed; it also differs much from them in style and execution, and perhaps it is a little earlier in date.

It is, as usual, of alabaster.

The device consists of the head of St. John lying on a plain charger; with, below, a small figure of the Holy Lamb lying on a mount and looking up at the saint's head. The head has a short rounded beard, and long hair parted in the middle and hanging down on each side. There is no cut over the eye.

The back has the stumps of two latten wire fastenings run in with lead. Two of the corners as well as one side at the back have been cut or scraped away. This was probably done for medicinal

[a] *Archaeologia*, xli. 350.

purposes, as an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (No. 5, p. 17, *post*) bears an inscription stating that "powder of it is said to have done great service to sore eyes, especially where there was a white speck."

The panel under notice, like all the other examples, has been painted, but only very slight traces of the colour now remain.

2. (*Type* A.) *Stonyhurst College.*

Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This is by far the smallest of these tablets that has yet come to light. It is as usual of alabaster, and retains a good deal of its original colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain charger, 4 inches in diameter, with a narrow red edge, and has the hair parted in the middle and hanging down straight on each side. The beard is simply pointed, and with the hair bears considerable traces of gilding. The features are somewhat rubbed, but there seems to be a small cut over the left eye.

Immediately below the saint's head is the Holy Lamb, lying on a mount. Its head is somewhat broken.

The field and mount are painted dark green with the characteristic groups of five white spots round a central red one.

The back of the tablet is deeply scored with lines, and is cut away at the bottom. It has two lead plugs with ends of latten wire, one at the top, the other just below the middle.

3. (*Type* A.) *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

Height: $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A very good example, preserving its original colouring, as well as its case or "housing." (Plate XXI. fig. 1.)

The head has the hair and beard gilt, over red-brown paint. The hair is disposed in five pointed locks across the forehead, but is straight at the sides. There is no moustache except above the corners of the mouth, and the beard is straight and apparently rounded. The eyes are painted as open, but there are no traces of the wound having been represented over the left eye. The dish is plain, with the edge painted red.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ issuing from the sepulchre, wearing a

heavy crown of thorns. The left hand is upraised, and the right pressed against the side; but there are no marks of the nails. The hair and beard are painted black. The tomb is quite plain; and on either side of it is a tree, perhaps in reference to its being in a garden.

There are no side figures.

The upper part of the field is covered with a gold diaper, but the lower part is painted dark green with groups of a central red and five encircling gold spots.

This panel retains its original case. It measures $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, but has unfortunately lost its doors, which opened in the manner of a triptych. They did not close flat, but, when the panel is laid on its back, they are like the two sides of a sloping roof, the top and bottom of the case being gabled. The inside of the case is painted dark green, but has at the top a sloping piece coloured yellow or gilded with a stellate pattern in lozenges. The outside is uncoloured, save at the top, which is painted red. The wire hinges of the doors remain, and on the back is part of a leather strap for suspension.

The case should be compared with the perfect example of precisely similar fashion belonging to the St. John's Head in the Leicester Museum (See No. 10).

4. (*Type* A.) *Beaumont College, Old Windsor.*

Height, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This is an interesting example, but has unfortunately been broken into three pieces, one of which is lost and restored in plaster. The original colouring has also been more or less restored.

The head has the hair and beard disposed in wavy locks, now painted brown, but probably originally gilt. There is no moustache except over the corners of the mouth. The eyes are not now painted, and the wound on the brow is not shown. The dish is quite plain; it measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb, holding up his left hand, and with the right touching the wound in the side. Round the head is a heavy dark-green torse. The hair bears traces of brown paint. The tomb is mottled in imitation of marble, and has on each side a conventional tree.

There are no saints at the sides.

The field is painted green with the usual groups of spots.



2



1

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD (No. 3).
2. RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, LEICESTER (No. 7).

The back of the panel is roughly cut away at the bottom, and has an upper and lower plug of lead with ends of the latten wire fastenings.

5. (*Type* A.) *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

A fragment only, measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Part of the central subject remains, showing that the head had long spiral curls of hair, and that the beard terminated in two similar curls.

The *caput in disco* was held up by two angels kneeling on one knee. Only the sinister one remains. He is covered with gold feathers or scales, and has two pairs of wings, one on the shoulders, the other on the hips, painted red, with peacock's feathers.

In base is the Holy Lamb, couchant and regardant.

The field is powdered with groups of seven spots, the central one red, the outer white or gold, on a dark-green ground.[a]



Fragment of a "St. John's Head" of alabaster in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (½ linear.)

On the back is an inscription stating the sculpture to be a fragment of a representation of Saint John's head in a charger, etc., and concluding; "Powder of it is said to have done great service to sore eyes, especially where there was a white speck. Given by Dr. Huddesford, President of Trin. Coll. and keeper of y^e^ Museum Oct. 11. 1746. in whose family y^e^ whole formerly was."

It is possible that if complete this panel might belong to one of the more elaborate types.

6. (*Type* B.) *Rev. W. B. Spilsbury.*[b]

Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, 7 inches.

An almost perfect example, retaining its original colouring. (Plate XXII. fig. 1.)

The head lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with narrow gold border, and differs from all other examples in its peculiar pinched-up look, and in

[a] These do not show in the engraving.

[b] Vicar of Findern, Derbyshire.

showing the neck cut off. The hair is parted in the middle, and hangs down on each side, and the beard is full and rounded; both hair and beard are gilt. Over the left eye is a long deep cut. The eyes are shown open.

Below the head is the Holy Lamb, couchant and regardant, lying upon a closed book with red cover and gilt clasp and edges.

The dexter figure is St. Peter in white under-robe with gold border, and white cloak or cope,[a] edged with gold and lined with red. In his left hand he holds a closed book with blue covers and gilt edges, and in his right hand a large gold key. His hair and beard are gilt.

The sinister figure is an archbishop in an albe with gold border, and white cope edged with gold and lined with blue. The hair and the edges of his mitre are gilt. In his left hand he holds a long gold cross, and in his right a closed book bound in red, with gilt edges.

The back ground is painted dark green, upon which may be traced the usual groups of spots.

The back of the panel is flat, but chiselled away at the bottom. It has two holes one above the other, with lead plugs for wire fastenings.

This panel was purchased by the owner's great-grandfather at the sale of Sir Ashton Lever's museum.[b]

7. (*Type* B.) *Ratcliffe College, Leicester.*

Height, $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

An almost perfect example, with its original colouring. (Plate XXI. fig. 2.)

The head lies on a perfectly plain dish, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has the eyes painted as open. The hair falls in three pointed locks over the forehead, and is wavy at the sides; the moustache issues from the upper corners of the mouth, and is long and curly, and the beard is partly divided into two short wavy curls. Both hair and beard have been painted some dark colour, and then gilt. Over the left eye is a deep cut.

Beneath the head is a half-length figure of our Lord standing in the tomb, wearing the crown of thorns and a loin cloth. The head is inclined to the right;

[a] There are some slight indications of this having been once coloured blue.

[b] A chromolithographed representation of this panel will also be found in the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. viii.



1



2

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. THE REV. W. B. SPILSBURY (No. 6).
2. BRITISH MUSEUM (No. 17).

the left arm with open hand, showing the nail-print, is extended downwards; and the right hand touches the breast. The hair, beard, and crown of thorns are painted black. The tomb has a moulded edge and base, and is painted blue, with groups of white spots.

On the dexter side of the panel is a tall figure of St. Peter, in a red robe with gold collar and border. His hair is also gilt. In his left hand he holds an open book, and in his right a large key.

On the sinister side is a tall archbishop in mitre, gold amice, albe, and blue cope. In his left hand he holds a long cross, and in his right a closed book with a spray of foliage on the cover.

The field is painted dark green, with groups of five white spots enclosing a red one. Above the dish the field is not coloured.

The back is flat, roughly cut away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs, one on each side, with the ends of fastenings of latten wire.

8. (*Type* B.) *The Right Rev. Bishop Butt, St. George's, Southwark.*

Height, 10 inches; width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The head, of unusual breadth, lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, with traces of a red border. The hair is parted in the middle and hangs down on each side. The moustache is long and curly, and the beard is disposed in two curly locks. Both hair and beard were gilt. There is no wound over the left eye.

In base is an elongated figure of Our Lord in the tomb, with black hair, beard, and crown of thorns, and girt with a red loin cloth. The head is slightly inclined to the right, and the arms are extended full length and crossed over the front of the tomb. The nail prints are not shewn. The tomb has a moulded top and base, and was originally coloured black.

On the dexter side is St. Peter, holding a closed book and long key. His hair was gilt, and his robes bordered with gold, and the outer one lined with red.

On the sinister side is an archbishop in mitre and choir cope, originally with blue lining. In his left hand is a tall cross, and in his right a closed red book with white spray on the cover.

The field above the head is plain, but below is coloured dark green with characteristic groups of spots.

The back is flat, cut away at the bottom, and has on each side a lead plug with remains of wire fastenings.

This panel formerly belonged to the Rev. Dr. Rock.

9. (*Type* B.) *The Very Rev. Canon Stokes.*[a]

Height, $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

An unusually fine and large, as well as perfect, specimen. (Plate XXIII. fig. 1.)

The head lies on a plain dish, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has wavy hair parted in the middle and curled back to the sides. The moustache issues from the corner of the nostrils, leaving the lips bare, and is long and wavy, as are the whiskers. The beard is full and wavy, and partly concealed by the figure in base. The hair and beard are gilt, the eyes are half-closed, and over the left eyebrow is an oblique cut. The features wear a pained expression, and are very carefully chiselled.

In base is a half-figure of Our Lord in the tomb, with the arms crossed in front. The crown of thorns is painted black, and the short beard and long wavy hair are gilt. The tomb has a deep hollow round it.

On the dexter side is a figure of St. Peter in a long girded robe, and cope or cloak once lined with red and edged with gold. His hair and beard are gilt. In his left hand is a closed book with dark green cover, and in his right a large gold key. His feet are bare.

On the sinister side is an archbishop in large mitre, plain albe, and cope, holding a long cross and book. The mitre, hair, cross, and the edge of the cope bear traces of gilding. The book and pointed shoes have been painted dark green.

The lower part of the field is painted dark green with the usual groups of spots. The upper part of the field is plain.

Across the top of the panel is a plain and massive double canopy, with embattled top and short round pinnacles. The coving has no ribs, but is painted red. The canopy itself has also traces of gold and colour.

The back of the panel is flat and has three lead plugs, one at the top and two at the bottom, for wire fastenings to fix it. It is also scratched with the names of former possessors, all apparently of seventeenth century date. Among them are:—"Thomas Warren fecit 1635," "William Lambert 1638," "Henry Brown 1640," "John Rodgers 1640" or 1649, "ffrancis ffryth 1642," "S. Hynam," etc.

[a] Weston Underwood, Olney.



1



2

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. THE VERY REV. CANON STOKES (No. 9).

2. FORMERLY MISS KNIGHT'S, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (No. 22).

10. (*Type* B.) *Gloucester Museum.*

Present height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches; width, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This example is unfortunately broken at the top, and its exact height cannot be ascertained. It has also been painted white, and all traces of the original colouring are thus obliterated; there are however signs of the usual groups of spots powdered on the field.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The hair is parted into three locks on the forehead, and the beard is divided in the middle.

In base is a figure of the Holy Lamb, couchant on the ground, but its head has been broken.

On the dexter side of the panel is St. Peter with a long key and book; and on the sinister side an archbishop in albe, cope, and mitre, and carrying a cross and book.

The back is not cut away at the bottom, and has towards the dexter lower corner a lead plug with latten wire stumps.

11. (*Type* B.) *The Right Rev. Bishop Virtue, Portsmouth.*

Height, 10 inches; width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The saint's head is somewhat smaller than usual. It has no wound over the eye, and the hair is divided into pointed locks arranged round the head. The beard is short and slightly divided.

The charger is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and, unlike any other example, has been painted round the rim with groups of spots like those on the field.

Below the head is the figure of Christ in the tomb; the front of which he grasps with the left hand, while the right touches the wound in the side. The hair falls down over the shoulders and is encircled by a heavy torse.

On the dexter side of the panel is a tall figure of St. Peter holding a fragment of a key and an open book. His outer robe is lined with blue, and seems to have been painted red.

The sinister figure is the usual one of an archbishop in albe, cope, and mitre. The gloved right hand is raised in benediction, while the left holds a tall cross.

The whole of the panel has, as usual, been painted; the field dark green with groups of spots, and the hair of the three saints with gold.

The back is cut away at the bottom and partly up each side, and has two lead plugs with remains of the wire fastenings. The lower of these has been replaced by one of a pair of clumsy modern screws.

This panel was found lying on top of a beam in the cellar of a house at Waltham Holy Cross, but was unfortunately repainted by the person who discovered it. He afterwards gave it to the present owner, who removed the new paint, and was rewarded by finding beneath it the considerable traces of the original colour and gilding which may now be seen.

12. (*Type* B.) *St. John Baptist's church, Bristol.*

This example is known to me only from a coloured drawing in the Society's possession, by James Holland, F.S.A., described as a "Fresco painting in the church of St. John the Baptist, Bristol, 1828." Apart from the shading in the drawing, there can, however, be no doubt that this is one of the sculptured alabaster St. John's Heads.

The size of the tablet in the drawing is $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height and $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width. This is certainly not full size; but in the absence of any scale it is impossible to say how large was the original, which is unfortunately lost.

The saint's head lies on a round dish, painted grey with red sprigs, and has the hair parted off the face, and a short full beard. The hair and beard seem to have been gilt, as usual.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb with his hands crossed in front of him. The tomb is coloured light brown, and mottled to represent marble.

On the dexter side is St. Peter with key and closed book, in a white undergarment, and cloak or cope of white with red lining.

On the sinister is an archbishop in mitre, plain albe, and white cope with gold border and red lining. He holds a long cross and closed book.

The upper part of the field is pale brown or deep yellow, with groups of five dark spots inclosing a red one. The lower part is painted dark green, with the usual groups of white and red spots.

Below the figures is a handsome double canopy of open tracery with embattled cresting. The set-offs of the pinnacles are coloured alternately red and green.

Behind the tracery the ground is dark green. The coving of the canopy is painted red with a lozengy pattern in yellow.

On comparing the drawing with the fine tablet from Amport church (see No. 25) it will be seen that the two tablets are by the same hand. The canopy is exactly similar in design and colouring, and it is possible that, as in the Amport example, the Bristol canopy was on a separate piece of alabaster, and is wrongly placed (as drawn) below instead of over the panel.

Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the panel, which is not preserved in the church.

13. (*Type* c.) *Rev. W. K. Chafy-Chafy.*

Height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

An interesting and originally very fine example, forming a transition from type B to type C. It has unfortunately greatly perished through long burial in moist ground.

The saint's head lies on a flat dish, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and has the hair hanging down at the sides. The moustache is long, and the beard is forked, with the ends turned slightly outwards. The forehead and other features are decayed.

In base was a figure of the Holy Lamb couchant, beneath some sort of canopy.

On the dexter side is a sitting figure of St. Peter in albe, chasuble, etc., wearing the triple-crowned mitre. His hands, and the objects held by them, have perished.

The sinister figure is a seated archbishop in cope, with mitre and cross.

Above, on either side, is the figure of an angel, unfortunately much mutilated, holding the dish on which the saint's head lies.

All remains of colour have perished.

This panel is now framed.

It is said to have come from the site of Pershore abbey, and has certainly been exposed to long-continued moisture.

14. (*Type* c.) *Leicester Museum.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

This is a very fine example, with its original painting and gilding in good preservation. (Plate XXIV.)

The saint's head lies on a plain charger, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, with the edge painted red. The eyes are shown as open, and in the centre of the forehead is painted a bloody gash from which streaks of blood descend on each side of the nose. The hair is parted in the middle and disposed on either side of the face; and, with the beard, is thickly gilt.

In base is a half-figure of Our Lord in the tomb, the front of which he grasps with the right hand; the left hand is uplifted. Round the head is a torse from which issue drops of blood, and the hair and beard are gilt. The wound in the side is indicated with red paint. The tomb is painted light brown with black drops.

On the dexter side of the panel is a figure of St. Peter, clad in a white robe with gold borders and buttons, and a white cloak edged with gold and lined with red. The saint holds a large key, and a black book with gilt edges. His hair and beard are also gilt.

The sinister figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in white mitre with gold orphreys, amice, albe with gold border and three large red buttons down the upper part, and white cope with gold border and red lining. In the left hand is a tall gold cross with spirally painted staff, and in the right hand a closed book.

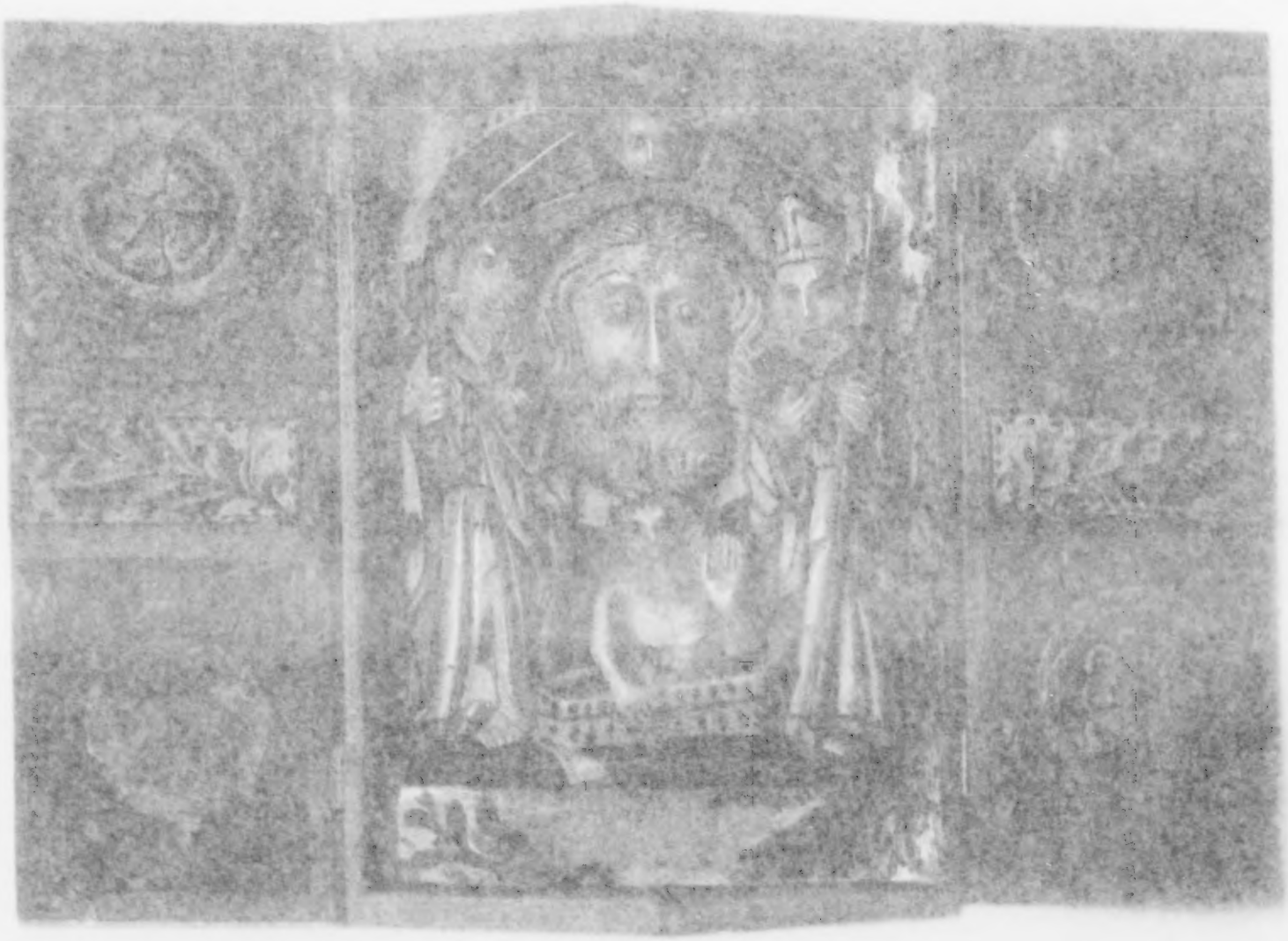
Above the saint's head appears a cherub's head and outstretched wings, the hair and wings being gilt; and over this, again, is a flat canopy with gold battlements and powdered with black spots.

The field is painted green, and is without the usual spots.

The back of the panel is quite flat, with two lead plugs with ends of latten wires.

This example is specially interesting from preserving entire its original case or housing.

This is an oaken box, 12 inches high and $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, with sloping sides and double doors. The top and bottom are not carried straight across, but rise from the sides to the centre, so that the closed doors, when the panel is laid on its back, resemble the gabled roof of a house. The outside of the case is quite plain,



A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER
IN THE LEICESTER MUSEUM, WITH ITS ORIGINAL CASE

original painting and gilding in good

inches in diameter, with the edge

the centre of the forehead is

descend on each side of the

and disposed on either side of the face;

in the tomb, the front of which he grasps

is uplifted. Round the head is a torse from

the hair and beard are gilt. The wound in the

The tomb is painted light brown with black

side of the panel is a figure of St. Peter, clad in a white robe

and buttons, and a white cloak edged with gold and lined with

holds a large key, and a black book with gilt edges. His hair

also gilt.

figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in white mitre with gold

alice, alike with gold border and three large red buttons down the

and white cope with gold border and red lining. In the left hand is

cross with spirally painted staff, and in the right hand a closed book.

the saint's head appears a cherub's head and outstretched wings, the

and wings being gilt; and over this, again, is a flat canopy with gold battle-

and powdered with black spots.

is painted green, and is without the usual spots.

of the panel is quite flat, with two lead plugs with ends of latten

example is specially interesting from preserving entire its original case

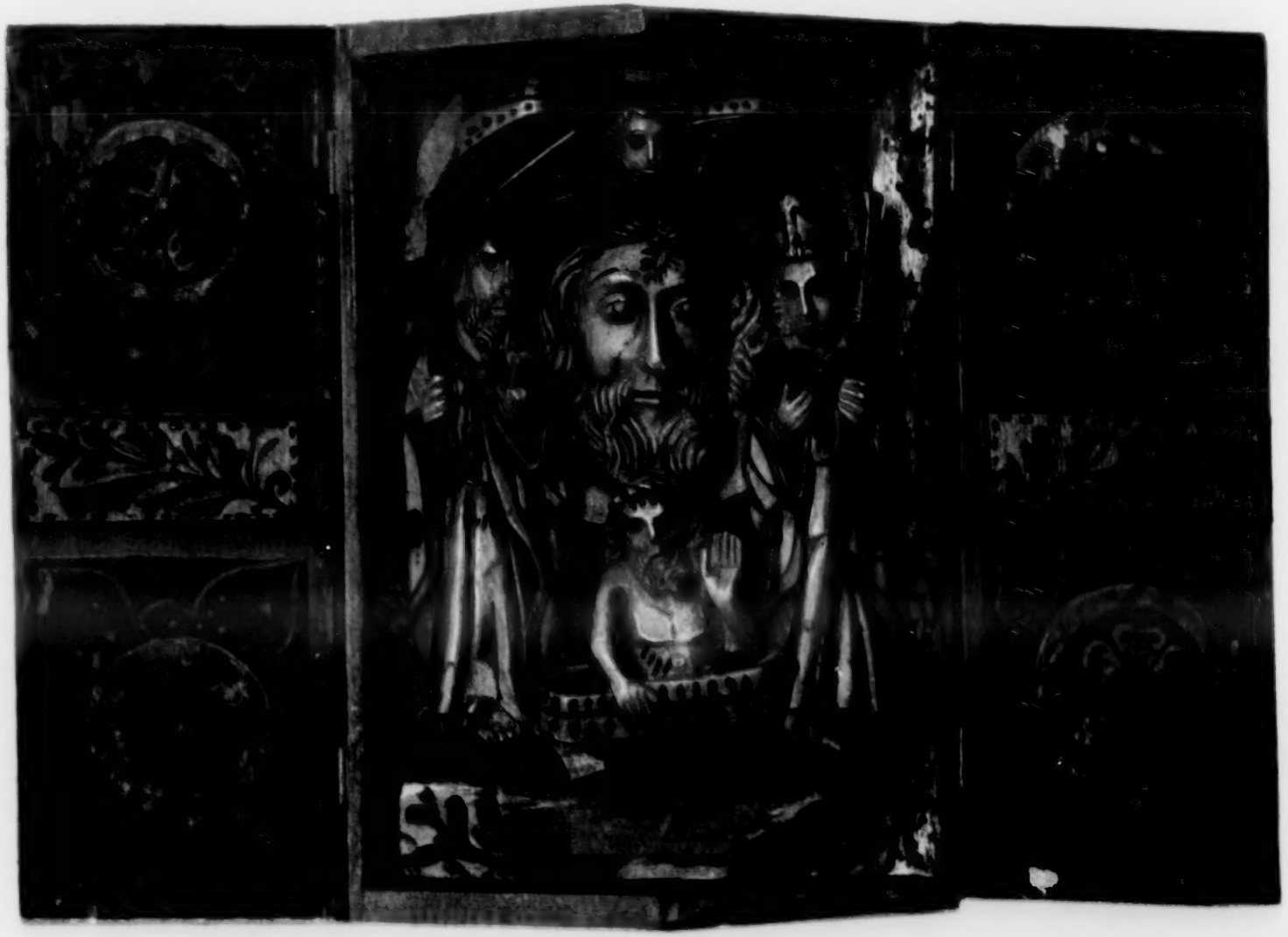
or housing.

is an oaken box, 12 inches high and 8¼ inches across, with sloping sides

double doors. The top and bottom are not carried straight across, but rise

the sides to the centre, so that the closed doors, when the panel is laid on its

resemble the gabled roof of a house. The outside of the case is quite plain,



A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER.
IN THE LEICESTER MUSEUM, WITH ITS ORIGINAL CASE (No. 14).
(½ *linear*)

but the inside still retains its original painted and gilded decoration. The top, sides, and bottom are white, with black and red leafwork; and a similar pattern is painted on a wooden block upon which the tablet stands. The doors are painted with an upper and a lower panel, divided by a broad strip with black and red leaves on a white ground and bordered, as are the doors, with red. The panels are painted green, with red cusped tracery, and have in the centre a gold ring of gesso work with slightly raised bosses. On the dexter door the upper ring contains a white rose on a black ground; and the lower ring a gold star or estoile of eight straight and as many wavy rays on a red ground. On the sinister door the star is in the upper panel and the rose in the lower. These devices possibly represent the white rose and blazing sun of the House of York.

The back of the case is of modern deal, and the original wire hinges have been replaced by others of brass.

Nothing appears to be known of the history of this example, nor does there seem to be any record of how the Leicester museum came by it.

15. (*Type* c.) Penes *T.*[*homas*] *A.*[*dderley*] *in* 1824.

This example is missing.

It is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[a] by "T. A." who purchased it about fifty years before at a sale of the effects of the Rev. Mr. Wickham, of Horrington, Somerset.

The head of the saint he describes as corresponding exactly with the engraving of Mr. Nichols' example on page 209.

The flanking saints were St. Peter and the archbishop.

In base was the Holy Lamb and at the top the head of an angel (probably as in the Leicester example).

16. (*Type* c.) *British Museum.*

Total height, 14 inches; width, 6 inches.

The saint's head lies on a plain circular dish with, originally, a narrow red edging, and has the hair arranged in short curly locks round the head; the

[a] Part ii. p. 292.

beard is short and rounded, and, together with the hair, was at one time gilt.

The wound over the left eye is plainly shewn.

The figure of Christ in base is, as usual, shewn as issuing from the tomb, the edge of which is grasped by the left hand, while the right is placed against the wound in the side. The long black hair falls over the shoulders and is encircled by a heavy dark-coloured torse.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side of the panel is vested in a girded albe, and cope with red lining. In his hands are the key and book. His hair and beard are gilt.

The archiepiscopal figure on the sinister side is habited in amice, albe, and white cope edged with gold and lined with red, and holds in his right hand a book and in his left a tall gold cross.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from clouds painted red. They are clad in albes and have red wings with eyes thereon like peacock's feathers. The angels hold between them a napkin from which issues a human head. The background to this is gilt.

The field of the panel is painted green, with the characteristic groups of red and white spots, which in this example are rather larger than usual.

The back of the panel is apparently cut away at the bottom, but the hollow is now plastered up. There is also one of the lead plugs for latten wire towards the upper part of one side.

To the bottom of this panel there is attached by plaster a block of alabaster with embattled top and simple bands down the middle and at the sides. It is slightly hollowed beneath, and is clearly a plain canopy for the panel now wrongly attached to the base. The mouldings bear traces of gilding, and the battlements were picked out with red.

This example originally belonged to Mr. J. B. Nichols, F.S.A. and is one of the two referred to by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824.[a]

17. (*Type* c.) *British Museum.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This interesting example (Plate XXII. fig. 2) was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. J. B. Nichols, F.S.A. and is one of the two referred to by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[b] where it is also figured.[c]

[a] Part i. page 397. [b] Part i. page 397. [c] Part ii. page 209.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish with gilt edge, and has the hair and beard disposed in corkscrew curls, which bears traces of gilding. There is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a figure of the Holy Lamb, couchant to the dexter.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side represents him as a pope in amice, girded albe, fanon, and white cope edged with gold and lined with red, and wearing the triple crown or mitre. His beard is gilt and in his hands are a book and key.

The archbishop on the opposite side wears an albe, and white cope lined with red, and holds in his left hand a tall cross.

In the upper part of the panel are two angels with gilt hair and red wings with white "eyes," holding between them a cloth or bag, from which issues a small human figure with gilt hair.

Over all is a projecting tester or canopy with embattled edge, and painted with black stripes on top. The under side is splashed with black.

The field of the panel is, as usual, painted green with groups of white and red spots.

The back of the panel is slightly cut away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs for wire fastenings, one on each side. At the sides the alabaster has been scraped away somewhat, probably for medicinal purposes.

Below the panel there is now a modern block of soft deal cut in imitation of the canopy fixed to the base of the last-mentioned example.

18. (*Type* c.) *Salisbury Museum.*

Height, $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, 7 inches.

This example has unfortunately been damaged at the top, and the colouring has all perished.

The head of St. John the Baptist lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and has the hair parted off the face in small wavy curls. The moustache is long and drooping. The beard is nearly covered by the figure of Christ below.

Our Saviour is represented from the waist up issuing from a long tomb. The hair is bound with the crown of thorns and falls over the shoulders, and the hands are extended on each side to show the nail-prints

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side is represented in a girded robe and cloak, and holding a large key and book.

The opposite figure is the usual one of an archbishop in mitre, albe, and unclasped cope, holding a book and long cross.

Both figures had the outer vestment lined with red.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing out of clouds, and holding up a large pointed oval with an erect naked figure of a soul therein. The angels' wings have been painted red; their heads have been broken off.

The back of the panel is flat, with the usual rough chopping away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs for wire fastenings.

Engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, xii. 185.

Presented to the Salisbury Museum by J. E. Nightingale, Esq. F.S.A.

19. *(Type* c.*)* *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

Height, $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A fine example, preserving much of its original colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with traces of an illegible black-letter inscription round the rim, and has the hair parted in the middle and hanging down straight on each side. The moustache appears only above the corners of the mouth, and the beard is formed of two portions each turned outwards, but apparently not divided. The eyes are open, and there is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ with long hair and short beard, wearing the crown of thorns and standing in the tomb, the front of which he grasps with both hands.

The central subject is flanked by two saints; on the dexter by St. Peter in a blue robe, and holding a key and book; on the sinister by an archbishop in a red cope, with cross and book.

Above are two angels, unfortunately headless, with red wings, holding up a pointed oval with a naked soul.

The background of the panel is painted dark green, with groups of five white and central red spots.

20. *(Type* c.*)* *Rouen Museum.*

This example, although now in France, is clearly one of this series of English sculptures.

It has the head of St. John Baptist on a dish in the centre, with the figure of Christ below, and across the top a row of five angels.

The flanking saints are St. Peter and the archbishop.

21. (*Type* D?) *Formerly in the possession of David Wells, Esq., F.S.A.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.[a]

Exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on November 12th, 1789, by the Rev. John Pridden, F.S.A., and described by him as

An antique piece of sculpture in marble, an ICUNCULA composed of various figures in alto-relievo and grouped together without any meaning, unless it was to represent the tutelar saints belonging to the Family original Possessor of it. In the middle is placed the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus and surrounded by five figures the head of St. John is considerably larger than the figures; on the dexter side is a whole length figure of St. Peter holding a key in his right and a book in his left hand, and over him is a half length figure of St. Catherine with a wheel in her right hand; on the sinister side is another whole length figure mitred &c, and supposed to be an archbishop from his holding a pontifical cross in his left hand instead of a Crozier, the crosier only being appropriated to Bishops and Abbots. the half figure over this is broken off and nothing remains but the left hand, at the bottom and between St. Peter and the archbishop is a figure of a Person rising out of a tomb, the head gone intended for Lazarus there being no traces of a nimbus. The whole of this group has been painted, and the cross on the archiepiscopal staff gilt. This last piece of sculpture is accompanied with a drawing, the size of the original, and which represents a facsimile, it was preserved for many years as a curiosity in the mansion house of a respectable family in Staffordshire, and most probably was originally placed in some small chapel or closet oratory. It now . . . . forms part of the Collection of David Wells of Burbach in the County of Leicester Esq.; a Gentleman well known for his literary talents, and antiquarian researches.[b]

This panel is engraved by Schnebbelie in his *Antiquaries Museum*, published in 1791, and also by Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire*.[c] Nichols says it was exhibited to the Society in 1789 by Mr. Wells, who communicated the following description of it:

It is inclosed in a box, or tabernacle, with double doors, after the old manner of pictures, the better to preserve it from injury and dust, to be opened and shut occasionally. Such representations were formerly often placed in small oratories or chapels. The middle figure is the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus, etc.

The rest of his description is to the same effect as that in our minute book.

[a] These dimensions are from the engraving given by Nichols, which appears to be full size.

[b] Minute Book, xxiii. 177.

[c] Vol. iv. part ii. page 461.

Mr. Wells died without issue in 1790, when his property descended to his nephew, who sold it in 1795. Since then the tablet has been lost sight of.

The plate engraved by Nichols also appears in Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*,[a] published in 1825, where it is described as representing the Syrian legend of the image of Christ, a theory first suggested by Dr. Meyrick in a letter to Mr. J. B. Nichols, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824.[b]

This tablet is of the same character as others of the series, and has the field diapered with the usual groups of spots. The figure of Christ in base has the bands crossed in front of the body. The head of St. John has the head parted off the face and the beard divided. The original tablet has evidently suffered considerable injury, especially at the top, and it is doubtful whether it belongs to type D or is an example intermediate between that and type C.

It is possible that this example may be the one described in the following note, for which I am indebted to J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A.:

Copy of a Note of mine in *Catalogue of the Manchester Exhibition*, 1857.

"Alabaster St. John—same size as mine—more in relief—heavier art, more German—figures the same, with two saints, St. Catherine and St. Peter—a deep gash cut in St. John's forehead—a canopy placed over but not attached, might be different work—faces generally ugly—charger distinctly seen—called a 'Tryptic' (it has wings in wood), labelled,

'German or Flemish, late 15th cent^y.'

HENRY BOWDEN, Esq."

No particulars given in Catalogue. J. E. N.

22. (*Type* D.) *Miss Knight.*[c]

Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This is an almost perfect example, but has been denuded of all its original colouring. (Plate XXIII. fig. 2.)

The head of St. John the Baptist is represented lying on a plain round dish, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with the hair arranged in pointed curls across the forehead and at the sides of the face. The moustache is long and drooping, and the

[a] Vol ii. page 683.

[b] Part i. page 397.

[c] This example has since been acquired by the British Museum.

beard is short and disposed in two wavy curls. There is no cut over the left eye.

In base is the figure of Christ in the tomb. The hands have the nail-prints, and are bound with a cord in front of the body. The head has long hair bound with a torse as the crown of thorns, and is inclined to the right. The tomb has plain mouldings round the top and base.

The dexter figure is, as usual, that of St. Peter, in girded albe and choir cope, holding a large key and closed book.

The sinister figure is that of an archbishop, with mitre, albe, and choir cope, holding up a book in his right hand and in his left a long cross. The staff of this had the part below the hand made of a separate piece of alabaster, now lost.

Over St. Peter is a figure in gown and tippet holding a closed book, and in his right hand a staff. The head of this is broken, and it is therefore difficult to identify the saint.

The opposite figure is that of St. James the Great as a pilgrim, with a shell on the front of his hat, and holding a book and bourdon.

Over the head of St. John are two small angels with long hair, holding up a pointed oval formed of rays, on which is a small naked figure with long hair of the fashion prevalent in the reign of Edward IV.

The back of the tablet is flat, cut away roughly at the bottom, with two lead plugs for the wire fastenings down the centre line.

23. (*Type* D.) Penes *Rev. W. Stukeley, F.S.A., in* 1746.

This example is known only from the engraving of it, already mentioned, in Stukeley's *Palæographica Britannica*, published in 1746.

It is described as exactly 12 inches in height, which gives the width, according to the drawing, as 7 inches.

The head of St. John the Baptist lies on a plain charger, and has the hair shown as hanging straight down.

In base is a whole-length naked figure of Christ sitting on a rock, or some such seat, his hands bound with a long cord, and a torse round the head.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side has the triple crowned mitre as bishop of Rome. He holds in the left hand a model of a church with a spire, and in his right a key.

The sinister figure represents St. Paul with open book.

Above St. Peter is St. Katharine, crowned, and holding a spiked wheel and sword; and above St. Paul, a crowned figure of St. Margaret with long cross and open book.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from the clouds, and holding between them a pointed oval with a naked figure therein.

It is much to be regretted that this panel cannot be found. It will be seen to differ from other examples (1) in the representation of the figure of Christ as whole length, instead of in the tomb, and (2) in having St. Paul in place of the archbishop.

Mr. J. G. Nichols, in his note in *Bury Wills and Inventories*, suggests that the figure of St. Paul is "probably the draughtsman's misapprehension, from the crosier of St. Thomas having been broken in the original."[a]

24. (*Type* D.) *Rev. Edward Duke.*[b]

Height, 12½ inches; width, 8 inches.

This is a very good example, but has lost every trace of its colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish, 6¼ inches in diameter, and has the hair disposed in pointed locks round the face. The moustache and whiskers are curled, and the beard is divided into two large curls. There is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb, wearing a crown of thorns, represented as a torse, and a loin cloth. The hair falls over the shoulders. The left hand is broken off, but the right is shown holding open the wound in the side. The tomb is plainly moulded, and placed obliquely.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side is represented in gown and long cloak or cope, and holding a closed book and key.

The sinister figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in mitre, ungirded albe, and cope, holding a long cross. The right hand, now broken off, was raised in benediction.

Above St. Peter is a figure of St. Katharine, crowned, and holding a wheel and sword.

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories* (Camden Society, 49), 255.

[b] Lake House, Salisbury.

The opposite figure is that of St. Dorothy. Her hair is long and encircled by a fillet. In her right hand is a basket of flowers, and in the left a spray of three roses on one stem.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from clouds, and holding up between them a pointed oval, on which lies a small naked figure with long hair. This perhaps represents the soul of the lady who originally owned the tablet.

The panel is now affixed to a thin slab of slate.

Engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824, part ii. page 209.

25. (*Type* D.) *Amport church, Hants.*

Height, 18 inches; width, 9½ inches.

This very fine example is not only quite perfect, but it retains the whole of its original colouring in an unusual state of preservation. (Plate XXV.)

The tablet is formed of two separate pieces: one, 14 inches high, with the sculptured head and figures; the other, 4 inches high, is a handsome canopy.

The saint's head has the hair disposed in three pointed locks on the forehead, with two long wavy locks at the sides. The moustache is short but wavy, as are the whiskers. The beard is divided into two forked wavy curls. The hair and beard are thickly gilt. The eyes are painted with blue irises, and open; the lips and eyebrows are also painted. There is no cut on the brow.

The dish under the head is 6¼ inches in diameter. It has the edge painted red, and round the rim is the inscription:

+ Caput —— + —— fancte +

'istorie +

which may be translated:

The head of holy writ.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb. The eyes are painted blue; the hair and beard are gilt, and a dark green torse encircles the head, which inclines to the right. The right hand appears to grasp the flesh of the lower part of the chest; the left hand grasps the front edge of the tomb. The body is quite naked, with the exception of a loin cloth edged with blue. The tomb is placed obliquely, and is painted black with white drops.

The dexter figure represents St. Peter in white robe and mantle, both bordered with a gold band edged with blue; the mantle is lined with red. The hair and beard are gilt. In the left hand is a dark blue book with a white leaf pattern and gilt edges, and in the right hand a gold key.

The opposite figure is that of an archbishop in plain gold-edged mitre, albe, and white cope. The vestments are bordered like St. Peter's, and the cope lined with red. In the left hand is a tall gold cross with dark-coloured staff. The right hand, which is covered with a white glove with blue tassel, is raised in benediction.

Above St. Peter is a crowned figure of St. Margaret, holding in her right hand a large gold cross-staff, and in her left a book bound in red with white leaves and gilt edges. The hair and crown are gilt.

The figure over the archbishop is that of St. Katharine, crowned, and holding in her right hand a spiked wheel, in her left a sword. The hair and crown are gilt. The wheel is painted dark brown. The sword has a green hilt with white lattice-pattern and gold pommel and quillons; the sheath is coloured green with a white twisted pattern, and white lines along the edges.

Both St. Margaret and St. Katharine have white dresses laced up the front with blue, and white mantles edged with gold and lined with blue.

Above the head of St. John are two demi-angels in white albes and amices, and red wings with eyes like peacocks' feathers. Between them they hold up a white cloth edged with red, in which is the bust of a small figure to represent a soul.

The field has the lower half painted green, with characteristic groups of spots and white branches; the upper half is coloured deep yellow with red branches, and at the top has a narrow black engrailed border.

The canopy consists of three panels of pierced tracery, with intermediate pinnacles. These have little gilt gables, the set-offs alternately green and red, and pendants painted brown. Across the top is an embattled cornice decorated with blue, red, and gold. The under-part of the canopy is a coving painted red with yellow strips in imitation of ribs; the interspaces have white branches.

This tablet is said to have been found in a house at Amport some twenty or thirty years ago. It is now cemented to a black marble slab, and fixed to the wall in the south transept of the church over a fire-place in the Marquess of Winchester's pew.



A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER,
IN AMPORT CHURCH, HANTS (No. 25).
(½ *linear*).

26. (*Type* D.) *Lord St. Levan.*

Height, $14\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This example as a work of art is certainly the finest of these tablets. It is also of interest as presenting several unusual features. The colouring has almost entirely perished. (Plate XXVI.)

The saint's head has the hair disposed in pointed locks across the face and at the sides, and the beard is divided into two wavy locks. The hair and beard were gilt, and the eyes painted as open. There is no cut over the eye. The dish is 6 inches in diameter, and originally had a narrow red border. It also bore the inscription in black-letter:

[Caput] ſci iohis B[aptiſte]

Instead of the Holy Lamb or figure of Christ in base, this example has a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned and holding in her left hand a sceptre, with the infant Christ on her knee. The Saviour holds in his left hand an orb, which he is touching with his right as if blessing it. His head, which was worked separately and fixed by a wooden peg, is lost. The colour of Our Lady's gown cannot be ascertained, but its lining was certainly red. Her mantle or over-garment was wholly red. The hair, crown, and sceptre were gilt.

On the dexter side of Our Lady is a sitting figure of St. Peter with closed book and key. His hair and beard have been gilt and the book painted red.

On the sinister side is a sitting figure of an archbishop, in mitre, albe, gold amice, and cope with gold border. In his left hand is a long cross; the right is raised in benediction. His gloves have blue tassels.

The figure above St. Peter is that of St. Christopher carrying Our Lord across the water. He wears a cap, an outer robe lined with red and edged with gold, and holds in his right hand a branch of a green tree, which is broken. The hair is gilt. With his left hand he upholds the infant Saviour, who has an orb in his left hand, and his right raised in benediction.

The figure opposite is that of St. James the Great, in pilgrim's hat with shell in front, and holding a book and staff, the latter is unfortunately broken. His hair was gilt, and the book and lining of his outer garment painted red.

At the top are the half-length figures of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity,

represented as bearded, with long hair, and gold crowns; the hair and beards are also gilt. At the back of each figure is a large flat disc or nimbus, with traces of red colouring. The figure of God the Father, on the sinister side, has the orb in the left hand; the right was raised in benediction, but is broken. The figure of God the Son, on the dexter side, has the left hand upraised, and the right grasping a cross staff, which is mutilated. He also has a torse round the temples, to represent the crown of thorns. The central figure, of God the Holy Ghost, has the right hand raised in blessing; the left is broken off. The ground between these figures is gilt.

The field of the panel is coloured dark green, with the usual groups of white and red spots.

The back of the panel is flat with the bottom cut away; it has also two wide and deep chases at the sides. The top is cut carefully into a three-lobed head following the outline of the figures in front. The four corners as well as the top have each a lead plug, with fragments of the latten wire for suspension.

This fine panel is now preserved in the chapel at St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall.

27. *Winchester, St. John's Hospital.*

All that is known of this doubtful example is the following notice of it in Milner's account of the hospital:

> In the dust hole near the apartments of the widows, amongst other curious antiques, was to be seen, 'till of late, the figure of St. John the Baptist's head in the dish; being the bust of the holy patron of the house. This formerly stood over the principal doorway.

In a note is added:

> In the course of last year it was removed from its disgraceful situation, and erected in one of the cloisters of the house, by order of the Mayor.[a]

[a] Milner, *The History civil and ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* (Winchester, 1809), ii. 208.



A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER.
LORD ST. LEVAN (No. 26).
(½ *linear*).

We now pass to the consideration of the meaning of the sculptures of these panels.

This is a subject beset with difficulties, and after much research I am afraid I cannot offer a really satisfactory explanation.

That there is a close relation between the principal subject and the accessory in base appears certain, since, whatever be the variations in the other features, the head of St. John is always accompanied by the figure of Christ or the Holy Lamb.

For a long time I despaired of finding a clue, but it at last occurred to me to see what could be found in the old English service-books. The Sarum books yielded nothing, but in the York porthos, in the fourth lesson for the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, I found an explanation:

> Caput Johannis in disco: signat corpus Christi: quo pascimur in sancti altari: Et quod ecclesie gentium tribuitur in salutem ac remedium animarum.

But though this explains the association of the head with the figure of Christ or Holy Lamb, I cannot see any connection between St. John the Baptist's head and the Sacrament of the altar.

Apart from this, the occurrence of the explanation in the York service-book alone is of considerable interest, for since, as we have seen, large numbers of these tablets were carved at Nottingham, which was then in the diocese of York, the particular phrase employed may have suggested the association of the emblems to the first designer of the tablets.

The figure of the Holy Lamb may of course also be given as the emblem of St. John the Baptist, but the final meaning conforms to that of the figure of Christ, whether as the suffering Man, or the Infant on His mother's knee.

The accessory or accessories at the top of the panels do not appear to have any special significance. That of most frequent occurrence, the representation of the soul held up by angels, may have reference to the saint, but it more likely represents the soul of the donor or possessor of the tablet, who thus desired to shew that he or she placed himself or herself under the saint's protection, and in more than one example the long hair shews that the figure is that of a woman.

The choice of the figures of saints is not easy of explanation, nor can I suggest the reason why the head of St. John the Baptist should be surrounded by figures of other holy men and women.

St. Peter was doubtless chosen as chief of the apostles, and St. Thomas of Canterbury as the saint whom Englishmen looked upon with such profound feel-

ings of veneration. It is, however, possible, that St. Peter was selected from his association with the church of York, and that the archbishop is St. William; in which case the two York saints would form fitting supporters for a subject derived from the York porthos, and carved by Nottingham "alablastermen" in York diocese.

The other saints represented are SS. Katharine (four times), James (twice), Margaret (twice), Dorothy, Christopher, and two others not easily identified. The choice of them does not appear to have been guided by any particular rule. It should be noticed, however, that St. John the Baptist and St. Katharine were very frequently associated together in medieval art; why, I know not. A beautiful little gold pendant, having St. John the Baptist on one side and St. Katharine on the other was exhibited before the Society in 1876, and is engraved in *Proceedings*,[a] and the same two saints are sculptured on the curious lantern pendant in Patrington church, Yorkshire.[b] In 1380 Edmund earl of March bequeathed to Sir Hugh de Boraston "un tablet ove les images de Seint John et Seynt Kateryne par dehors,"[c] and in the inventory of the cathedral church of Exeter for 1506 one of the rector's staves is described as:

> j baculus de buxo cum j pecia argentea et ymaginibus Sancti Johannis Baptistae et Sanctæ Katerinæ de ebore et duo capita draconum in summitate[d]

and belonging to St. Paul's altar in the same church was

> j front de panno lineo stayned cum ymagine beatæ Mariæ in medio et ymagine Johannis Baptistæ et Sancti Antonii ex j latere et ymagine Sanctæ Katerinæ et Sancti Nicholai ex altera.[e]

As to the particular reason why these panels should have been so popular I cannot say. The Sarum and York service books show that the saint's head was held in high repute, and the sequence for the feast of the beheading on Aug. 29 in the York mass-book speaks of it as:

> O beatum caput dignumque reverentia,
> Quod in disco matri tulit feralis bellua,
> Quod tam multos instruxerat de Christi notitia.

[a] 2nd S. vi. 510.
[b] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, i. 203.
[c] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 115.
[d] Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, 329.
[e] *Ibid.* 360.

Here again we have the veneration paid to the head cropping up in the diocese of York, and it is worth noting that the town of Halifax is said by some to take its name from "the real face of St. John Baptist, hence called Hallifax, or Holy-Face," reported to have been preserved there.[a] Beyond, however, the fact of the parish church of Halifax being dedicated to St. John the Baptist, there appears to be no foundation for the story.

The only place of pilgrimage to St. John's head that I have met with in England was at Trimingham, Norfolk, concerning which Blomfield says:

> In this church was (as pretended) a famous relick in times of popery, the head of St. *John* the Baptist, to which pilgrimages, great worship, and offerings were made. In one of the will books at *Norwich* is that of *Alice Cook* of *Horstead*, wife of *Robert Cook* of *Crostwheytin*, in 1478;—"It. I wyll have a man to go a pilgrimage to St. *John* hys hede of *Trymmyngham*."[b]

St. John's head in a charger is carved in one of the spandrils of the screen in Trimingham church,[c] which is also dedicated in the saint's honour.

I have now laid before the Society all that I have been able to learn as to the history and meaning of these sculptures.

They are curious examples of a medieval tablet in which the same design was copied and multiplied, and it is clear that they were not panels for reredoses, but devotional tablets of a special kind that could be hung up, perhaps favoured by the members of some large gild.

The object of veneration, as I have shown, is not solely the head of St. John the Baptist, but in some mystical way at present unknown a connection of it with the sacrament of the altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming, it would be useless to speculate what the gild was which favoured this particular device. I am, however, inclined to look for it in Yorkshire; and maybe it was the famous guild of the Corpus Christi in the city of York itself. This theory, which was also independently suggested to me by Mr. Micklethwaite, has these points in its favour:

1. The tablets seem to have been restricted to private use, since they are not found in church inventories;
2. The device is a proper one for members of a Corpus Christi gild;

[a] Watson, *History of Halifax*, 207, 331.
[b] *History of Norfolk*, viii. 179.
[c] *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii. 353.

3. The explanation of the device occurs only in the York service-books;
4. St. Peter is the patron saint of York;
5. In 1478 the master, wardens, and brethren of the ancient hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury at York[a] transferred their house and possessions to the Corpus Christi gild, and so we have a reason for the figure of the archbishop on the panels;
6. Several of the examples from the inventories which I have quoted belonged to persons whose names occur in the roll of the Corpus Christi gild.

Unfortunately neither the records nor inventories of the Corpus Christi gild afford any further help, and so the case must stand where it does.

[a] This hospital of course continued to exist, and most fortunately was not suppressed with the gild in 1547. It was remodelled in after times, and still flourishes for the benefit of the poor of York.

XXII.—*On the use of the terms Crosier, Pastoral Staff, and Cross.*

By the Rev. J. T. Fowler, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read June 19, 1890.

Having for some time been collecting evidence on the use of these terms, I think it may be acceptable to our Society to have the results brought before them in a systematic form, and the more so, because we find what I cannot but regard as mistakes on the subject, not only made but defended, in quarters where we should least of all expect anything of the kind.[a] I think I am able to show conclusively that, except during the last half-century, the terms "pastoral staff" and "crosier" have all but invariably been applied to the same thing, namely a bishop's crook, and that the term "crosier" was scarcely ever applied to an archbishop's cross until about 1826. About ten years later, the new nomenclature all at once manifested extraordinary vitality, and was regarded by Anglican ecclesiologists as strictly "correct." We find it even in the writings of Blore, M. H. Bloxam, J. H. Parker, the younger Pugin, Dr. Hook,[b] Webb, Haines, Boutell, Browne of York, Lee, Blunt,[b] Shipley, Marriott, Mackenzie Walcott, Mrs. Jameson, and Fairholt, also in several dictionaries, though not in that of Skeat. Roman Catholic writers of the old school, unaffected by the Anglican ecclesiological revival, such as Bishop Milner, used the terms in the old English way. But Dr. Rock, while rightly calling the archiepiscopal cross a "cross," and never a crosier, seems shy of calling a bishop's crook a crosier, and always uses the

[a] See particularly *Archaeologia*, li. 351-381.

[b] In the latest editions of Hook's *Church Dictionary* and of Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, the term "crosier" is used in the ancient and proper way. See below, section 5.

term "pastoral staff." Dr. Husenbeth, in *Notes and Queries*, Feb., 1859, p. 178, says of the latter, "Some have lately affected to call it the pastoral staff," but expresses his preference for "crosier," as hallowed by long usage. In *Notes and Queries* for December, 1886, p. 435, he says he is "aware" that in strictness the term crosier belongs to a cross, but that by long usage it has been applied to a bishop's crook; this only shows that by that time he had been to some extent influenced by the prevailing fashion.

Let me now endeavour to establish by quotations and references the main points of my contention.

1. *Croce, croche, crosse, etc., a bishop's crook.*

The usual old English word for a bishop's crook was croce, croche, or crosse, in a number of similar monosyllabic forms (1330-1672).

1330. Rob. of Brunne, *Preface*, p. 195 (here used in sense of episcopal appointments).
On þe forth day gaf he giftes gode, kroces and clerkes of pris.

1377. Langland, P. Pl., B. viii. 94, a bisshopes crosse; 1393, C. xi. 92.
Dobest bere shold þe bisshopes croce and halye with þe hoked ende.

c. 1430. *Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode*, B. III. ch. 6.
Of bishopes croos he made his howwe [hoe] and his pikoyse [mattock]. Pikoise was the sharpe ende, and howwe the krookede ende.

1431. Inventory of St. Peter, Cheap, London.
A crose for the bysshope.

1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, s.v. Croce of a bysshope, *pedum*.

c. 1450. *Castle Howard MS. Life of St. Cuthbert* (Surtees) 6247-51.
He had a dreme þe same nyght:
A bischop, in his vestement dyght,
Stode be his bed syde,
And with his croche on him he putt,
And strake þar with, all full butt.

1451. Inventory of Adam de Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, (quoted in *Archaeologia*, li. 375).
Item a croke heyd with saynte George and ye sarpente.

1460. Capgrave, *Chronicle*, Rolls edition (1858), 134.
Prelatis, with here crosses and croses (croyses, MS. C.C.C.)

c. 1460. *Medulla Grammatica*, (quoted in Way's *Prompt. Parv.* p. 80, note).
Cambuca, a buschoppys cros, or crokid staf.

1466. Inventory of St. Stephen's Coleman Street, London, in *Archaeologia*, l. 42.
j staf with a croyse for Synt nicñus bysshupe.

1481-1509. Inventory of Tewkesbury Abbey, (quoted in *Archaeologia*, li. 379.)
"Seuen staffys" with "crockkheddys and haftes of sylū."

1483. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, f. cxxiii. col. 1.
A stroke wyth hys croche.

1483. *Catholicon Anglicum* s.v. A cruche, *cambuca, pedum.*

15th c. *Vocabulary* in Wright's *A. S.* and *O. E. Vocabularies* (1884), 569. Cambucca, a busshopys cros. Cambuccarius, a Croser.

1500-33. *Ortus Vocabulorum* s.v. *Cambuca*, a crutche.

1525-36. Tyndall, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Parker Society (1848), Works, i. 252.
Is not that shepherd's hoke, the bishop's crose, a false sign?

1528. Roy, *Rede me, etc.* (Arber) 31.
Adeu forked mitres and crosses of gold.

1530. Palsgrave, s.v. Crosse for a byshope, *crosse.*

1536. Inventory of Whalley Abbey, in *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.* N.S. vii. 107.
j Crowche of silver and gilt with a staff of silver. Anodher Crowche of silver and gilt set with safours without a staff.

c. 1539. Westminster Inventories, in *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* iv. 318, 319.
Crosse staff, Crosse, Crose, crose stayff (referring to abbots' crosiers).

1539. Fountains Abbey Inventory, in Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 144.
One cruche head gilt. One head of a cruche of silver.

1547. (Written 1550.) Inventory of Henry VIII's Jewel house, f. 144b.
Item one Crosier staffe with a Crosse of silver gilte—the Crosse lacking viij Braunches, etc.

1552. *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Allhallows Day.
The prebendaries of Pawles left of their hoodes, and the Bishops their crosses.

1563. *Bishop Pilkington's Works*, (Parker Society) 586.
This (bishop) has neither cruche nor mitre.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, 46, *pr. manu*, "crutch or staffe," altered in the Cosin MS. to crosier in the same hand but with different ink; cf. p. 49 (Surtees ed.)

1593. *Ib.* 88, with his crutch in his hand.

1627. *Minshæi Emendatio*, s.v. Croce, also crosier.

1672. Davies, ed. of *Rites of Durham*, 157.
His crutch (or crosier-staff) in his hand.

2. *The bearer of it called a crocer or crossier.*

Any one appointed to carry it for the bishop was called his crocer, croyser, or crossier. (1290-1585.)

1290. *Liber de miraculis Tho. Ep. Herefordensis*, MS. quoted in Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, s.v. *Crociarius*. Clericus Episcopi Dunelm. quem vulgo Crociarium ejus vocant.

1360-80. Wyclif, *Tracts* (1879), xiii. 210.

> 3e, prelatis & men of singuler religion þat takes þe charge to ben procuratouris & dispenderis of þore mennus liflode, cloþen fatte horsis & gaie sadlis & bridlis, & mytris, & croceris[a] wiþ gold& siluer & precious stonys, & suffren þore men & children perische for cold.

1440. *Prompt. Parv.* Crocere, crociarius, cambucarius.

15th c. *Vocab.* (See above, Section 1.) Cambuccarius, a Croser.

1558. *Machyn's Diary*, Camden Society, 171.

> My lord of London crossear, Master Mortun, on of the gray ames of Powlles.

1585. Higins, *Junius' Nomenclator*, 313. (quoted in *Pr. Parv.*) Lituus, a crosiers staffe, or a bishops staffe.

3. *The same term was used for an archbishop's (or pope's) cross-bearer.* (1440-1661 and 1858.)

c.1380. P. Plowman; *Text* C. vi. 113. (E.E.T.S. 1873.)

> And reson reuested, ryȝt as a pope, and conscience his crocer by-fore þe kynge stande.

1440. *Prompt. Parv.* Crocere, crociarius, cambucarius, *crucifer*.

1483. *Cath. Angl.* A crocer, *cruciferarius, crucifer*..

1483. *Golden Legend.*

> One Syr Edwarde gryme that was his croiser put forth his arme with the crosse, etc.

[a] At first sight this word would certainly seem to mean *crook*, but I have not been able to find another example of "crocer" in any sense other than that of croce-bearer or cross-bearer, which is probably its meaning here. Wyclif may have introduced it by way of a fling at bishops having "crocers" to bear their "croces" for them instead of bearing them in their own hands.

c. 1485. Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 192.

The archbishop's "suffragan was croyser, and bar the Archbishops crosse."

1516. *Golden Legend*, as above, fol. lxvj.

1551. MS. in Fiddes's *Wolsey* (1726) ii. 201.

The Bishop of Rochester was Crosier to my Lord of Canterbury during the Masse.

1563? (date of 1st ed.) 1583. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s.a. 1164.

He taketh from Alexander his crosier, the crosse with the crosse-staffe . . and carrieth it himselfe (the other Bishops following him and saying) he did otherwise then became him. Amongst other Robert bishop of Hereford offred himselfe to beare his crosse rather then he should so doe.

In the edition of 1854 the words *the cross with the cross staff* are put in parenthesis-marks, the editor having imagined that they were a gloss.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 85.

The crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other come behind, for feare of Iustling.

1586. Holinshed, *Description of Ireland*, 32.

The canon law, that admitteth the crosier to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince.

1661. Sylvanus Morgan, *Sphere of Gentry*, bk. ii. ch. i. p. 17.

He being the first Scripture worthy that bore the Cross . . . went without a Croisier, and returned a Palmer.

1858. Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 18.

The archiepiscopal cross is never carried by the Archbishop, but by one of his chaplains, chosen to act as cross-bearer or "croyser."

"*Cross-bearer*," *was also in use.*

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 85.

Their crosse-bearers should go togithir.

1577-87. Holinshed, *Chronicle*, v. 3, p. 290, col. 2. He had two crossebearers, and two pillerbearers.

1679. Baker, *Chronicle*, 57.

It is said, his Cross-bearer and some other about him blamed him for that he had done.

1726. Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 94.

He has . . . the bishop of Rochester (Time was) for his Cross-bearer.

1845. Knight, *Old England*, i. 151.

The faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme.

1858. Purchas, see just above.

4. A bishop's staff was called a crosier's staff or crosier-staff.

A bishop's staff was commonly called a croyser staff, crosiers staff, crosier's staff, or crosier staff, as if people connected it more closely with the clerk who commonly carried it than with the bishop himself. (1488-1767.)

1488. Inv. of St. Christopher le Stocks, London, in *Archaeologia*, xlv. 119.
A miter for a bisshop . . . and a croyser staffe hed gilte thereto.

c. 1511. *First Eng. book on America* (Arber) Introd. xxxi. col. i.
Theyr bysshops clothed . . . with the croysers staffe and rynge.

1535-6. Inv. of Langley Abbey; in *Reliquary*, N. S. iv. 158.
A crosiar staff.

1547 (written 1550) Inv. of Henry VIII's jewel house, fol. 144b.
Item j. Crosier Staffe wth a Crosse of Silver gilte (cf. section 1., under dates 1525, 1552.) . . . the staffe conteyneng v. peces. Item one gilte crosier staffe wth a staffe made of three peces all gilt wth a pike of silver at thende.

1552. Inv. of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, in *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 125.
A Crosier-staff with a picture of S. Nicholas on one side and S. Peter on the other side.

1552. Inv. of Winchester Cath. Ch., in *Archaeologia*, xliii. 235.
j. myghtar of perle and a crosyar staffe of silvar and gilt.

1570. Googe, *Popish Kingedome* (ed. Hope), 10.
Now last of all his crosiar staffe in hande he holds upright.

1572. Gascoigne, *Flowers*, quoted by Skeat.
Because a crosier staffe is best for such a crooked time.

1580. Hollyband, *Treasurie of the French Tong*.
Vne croce, a crosier staffe.

1585. Higins, *Junius' Nomenclator*, 313.
Lituus, a crosiers staffe, or a bishops staffe.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, Cosin MS. Description of Bishop Beaumont:
His crosiers staffe in his hand. (N.B. Crosier's, in Surtees ed., p. 13, l. 15, is crosiers in the MS.).

1593. *Rites*, Surtees ed., 41.
A crosier staffe in his left hand.

1611. Jewel, Sermons, *Parker Society* (1847), ii. 1020.
Their crosier's (*sic*) staff signifieth diligence in attending the flock of Christ.

1611. Speed, *Hist. Great Britain*, Bk. ix. ch. iv. sec. 53.
And lastly, the bishops with their crosier staues.

1613. Inv. of John Barnes, (brother of Bp. Barnes) in *Durham Chronicle*, Nov. 28, 1890, p. 8, col. 6.

A crozier staff, gilt, with case, 6s. 8d.

1614. Raleigh, *Hist. of World*, Bk. II. 503. Crosier staffe (used figuratively).

Rome . . . having bin unfortunate, at length betakes herselfe againe to the crosier staffe.

1626. Hegg, *Legend of St. Cuthbert*, ed. 1824, 167.

As if at that tyme he had seene him in his Myter and his Crosier Staffe.

c. 1640. Cosin, *Notes on Bk. of C. P.* 3rd Ser. Wks. v. 439.

The bishop's crosier staff.

1641. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s. a. 1555, iii. 174. Crosier-staff.

When he should have given Doctor Taylor a stroke on the Breast with his Crosier staffe.

1660. Hexham, *Englisq und Netherduytch Dictionarie.* A crosier-staff, Een kruyserr stock.

1663. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hier. Angl.* 84.

Elias Ashmole, Esq, Windsor Herald, carried the pastoral staff or crosier staff.

1671. Skinner, *Etymologicon*, s. v. A crosier staff, *pedum episcopale.*

1671. Davies, *Rites of Durham*, 157. Crutch or Crosier staff.

1673. (Rd. Leigh), *Transposer Rehears'd*, 95.

Lord Viscount Falkland in a sharp speech [in 1641] against them [bishops] confesses, "that some of them . . . . . being neither Ambitious before nor Proud after, either of the *Crosier Staffe*, or *White Staffe*."

1691. Childe, T. *New English Dictionary*, (printed for). A Crosier staff . . . q. d. a Bishop's Pastoral staff.

1733. *Rites of Durham*, 1st ed. 19.

Crosier staff. (The second ed. of 1743 is only the same with a new title).

1767. *Rites of Durham*, Sanderson's ed., 18. Crosier staff.

5. *And then, simply a crosier.*

The second member of the term, viz., "staff," was gradually dropped, and what had at first been called a croce, and then a crosier staff, was called simply a crosier, which use has continued to the present time.[a] (1530-1891.)

[a] I find that this conclusion, at which I arrived independently, is in accordance with that of Wedgwood (*Etymological Dictionary*, 1872, s.v.). "Hence OE. *crocer* or *crosier* was properly the bearer of the bishop's staff, but the term was subsequently applied to the staff itself."

1539-40. St. Osyth's Inventory, in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 55.
A Crosyer of syluer gylte.

1539 40. Waltham Holy Cross Inventory, *ib.* 260.
A Crosyer with iij pecs of a staff for the same of syluer gylte.

1539-40. St. Alban's Inventory, in *Reliquary*, XIV. 25.
A Crosyer of syluer gilte.

1547. (written 1550), Inventory of Henry VIII's Jewel-house.
Item a Crosiar of silver and gilte.

1554. *Marriage of Queen Mary*, in Opuscula appended to Lel. Coll. IV. 398, ed. 1770.
The Bishops . . . all with their Crosiers borne before them.

1574. Studley, in *Southey's Common Place Bk.*, Ser. II. 1849, p. 48.
Ember days, croziers, polaxes, dirges, etc.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 247.
Not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester.

1588. Marlowe, *Faustus*, 2nd version, 117.
Enter the Cardinals and Bishops, some bearing Crosiers, some the pillars.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, 41. A crosier or pastorall staffe in his lefte hand.

c. 1600. *King John and the Abbot*, in Parry's *Legendary Cabinet* (1829), 114.
With crozier and mitre and rochet and cope fit to appear fore our father the Pope.

1601. Godwin, *Bishops of England*, 230.
He restored him (Bishop Remigius) to his ring and crosyer againe.

1611. Cotgrave, *Dictionary*, s. v. Croce. A Crosier or Bishop's staffe. 1660, a Crosier or Bishop's staffe.

1617. Minsheu, *Guide*. Croce is a shepheards crooke . . . . hence the staffe of a bishop.

1627. *Minshæi Emendatio*, s. v. A Crosier or bishop's staffe.

1647. Nath. Bacon, *Historical Discourse*, page preceding "Contents" (used figuratively).
My aim in this Discourse is neither at Scepter or Crosier.

1650. J. Gregorii, *Opuscula*, 113. Crosier or pastoral staff of a bishop.

1660. Roger Coke, *Elements of Power*, etc., 108.
Per traditionem baculi (viz.: the crosier) et annuli (viz.: the ring).

1660. Howell, (Cotgrave), *French and English Dictionary*. A Crosier or Bishop's staffe, *Croce*, *Crosse*.

1667. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hierurg. Angl.* 85.
Carrying before it the crosier . . . provided by the said Bishop (Wren, of Ely).

1671. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hierurg. Angl.* 86.
Then York Herald bearing the crosier (at Bishop Cosin's funeral).

1674. T. B(lount), *Glossographia*. Crosier, a Bishop's staffe.

1678. E. P(hillips), *World of Words* (as in Blount).

1679. Gwillim, *Display of Heraldry*, 206.
The . . . . Shepherd, of whose Crook this Croysier hath a resemblance . . . . He beareth . . . . three Croysiers Or.

1679. Miege, *Dictionary of Barbarous French.* Crosier, or Bishop's staff. Crosse Episcopale.

1685. Guy Miege, *English and French Dictionary.* Crosier, *Crosse, bâton Pastoral.*

1685. Coles, *Dictionary.* Crosier, a bishop's staff.

1688. Torriano, add. to Florio, *Vocabolario.* A crosier or bishop's staff, il pastorale.

c. 1690. Torre, *Notes of Glass at York, passim.*

1696. E. P(hillips), *World of Words*, 5th ed. (as in 1678).

1696. Coles, *Dictionary.* As in 1685.

1708. *Ib.* a Bishops-staff.

1708. Kersey, as in 1721, q. v.

1717. Blount, *Law Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a Bishop.

1721-1790. Bailey, in the many editions as in the folio, 1764, q. v.

1721. Kersey, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, a Bishop's Staff, made in shape of a Shepherd's Crook.

1727. Boyer, *Dictionary Royal.* Crosier, subst. [a Bishop's Staff] crosse, d'Evêque ou d'Abbé, Bâton Pastorall.

1727. Cowel, *Law Dictionary.* As in Blount, 1717.

1738. E. Chambers, *Cyclopædia.* Crosier or Crozier . . . . crooked a top.

1741. Fenning, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1755. Johnson, *Dictionary.* The pastoral staff of a bishop, which has a cross upon it.

1762. Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s. v. Crocia. The Crosier or pastorall staff. (So in 1756).

1764. Bailey, *Dictionary* (folio). Crosier, a bishop's staff, made in the form of a shepherd's crook.

1766. Sewel, *Dictionary of English and Dutch.* Crosier, een Bisschops staf, krotse.

1774. *Address and Queries relative to Durham, 5.*

The Coffin-fashioned Tomb with no figure at all, or only a Crosier.

1775. Ash, *Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff; the staff of a bishop, or abbot, having a cross upon it.

1777. Dyche, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, a bishop's staff in the form of a shepherd's crook.

1778. Chambaud, *Dictionaire François-Anglois.* Crosier, s. [a bishop's staff] Crosse, f.

1780. Mark Noble, *Two Dissertations*, 61.

The upright of the cross . . . . ends in an ornamented crosier.

1782. Barclay, *Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1782. Priestley, *Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. ii. pt. 10, p. 251.

The crosier, or pastoral staff, was the lituus of the Roman augurs.

1783. Morell's *Ainsworth's Dictionary.* A crosier [bishop's staff], Pedum episcopale.

1789. *Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries*, xxiii. 177.

On the sinister side is another whole length figure mitred, etc. and supposed to be an archbishop from his holding a pontifical cross in his left hand instead of a Croizer, the crosier only being appropriated to Bishops and Abbots.

1801. Lysons, in *Archaeologia*, xiv. 152.

On his right side lay a plain crosier of wood.

1808-31. Scott, *Marmion*, canto ii. 31.

The altars quake, the crosier bends.

1809. Milner, in *Archaeologia*, xvii. 38. (See also below, p. 23.)

The Bishop is directed to turn the crook of his crosier . . . forward.

1809. Newman, *New Dictionary of Spanish and English*. Crosier, Cayado ó báculo pastoral de obispo.

c. 1813. *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 148.

On the place of the right breast lay the head of the crosier . . . . to the crosier was attached, by a skein of silk . . . . the bull of Pope Clemens the VI.

1814. Kerrich, in *Archaeologia*, xviii. 188.

The crosier I thought uncommonly elegant.

1817. *Archaeologia*, xviii. 442.

The head of an ancient crosier.

1817. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, 145.

Then he (the Abbot) took his crosier. (See too p. 156.)

1819. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. Crosier or crozier. . . the pastoral staff of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, as also of certain priors and prioresses. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1820. Clarke, in *Archaeologia*, xix. 392.

Its form is so accurately preserved in the old episcopal Crosiers.

1820. Rudge, in *Archaeologia*, xx. 568.

The crozier lay on the right side.

1821. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (new edition), iii. 498.

An abbat . . . . the left holding a crozier.

1825. Fosbroke, *Encycl. Antiq.* i. 258.

Crosier. . . one part was crooked, to draw the meek. (*Cf.* Langland, section 1, s.a. 1377.)

1826. Blore, *Mon. Remains*, 9. Description of William of Wykeham's tomb.

The effigy of the bishop in his pontificals, with his crozier under his left arm. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1826-29. *London Encyclopædia*, s.v. Crosier. The pastoral staff of a bishop. . . crooked at the top.

1829. Clark, *Introduction to Heraldry*, 120.

Crosier. This staff . . . was given to bishops.

1831. Davies, *Materia Medica*, 425.

Filices . . . leaves alternate, rolled up like a crosier before their expansion.

1832. Doune, *Letters*, i. 152.

It contains a curious wooden figure of a bishop, with a crosier in left hand.

1832. Madden, in *Archaeologia*, xxiv. 222.

They (bishops) hold a crosier with one, or with both hands. See 255 and note.

1834. Clark, *Introduction to Heraldry*, 112.

Crosier. This staff (according to Polydore Virgil) was given to bishops to chastise the vices of the people. It is called Baculus Pastoralis.

1837. *Penny Encyclopædia*, viii. s.v. Crosier, a pastoral crook or staff.

1837. Ingram, *Memoirs of Oxford*, St. John's College, p. 13.

The crosier, or pastoral crook, of Archbishop Laud.

1838. Britton, *Dictionary of Architecture*.

1838. *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 148.

An ancient crosier, an episcopal ring (etc.)

1838. Parker, *Glossary*, s.v. Crozier, the staff or insignia of a bishop or mitred abbot, the head of which is in the form of a cross; it is usually confounded with the pastoral staff, the head of which is in the form of a shepherd's crook, but both were carried in procession before the bishop on state occasions.

1840. Parker, *Glossary* (also archbishop's cross). To the same effect as 1845, q. v.

1844. Richardson, *Dictionary*. Crosier, an episcopal staff.

1844. Barrington, *Lectures on Heraldry*, 44.

The arms of Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow, timbred with the mitre and crosier (shown in Plate as crook).

1845. Preface to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdon.* (Spalding Club), i. x.

The legend adds, that Columba admonished him to found his church, when he should arrive upon the bank of a river, where it formed, by its windings, the figure of a Bishop's crosier.

1845. Petrie, *Trans. R. Irish Acad.* 309.

The crook, or upper portion of the crozier, represents a serpent.

1845. Parker, *Glossary*. See section 6, 1845.

1845. *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, Vol. 17, s.v. The form of the Crosier was that of a Shepherd's Crook.

1847. Barham, *Ingoldsby Legends* (1877), 275.

With mitre, and crozier, and rochet, and stole on.

1847. (Parker) *Glossary of Heraldry*, 95. Crosier, or Crozier. This word is properly restricted to the crook of a bishop or abbot. (But in this work archbishop's crosses, etc. are described under the same head).

1850. N. in *Notes and Queries*, Nov. p. 412.

Hence it appears that crozier does not refer to a cross but to a crook.

1850. Mackenzie Walcott, in *Notes and Queries*, Oct. p. 313.

The crozier of Matthew Wren was of silver. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1852. Council of the Society of Antiquaries, in *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 407.

The crook of the crosier is of oak.

1853. Fox, *Monks and Monasteries*, 127.

The crozier (of the abbot) which denoted pastoral care.

1853. Baldeschi, Ceremonial according to the Roman Rite, translated by Dale.
The Bishop, having given up the crosier and mitre, commences the Mass.

1854. *Ecclesiologist*, xv. 346.
A crosier for the Bishop of Grahamstown, designed by Mr. Street.

1854. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v.

1854. McCulloch, *British Empire*, ii. 259.
Investing them (bishops) by the ring and crosier.

1855. Labarte, *Arts of Middle Ages* (translation), 126.
The fine crosier . . . belonging to Ragenfroi, Bishop of Chartres.

1858. *The Popular Encyclopædia*, s.v. Crosier, a tall staff of silver or gold, curved at the upper end, which is carried before bishops, abbotts, and abbesses.

1859. F. C. H., in *Notes and Queries*, February, p. 178.
It has always been customary to call the crook the crosier.

1862. Eadie, *Biblical Cyclopædia*, s.v. The form of a crosier was that of a shepherd's crook.

1863. *Tonge's Visitation*, (Surtees Society) Editor's notes, 43, etc.
Azure, a bend, and over all a crosier in bend sinister or.

1863 Wordsworth, *Tour in Italy*, 52.
Might not they . . . have left . . . the episcopal crozier.

1863. Burton, *Book Hunter*, 24.
The handle was of a peculiar crosier-like formation in cast iron.

1865. F. C. H., in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 329.
It is easy to adduce examples of abbots represented with the crosier in the left hand.

1865. Franks, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. iii. 9.
The crozier of an Englishman, St. Malo, Bishop of Aleth. in Britany.

1866. Piggott, in *Notes and Queries*, November, p. 356.
An Abbot's Crozier, or Pastoral Staff, how carried.

1866. Scharf, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. iii. 354.
Part of the head of a crozier of ivory (in coffin of an abbot).

1867. Morrell, *History of Selby*.
The abbat . . . . holding his crozier in his right hand.

1868. *Official Catalogue*, Art. Exh. at Leeds, 215. Crozier Head, in the volute St. Michael and the Dragon.

1870. Lacroix, *Arts of Middle Ages*, English Translation, 138.
An Abbot's Enamelled Crozier. A Bishop's crozier.

1872. Shipley, *Glossary*, 53. The crosier is described in the line, curva trahit, etc. (But see below, under 1872, in section 6).

1872. Halliwell, *Dictionary*, s. v. Cruche. A bishop's crosier.

1872. Leahy, *Sermon at consecration of Dr. Moran* (R. C. Bishop.)
That he will wield the crosier of St. Kyran.

1872. Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology.* Crosier . . . a bishop's staff (the representative of the shepherd's crook).

1873. *Ceremonial,* for the use of the Catholic Churches (U.S.A.).

He (the crosier-bearer) holds continually in his hand the Bishop's crosier.

1874. Deutsch, *Remains,* 233.

To snatch the crosiers from the hands of the Bishops of his rival.

1874. Lyell, *Elements of Geology,* ch. 15, p. 230.

The "croziers" of some of the young ferns are very perfect.

1874. Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* Introduction, xcix.

The crosier of Columkille.

1875. Fowler, James, in *Yorks. Arch. Jour.* iii. 218.

There is no doubt, however, that crozier . . . is the proper term.

1875. Sibthorp. Letter referring to the R. C. Bishop Milner, in *Fowler's Life of Sibthorp* (1880) 282.

His crozier was a walking stick, with the crook in his pocket, which he stuck on when needed.

1877. Micklethwaite, in *Archaeologia,* xlvi. 192.

The crozier is a simple crook like that of Bishop Flambard.

1877. Brady, *Episcopal Succession,* iii. 247.

This prelate (Bishop James Smith, 1688) was robbed of his beautiful silver crozier.

1877. Fowler, J. T., in *Yorks. Arch. Jour.* iv. 332.

A nimbed and mitred bishop . . . holds a crosier in his left hand.

1878. Lees, *Abbey of Paisley,* 224.

A figure of St. Mirin as a vested Bishop, his right hand raised in benediction, and his left holding a crozier.

1879. Fowler, J. T., in *Archaeologia,* xlv. Pl. 31.

Crosier head and ferules, see p. 403.

1879. Stormonth, *Dictionary,* 5th edition. Crosier, a bishop's staff or crook.

1881. Micklethwaite, in *Archaeologia,* xlvii. 375.

A bishop . . . with crozier in his right hand.

1881. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times,* 218.

A pastoral staff, commonly, though not with strict correctness, called a crosier.

1882. Jessopp, *Husenbeth's Emblems,* 260.

Crosier . . . held by a bishop . . . S. Gracian, B. C.

1882. Skeat, *Dictionary.* Crosier, a staff with a curved top.

1882. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Architecture,* ii. 208.

S. Blaise, B. M., with mitre and crosier. Also p. 209: S. Etheldreda, V., crowned with crosier.

1883. Bellett, *Pellicia,* 85.

The crozier, or pastoral staff, is the next ornament used by Bishops.

1883. J. T. F. in *Church Times*, Feb. 23, p. 125.

"Crosier" is a synonym for "pastoral staff," and is not the proper term for an archbishop's cross.

1884. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, revised ed., 718.

Crozier, the Diocesan, curved, staff or Pastoral Crook.

1884. Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*. Crosier or Pastoral Staff. The staff given to the bishop at his consecration.

1884. Burke, *Encyclopædia of Heraldry*, xvi. Crosier, the staff of a prelate.

1886. Webster-Mahn, *Dictionary* (archbishop's cross, see section 6). Crosier . . . also the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1887. Hook, *Church Dictionary*. Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop, crooked at the top and pointed at the bottom.

1887. Church, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xi. 407. The head of the crosier was found in a coffin.

1888. *Archaeologia*, li. Pl. IV. Head of a Crozier found at Wells.

1888. *Athenaeum*, May 12th, p. 604.

It is surprising to find that Mr. Birch still adheres to the exploded notion that an archbishop's cross is a crosier (in *Catalogue of Seals* at British Museum).

1888. Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*.

Like other ancient croziers, it is very short . . . such was probably the pastoral staff of Kentigern.

1888. Milne, *Readable English Dictionary*. Crosier, a bishop's crook or staff.

1888. J. T. F. in *Church Times*, October 5th, p. 846.

Fourteen are represented with a crosier only, six with both crosier and cross.

1889. *The New English Dictionary*, s. v. Circinate. Rolled up . . . like a crozier, as in most ferns.

1889. *Index to Archaeologia*, s. v. Cleystaff. A crook, a crozier.

1890. H. L. J. in *Church Times*, February 21st.

Crosier, as being handier, and at least equally correct, should be used to denote the pastoral staff.

1890. Nuttall, *Standard Dictionary*. Crosier, a bishop's crook.

1890. Gibbs, H. H., *Screen of St. Albans*, 35.

St. Nicholas, Bishop . . . bears his crosier in his hand.

1891. *Church Times*, Answer to Correspondent.

The modern custom of having the crozier carried before the Bishop takes away its meaning as a pastoral staff.

1891. J. T. Fowler, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Additional Notes on the St. Cuthbert window. (*In the press.*)

The Abbess Ælflede . . . her left arm raised, and her crosier resting on the same arm.

1891. G. W. Marshall, Rouge Croix. Letter quoted in note on section 8.

Here then are 184 examples of a use of the word "crosier" which is said to be "inexact, loose, and erroneous," but which has continued unbroken from 1530 to 1891.

6. *A new fashion of calling an archbishop's cross a crosier.*

Since 1826, a fashion has sprung up, and has been very generally adopted, of calling an archbishop's cross a "crosier." (1826-1890). The only earlier instances I have found after much searching appear to be quite isolated.

1704. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1715. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1724. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1819. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s. v. The crosier of an archbishop consists of a lofty, processional cross, with a single bar to it. *Cf.* Section 5, s. a.

1826. Blore, *Monumental Remains*, 8. Description of Archbishop Warham's monument. Under his right arm is the pastoral crozier, surmounted by a cross of extremely rich workmanship. *Cf.* section 5, s. a.

1834. M. H. Bloxam, *Monumental Architecture, etc.* 34.

> The pastoral staff has been often confounded with the crosier; the latter was, however, essentially different in form, being a staff, headed with a cross instead of a crook, and this was carried by the Archbishops, being peculiar to their rank, and, as such, is to be met with on their monuments only.

1840. Parker, *Glossary* (also bishop's staff). To the same effect as 1845, q. v.

1842. Hook, *Church Dictionary* (also in many later editions, but corrected 1887).

1844. Pugin, *Glossary*. Crozier, a Cross on a staff, borne by an Archbishop. This has often been confounded by modern writers with the Pastoral Staff of a Bishop, which is quite dissimilar, being made in the form of a crook.

1845. Parker, *Glossary*. Crozier, the pastoral staff of a bishop or mitred abbot . . . The crosier of an archbishop is surmounted by a cross, but it was only at a comparatively late time, about the twelfth century, that the archbishop laid aside the pastoral staff to assume the cross as an appropriate portion of his personal insignia. Crosiers were usually buried with bishops and abbots as ensigns of their office.

1846. *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* by the Cambridge Camden Society, p. 32. His Archiepiscopal rank would have entitled him to a crosier instead of a pastoral staff.

1848. Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, 37.

> A fine crozier . . . with a crucifixion in the middle, and the Evangelistic symbols at the four points.

1850. Elliot, in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 314.

The crozier pertains to the archbishops, and the pastoral staff to the bishops.

1850. Walcott, M., in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 313, (contradicting himself below, see section 5, s. a.). The crozier . . . is the ornamental staff used by archbishops and legates.

1850. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 404.

What is properly the crosier, the staff surmounted by a cross, is borne by archbishops.

1854. See section 3, s. a. 1563.

1856. Pinnock, *Laws*, etc. 950.

The Crosier is the Pastoral Staff of an Archbishop, surmounted by a Cross.

1858. Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 18.

The Crozier, or the archiepiscopal cross, is a cross borne on a staff.

1858. Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*, 1.

Arms of See (Canterbury) Az., a crosier in pale O, etc.

1861. Haines, *Monumental Brasses*, Intr. lxxii.

The crozier and the pall were peculiar to archbishops . . . the former was a staff ending in a cross or crucifix, instead of a crook.

1862. Browne, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, 124.

In his illustrative sketches of the tomb-stones, upon Nos. 32 and 35 he (Torre) has given some comical figures, which he calls Archbishops . . . In his sketches also, he has given his figures with crooks, and tells us they are intended for Archbishops; if so, he certainly ought to have sketched them with the Archiepiscopal ensign the crosier, as he has done, when representing other well known Archbishops' tombs.

In *Glossary*, p. 179: Crosier, 124, a staff, surmounted by a cross, the ensign of an Archbishop.

1864. Boutell, *Heraldry*, 49, 100.

An Archbishop's Crozier, the head of which is cruciform. Crozier, the Cross-headed Pastoral-Staff of an Archbishop.

1865. Raine, *Hexham*, II. lxxi.

Wearing the pall and holding a crosier or cross staff.

1865. Lee, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 2nd ed. 21.

The crozier, or Archiepiscopal Cross, is a cross borne on a staff, the lower end pointed as in the Pastoral Staff.

1866. F. C H., in *Notes and Queries*, December, p. 435.

I am quite aware that, in strict language, the word crosier applies to the cross-staff carried before an archbishop.

1866. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 595 (corrected 1884).

Crozier, the Cross borne by or before Archbishops only.

1867. Boutell, *English Heraldry*, 115.

Crozier, the cross-staff of an archbishop.

1868. Pugin, *Glossary*, revised by Bernard Smith, as in 1844.

1868. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, 141. Of the Pallium and Crozier.

1868. Chambers, *Cyclopædia* s. v. Crosier, a staff surmounted by a cross.

1868 and 1889. Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, s. v. Crosier, a staff surmounted by a cross borne before an archbishop.

1872. Shipley, *Glossary*, 144. Crosier, the pastoral staff of an archbishop, terminating in a cross. (But see above, under 1872, in section 5.)

1872. Brande and Cox, *Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*, s. v. Crosier, the staff of an archbishop, surmounted by a cross, whence its name.

1873. Aveling, *Heraldry*, 133.

Crozier, the cross-headed staff of an archbishop.

1874. Townsend, *Manual of Dates*, s. v. Crozier, the pastoral staff of an archbishop is distinguished by a cross, and must not be confounded with the staff of a bishop, which terminates in a shepherd's crook.

1874. Lee, *Manuale Clericorum*, 19.

The Crozier, or Archiepiscopal Cross is a Cross borne on a staff.

1876. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 110.

The Crosier borne before an Archbishop.

1876. Enquirer, in *Church Times*, April 13, p. 184.

I have always understood the crosier was the archbishop's substitute for the crook.

1876. H. E. T. R., in *Church Times*, April 28, p. 216.

The crosier was fixed to the metropolitan's chair.

1877. Boutell, in *Encycl. Britannica*, s. v. Crosier or Crozier is the title given to the official staff of an archbishop, which has a cross-head.

1877. Lee, *Glossary*. Crozier. The term for a cross mounted on a staff, borne before archbishops and patriarchs.

1880. Armfield, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, p. 1567.

In modern times a bishop is represented with a crook, an archbishop with a cross or crosier.

1882. Ogilvie-Annandale, *Imperial Dictionary*. Crosier, an archbishop's staff bearing a cross at the top.

1882. Bloxam, *Companion to Principles of Gothic Architecture*, 20.

The crozier—differing from the pastoral staff of a bishop in being surmounted by a cross instead of a crook—is held in the left hand.

1882. Latham, *English Dictionary*. Crosier Staff of an archbishop, which terminates in a cross.

1883. Vectis, in *Church Times*, Feb. 9, p. 93, etc.

At all events, a crozier proper, and not a bishop's crook, is the fitting symbol for his Grace of Canterbury.

1883. Hammond, in *Church Times*, February 16, p. 115.

A letter from me suggesting that a crozier should be presented to the archbishop.

1883. *Builder*, July 18, p. 82.

A crozier (which is a cross upon a staff, and not a crook at all).

1886. Webster-Mahn, *Dictionary* (also, bishop's crook, see section 5). Crosier, the official staff of an archbishop, terminating at the top in a cross, also the pastoral staff of a bishop, which terminates in an ornamented curve or crook.

1888. Lee, in *Archaeologia*, li. 352, 364, 381.

For the crozier—that is a cross surmounting a staff—is certainly not a pastoral staff or crook, nor is the pastoral staff or crook a crozier (p. 352). The archiepiscopal, patriarchal, or pontifical cross or crozier, carried immediately and respectively before an archbishop, a patriarch, or the sacred pontiff (p. 364). That the pastoral staff or crook, being perfectly distinct from the crozier or cross upon a staff, should, both by word of mouth and in writing, be duly and carefully distinguished from it (p. 381).

1890. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, 39.

The Crosier was substituted for the pastoral staff (i.e. in the case of archbishops). The difference lay in the head, which instead of a crook became a cross, and sometimes a crucifix.

1890. Goodrich, in *Weekly Churchman*, December 20th, 305.

The Archbishop then handed the crosier to his cross-bearer, who bare it before him.

n. d. Fairholt, *Dictionary of Terms*, s. v. Crozier, a staff surmounted by a cross, borne before an archbishop.

7. *The original form of the error.*

There would seem to be no ancient authority whatever for this use of the term. It began by applying the term crosier to an archbishop's cross as well as to a bishop's crook. See above, section 6, 1819, 1826, 1840, 1886. So that the term has first been extended to the wrong thing, and then, by many, limited to it.

8. *The term "pastoral staff."*

The term "pastoral staff," occasionally and rightly used before 1834, *e. g.* in the Prayer-book of 1549, the earliest instance I have found in English, has come into almost universal use since 1834, when Mr. M. H. Bloxam taught that an archbishop's cross ought to be called a crosier.[a] As the use of the term "pastoral staff" has not been questioned, I have not been collecting quotations for it. I have, however, noted the following.

1549. *Booke of the Common Prayer; Certayne Notes*, fo. clviir.

> The Bushop . . . . shall have . . . . hys pastorall staffe in hys hande.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, 41.

> A crosier or pastorall staffe.

1626. Hegg, *Legend of St. Cuthbert* (1777), 21.

> Whom the Saint in a sleepe soe beate with his Pastorall Staffe, that the next Morning not able to rise, etc.

[a] I say nothing of Cocker and Rees, for I have not been able to find a single quotation in which their use of the term is followed earlier than 1826. As to Browne, see note on page 21. Nor can we infer anything to the point from rhetorical passages such as that quoted by Johnson from Bacon's Essays; "Anselmus and Thomas Becket, who, with their crosiers, did almost try it with the king's sword," or this from Freeman, N. C. ii. 217; "Lanfranc . . . the ruler whose crozier completed the conquest which the ducal sword only began." In passages like these, "crozier" stands for ecclesiastical power simply. *Cf.* Section 5, 1647, 1808. The quotation from Blore may be taken for what it is worth. He elsewhere uses the word of the pastoral staff of a bishop. See section 5, 1826. There is a quotation from the funeral certificate of Archbishop Frewen at the College of Arms, in *Hierurgia Anglicana*, p. 85, which greatly puzzled me for some time, stating that Robert Challoner, blue-mantle, "carried the crosier and pastoral staff" (1664). Thinking there must be some mistake, I at once wrote to the college to ask if it was correctly copied. The only reply I received was to effect that if I wished I could have a correct copy, the fee for which would be three guineas. And there the matter rested for a while. Our Assistant-Secretary Mr. St. John Hope has, however had an obliging note from Mr. G. W. Marshall, Rouge Croix, explaining that the words "crosier and pastoral staff," appear to mean one article and not two, and that under the shield of arms the "article" is drawn, "a crosier with a cross where the crook joins the stick." So that in this case description and "article" are alike due to the vagaries of some eccentric herald of the seventeenth century.

1762. Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s. v. *Crocia.* The Crosier or Pastorall Staff.

1771. Bentham, *Ely*, 53 n.

The Pastorall Staff of Aldhelm, Bp. of Shireburn.

1839. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, ii. 319.

The pastoral staff, called *baculus pastoralis*, *cambutta*, etc.

1843. Hook, *Church Dictionary*, under Crosier. A crosier is the pastoral staff of an Archbishop, and is to be distinguished from the pastoral staff of a Bishop.

1847. *Ecclesiologist*, vii. 192.

When a Bishop performs any episcopal office he wears a cope, mitre and pastoral staff.

1852. Raine, *Auckland*, 44.

The right hand in a state of elevation, holding a pastoral staff.

1858. Purchas, *Dir. Angl.*, 18.

1874. Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, Introduction, p. xc.

Mor Bachall. The pastoral staff which St. Columba confided to Scanlann, Prince of Ossory.

1876. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 107.

The Pastoral Staff was also called Crocia or Crochia, (Crutch, Crook).

1876. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 671.

But meanwhile the Bishop of Bayeux had cast a longing eye on the treasures of St. Cuthbert, and he carried off a pastoral staff of rare workmanship and material, for it was wrought of sapphire.

1882. Bloxam. See above in Section 6, 1834, and *op. cit. passim.*

1889. *Index to Archaeologia.*

1890. Lightfoot, Bishop, Speech at presentation.

I found that my venerable friend the Bishop of Bath and Wells was preceded by a pastoral staff.

1890. J. T. F. Description of the "Crosier or Pastoral Staff" of the Bishop of Durham.

9. *The archbishop's cross, not "crosier."*

The proper term for an archbishop's cross is "cross" (1460-1890).

1460. Capgrave, *Chronicle*, Rolls ed. (1858), 134.

In the third vision cum prelatis, with here crosses and croses (croyses, MS. C.C.C.).

1483. *Golden Legend*; see above, in Section 3.

1485. Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 192, quoted in *Prompt. Parv.* 104, note, as above, in Section 3, c. 1485.

1516. *Golden Legend*, as above, in Section 3, f. lxvi.

1528. Roy, *Rede me*, etc. (Arber) 56.

And they beare two Crosses right longe.

1563? Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s. a. 1164.

Robert bishop of Hereford offered himselfe to bear his (Becket's) crosse rather then he shoulde soe doe.

1569. Grafton, *Chronicle*, 73.

Who (the Archbishop) . . . caused his crosse to be borne before him.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 81.

Thurstine of York, having his crosse borne up before him. (See above, Section v. 1576.)

1586. Holinshed, *Description of Ireland*, 32. See above, Section 3, 1586.

1708. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* (1845) iii. 113.

The old controversy between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, about carrying the cross erected . . . the archiepiscopal cross was delivered before the pall, p. 450.

1808. Fowler, W., Engraving of murder of Thomas à Becket.

Behind the altar stands Edward Grimfere, with the Episcopal (*sic*) cross in his hand.

1809. Milner, in *Archaeologia*, xvii. 38.

The pastoral staff of an archbishop is not a hooked crosier, but a processional cross.

1839. Browne, *York Minster*, cover.[a]

A Pastoral Staff or Crosier, as used by both Archbishops and Bishops.

1846. Hart, *Eccl. Records.*

To prevent the Archbishop of York from having his cross borne before him.

1849. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 223.

With respect to the Archiepiscopal Cross, we have strong evidence, etc.

1850. J. I. D., in *Notes and Queries*, December, p. 523.

The staff with the cross appears on the monument of Archbishop Warham.

1850. N., in *Notes and Queries*, November, p. 412.

The crosses borne before Wolsey are called crosses and not croziers.

1876. H. T. E. R., in *Church Times*, April 28, p. 216.

I think . . . the cross was used by, as well as carried before, archbishops.

[a] In the cover of the part issued in 1838, Browne describes a two-barred cross as a "crosier;" but in 1839 he calls the same "a Pope's processional cross." In 1862 he has adopted the common errors. See Section 6, 1862.

1881. Micklethwaite, J. T., in *Archaeologia*, xlvii. 375.

An archbishop in alb and cope reading. His cross rests against his left shoulder.[a]

1882. Josselyn, *Hanesbeth's Emblems*, 261.

Crosiers, two, and archbishop's cross, all held in his left hand. *S. Dubritius, B.C.*

1883. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, February 23, p. 125, etc.

I should think that Archbishop Benson ought certainly to have a crosier and a cross as well.

1883. C. R. T., in *Church Times*, March 2, p. 140.

The Archbishop of Canterbury depicted with the crook or pastoral staff, and not the archiepiscopal cross.

1883. W. H. St. John Hope, in *Church Times*, March 2, p. 140.

And that (the seal) of Stephen Langton (1207-1228) also, with effigy holding a pastoral staff, and not a cross.

1883. Fowler, James, in *Church Times*, March 9, p. 160.

St. William is represented . . . with his right hand raised in benediction, and holding in his left a cross.

1883. Lunn, J. R., in *Church Times*, March 22, p. 205.

Wm. de Grenefield, Archbishop of York . . . holds a cross.

1883. Bellet, *Pellicia*, 132.

Of the processional Cross, another ornament of Archbishops.

1884. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, revised edition, 718.

The term (crozier) is often, but incorrectly, applied to the . . . cross borne by or before Archbishops only.

1888. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, October 5, p. 846.

Six (archbishops) with both crosier and cross.

1889. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, November 8, p. 1024.

An archbishop's cross has been called a "cross" to my knowledge from 1460 to the present time.

1890. H. L. J., in *Church Times*, February 21.

A prelate, if he be an archbishop, should have the cross, if a bishop, the crozier borne before him.

There are two quite obsolete synonyms for a bishop's crook, viz. "Clappe" (N.E.D. s.v. Clap *sb.* II. 12) and "Cleystaff" or "Cleykstaff" (*ib.* s.v.), but there are no quotations for them, only references to early lexical works, so that they cannot have been in general use.

[a] *ib.* NOTE.—It is a common error to suppose the cross of an archbishop to be the equivalent of the crook or crozier of an ordinary bishop.

The older dictionaries copy from one to the other or refer to a supposed reason for the term "Crosier," viz. "that it has a cross on the top of it." We find this in Skinner, 1671; Blount, 1674 and 1717; Phillips, 1678; Childe, 1691; Fenning, 1741; Jacob, 1762; Johnson, 1755; Parker, 1838; Richardson, 1844; *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, 1845; and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1854, while at the same time it is explained to mean a bishop's pastoral staff. As the monosyllabic name for this sometimes took the form of "crosse" (see above, Sect. 1) some confusion might easily arise in the minds of writers who had never seen a pastoral staff nor given any consideration to its form. Even in Latin inventories we find *crux* used for the crook of a bishop's or abbot's staff. Thus in one of 1506, printed in Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, we find, "j baculus pastoralis argenti et in parte deauratus cum armis dñi Johis de Grandissono ac diversis imaginibꝫ supra *in cruce* (*i.e.*, in the crook) amulatis ac duabus ymaginibꝫ de Coronacione beate Marie *infra eandem crucem* (crook)." Also, "j *crux pastoralis* . . . . cum ymagine *in media sedente* (*i.e.* inside the crook)." Phillips says (*World of Words*, 1678, s.v.), "*Crosier*, a bishop's staff, from the old word *Croce*, a shepherd's crook; or, for that it bears the figure of a cross." The former part of his explanation is doubtless right, but I think the form *Crosier* arose in the way pointed out above, and that it was applied to the bearer of the staff before it was used of the staff itself. Again, he is right in saying that it "bears the figure of a cross," that is, however, "cross" in the sense of *crook*, about which he probably knew nothing.

It is hardly necessary to do more than just refer to the misconception which has prevailed to a great extent in England, particularly of late years, namely, that an archbishop's cross ought to be used *instead* of a crook, and carried by the archbishop himself. This view has been defended with great pertinacity in some of the Church papers, but those who are conversant with the ritual of the Western Church are well aware that an archbishop uses his crosier exactly as a bishop does, and has his cross borne before him. Strange to say, Bishop Milner, the Roman Catholic divine and antiquary, fell into this mistake. Writing in 1808, when almost all ritual was in abeyance in England, he says, "Few antiquaries are supposed to be ignorant that the Pastoral Staff of an Archbishop is not a hooked crosier, but a processional cross," *Archæologia*, xvii. 38.[a] See again the

[a] Dr. Husenbeth corrects the error in his Life of Bishop Milner, p. 165.

quotations from the Roman Catholic antiquary, John Browne of York, above, Section 5. 1862.

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Dr. Murray for most kindly allowing me to make use of the materials collected for the *New English Dictionary*, and to our Assistant Secretary Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. Edward Peacock, and other friends, who have given me references and quotations. It may perhaps seem to some that the number of these is greatly in excess of what is needed, but it is hoped that the accumulation of evidence here presented will have some effect in settling the questions to which it relates.

XXIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants.* By George E. Fox, F.S.A., *and* W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.

Read December 11 and December 18, 1890.

On the 27th February last we had the honour of laying before the Society a communication on the desirability of the complete and systematic excavation of the site of Silchester.[a]

The scheme therein set forth, which had already been sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, the owner, and by Mr. Cooper, the tenant, met with the cordial support and approval of the Fellows present, and it was unanimously referred to the Council to consider the steps necessary for carrying it out.

The deliberations of the Council were eminently practical, for they not only at once appointed an executive committee to carry out the scheme, but, by the liberal grant of 25*l.* from the funds of the Society, and another 25*l.* from the newly-created Research Fund, they initiated the means by which the scheme could be carried into effect.

A strong and influential general committee was next formed, and, as other subscriptions began to come in, it was decided to commence operations. The executive committee accordingly met at Silchester to inspect the site, and finally resolved that the work should be begun, as suggested in our memorandum, by completing the excavation of the large *insula* north of the *forum*, where the late Rev. J. G. Joyce, F.S.A., had already uncovered the remains of a large house.

This *insula* is surrounded by streets whose width and exact place are clearly marked in the growing crops, so much so that when a portion of these was cut

[a] See *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xiii 85.

for us to the presumed width of the ancient streets on the north and east sides of the *insula*, to mark the limits of the ground set apart for excavation, the edge of the cutting was found to coincide with the external face of the wall line of the houses. Thus the plan of the streets, as laid down on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, may be taken as correct.

On the south side this *insula* is traversed by a modern road, which passes completely across the site of the city from east to west.

When we commenced to lay bare the limits of the *insula*, it was found that a continuous wall marked the line of the streets, although the houses of this *insula*, as will be shown, stood detached from each other.

Within these bounding lines are two large houses, one at the north-west corner, one at the north-east. Signs of another were found on the south, and although the part of the *insula* south of the modern road has not yet been fully examined, enough has been done to show that buildings existed along that side.

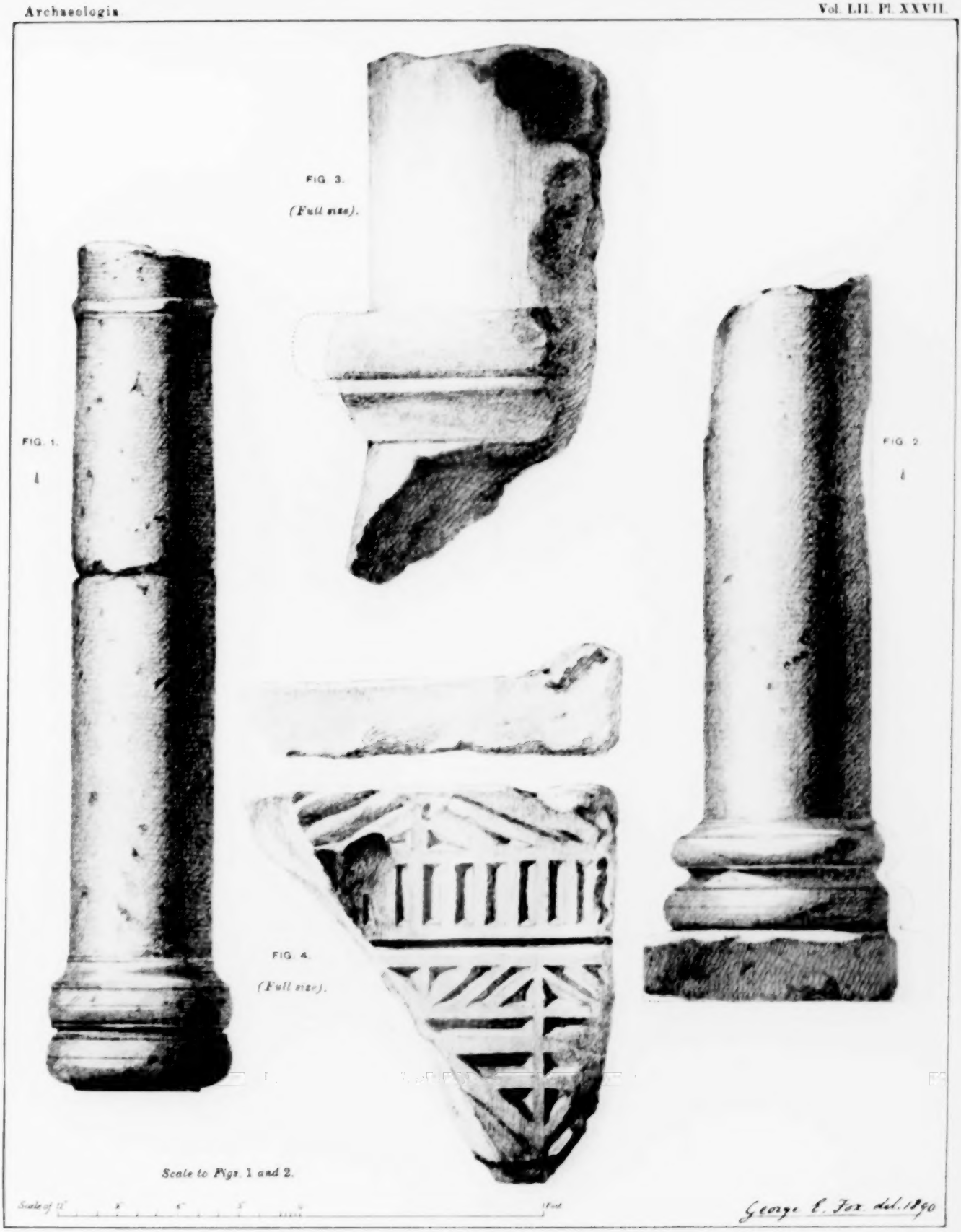
Between and south of the houses named extends a considerable area of open ground. This was examined throughout by trenches carried diagonally at intervals of 16 or 17 feet. Between the houses these revealed scarcely anything, no remains of foundations, and but little pottery. The case, however, was different in the ground south of house No. 1. Here there were confused but very scanty indications of buildings lining the street down to the edge of the modern road, and many objects of various kinds were turned up. Two rubbish pits were also disclosed.

The open ground to the south of house No. 2 had many rubbish pits in it, and from them were derived many interesting objects: these will be described presently. House No. 1, at the north-west corner of the *insula*, was excavated in 1864 by the Rev. J. G. Joyce,[a] who was of opinion that it had been twice altered and partially rebuilt, basing that opinion chiefly on the coins found. After a careful examination of the site, aided by the excellent plans and sections made by Sir Henry Dryden, we are inclined to consider that the house is of only two periods.

The two columns found by Mr. Joyce and described by him are here figured and drawn to scale for the first time. (Plate XXVII., figs 1 and 2.)

After the ground to the south of house No. 1 had been thoroughly searched, a strip 40 feet wide along the north side of the *insula* was next taken in hand. The trenches for some distance east of house No. 1 showed no foundations, and

[a] See description and plan in *Archæologia*, xlvi. 329, *et seq.*



SILCHESTER. — ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS FROM INSULA I.

produced but few objects. At a distance, however, of 120 feet from the north-east angle, traces of buildings were come upon. These traces were but vague and fragmentary, and no continuous lines of foundations revealed themselves, but here and there occurred the wreck of what had been cemented floors. Three rubbish pits were found amongst them, from one of which (pit C) many pieces of painted wall plaster were unearthed, and a small fragment of a column $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

At this point the excavations were suspended for a time, the work of harvest intervening. They were however resumed as soon as the crops were off the ground, and continued in a southerly direction. They now revealed the lines of a large and interesting house (No. 2), the foundations to the north of it already explored being apparently the remains of its outbuildings on that side.

It will be seen by a reference to the plan (Plate XXVIII.) that this house resembled very much in its general laying out those already discovered, with certain additions and alterations. As in the others, a courtyard with corridors forms a centre round which the ranges of rooms are placed, these again having an external corridor or series of gallery-like rooms.

This arrangement seems the typical one in all the larger houses yet discovered in Silchester.

The alterations in the house before us consist in the insertion of two rooms warmed by hypocausts in the lines of the west and north outer corridors, and in the division of the courtyard by a south corridor or pentice.

Owing to the lesser depth of soil over this house than over No. 1, repeated ploughing had demolished the walls, for the most part, down to the level of the floors, and by the same agency the finer mosaic floors had been almost entirely destroyed. There was clear evidence also that the building materials, of too great a value in such a stoneless country to be left on the site, had been carried away, either to be used again in early times for building purposes, or to be broken up in later days to mend the roads in the neighbourhood. In great measure the plan of the house was recovered from the traces of its floors, where the *tesseræ* lay too deep for the ploughshare to reach.

From the nearness to the surface of what remained of the walls, the flint rubble of which they were composed had become disintegrated by the rains and frosts of centuries, more especially as in many instances the mortar which bound the flints together was by no means of the excellence usually attributed to Roman work.

The walls seem to have been all composed of this flint rubble with brick quoins, and in the best preserved portion discovered, that of the nearly circular

chamber of the western side, the foundations extended to a depth of 2 feet 3 inches from the Roman ground level. The wall proper commenced with a course of tiles, the width of the foundations being 2 feet 6 or 7 inches, whilst the wall they supported was 2 feet 4 inches. The average thickness of the walls throughout the house was 2 feet.

Owing to the demolition of the walls in so many places, it was not possible to trace the doorways; one only, with any certainty, could be marked, that affording means of communication between the south corridor and the inner courtyard at its south-west angle.

It could not be ascertained whether the walls of the house had been plastered externally, but the wall of this courtyard had been thus covered, as some portions of plastering were discovered here and there just above the original ground level. This plastering did not appear to have been painted. Looking at the nature of the material of which the walls were composed, it is very probable that all the houses had such a coating externally, and it is quite possible that in some instances it had a certain amount of painted ornamentation.

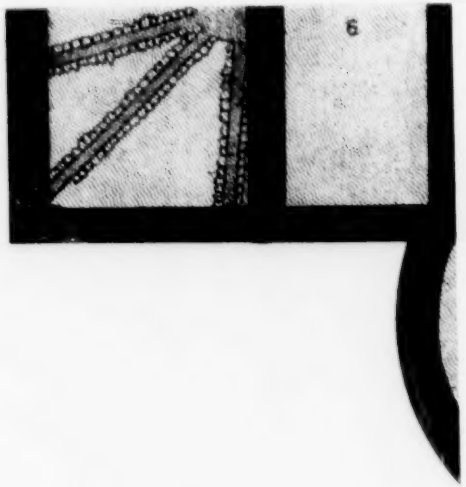
The flooring of the various chambers and passages was very generally of tessellated work, though a portion of the west corridor towards its south end, and a small fragment in the space marked 19, showed pavements of *opus signinum;* or that variety of it at least which is most used for floors, and contains various-sized fragments of brick mixed with the lime which binds them.

The construction of the tessellated pavements followed a scarcely varying rule, and had hardly the solidity usually found in such work. On the earth was laid a bed of coarse gravelly mortar, 4 to 5 inches thick, and upon this a layer of fine *opus signinum*, of the kind made of lime cement coloured with pounded brick, the *tesseræ* of the floors being inserted in this second layer. The thin fluid cement usually run into the joints of the *tesseræ* before the final polishing had quite disappeared, and its place was filled by black vegetable mould.

In the plan (Plate XXVIII.) the portions coloured pink show traces of being covered either by tessellated floors, or by those of *opus signinum;* whilst the grey tint extends over the spaces where the flooring has disappeared, or of which the character is unknown.

The east corridor appears to have been paved with *tesseræ* of a drab-coloured stone, averaging 1 inch square.

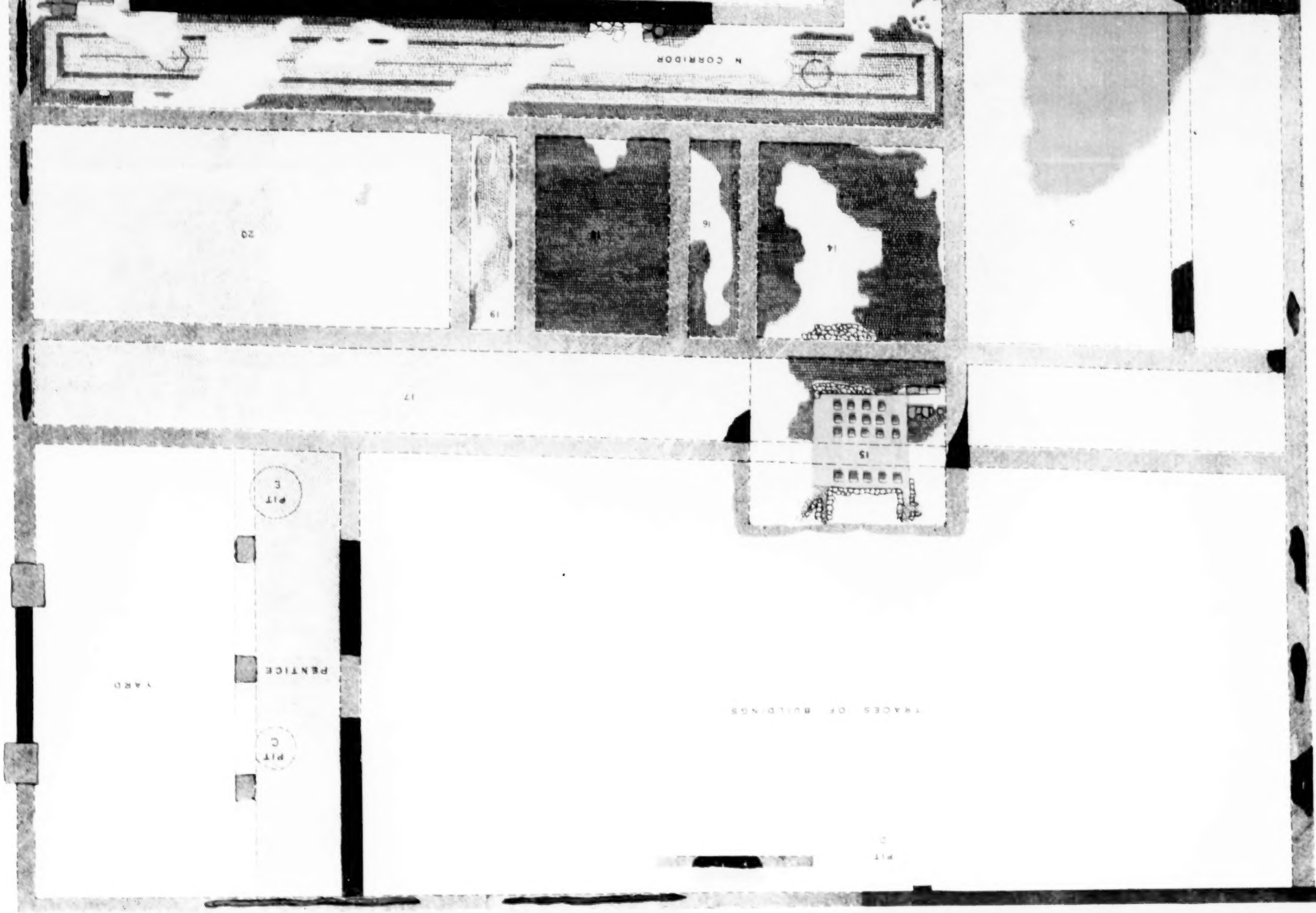
The pavement of the north corridor is more elaborate in design. It consists of a groundwork of the drab-coloured stone *tesseræ*, as in the east corridor, with a broad border of red tile *tesseræ* of the same size. In this groundwork of drab

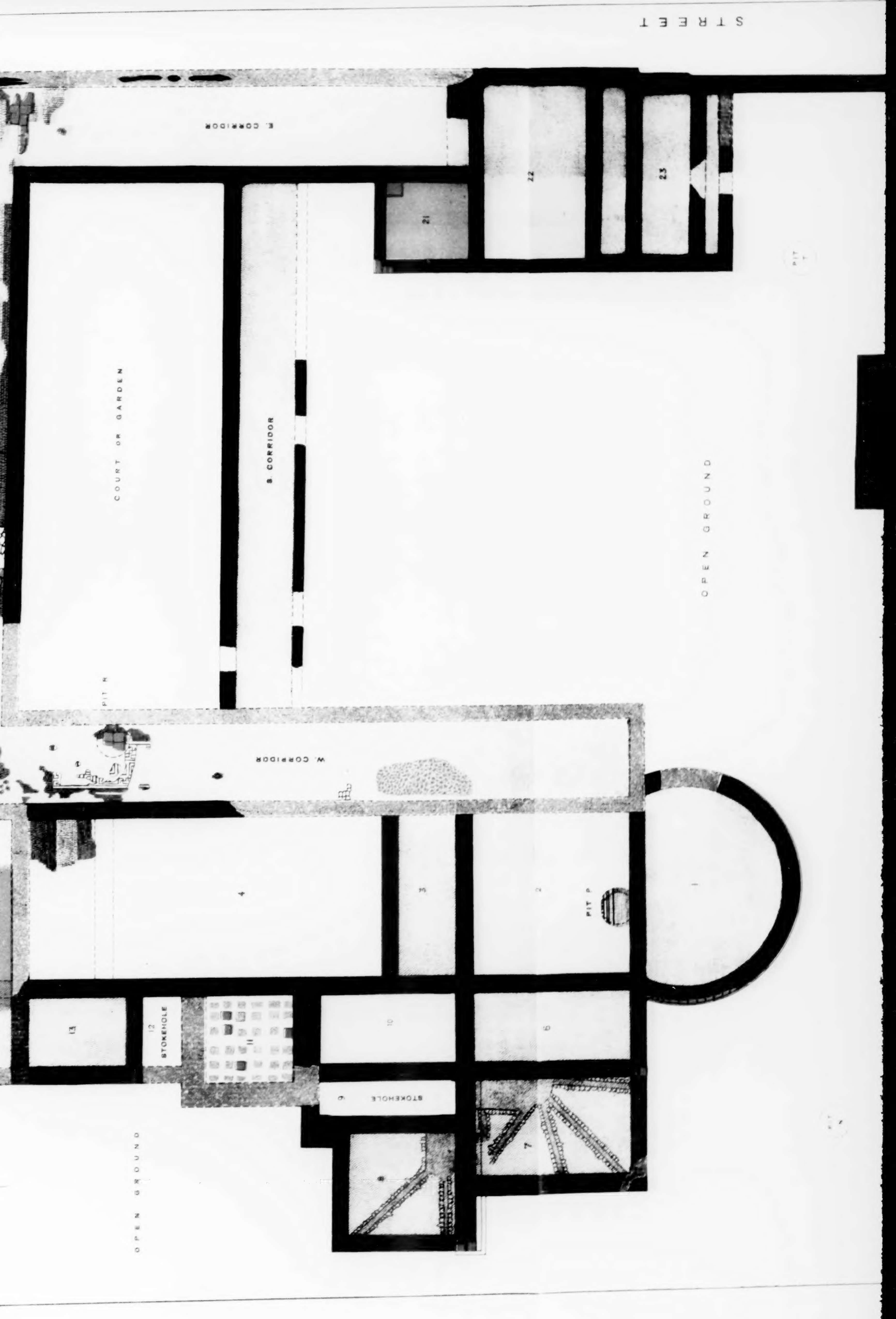


PIT
N

Scale of 10 0 10 20

Traces of floors of mosaic or opus si


STREET
N. CORRIDOR
20
19
18
16
14
17
15
5
PIT E
PENTICE
YARD
PIT C
TRACES OF BUILDINGS
OPEN GROUND
PIT C
STREET



STREET
E. CORRIDOR
COURT OR GARDEN
S. CORRIDOR
OPEN GROUND
PIT T
PIT R
W. CORRIDOR
21
22
23
4
3
2
PIT P
1
13
12
STOKEHOLE
11
10
5
9
STOKEHOLE
8
7
OPEN GROUND


E. CORRIDOR
S. CORRIDOR
COURT OR GARDEN
PIT N
N. CORRIDOR
W. CORRIDOR
STOKEHOLE
STOKEHOLE
OPEN GROUND
STREET

SILCHESTER: PLAN OF HOUSE No. 5, INSULA I.

Fig. 17.

Scale of Feet

Floors of Rooms of wooden or opus signinum

Floors of paving or Tesselated work

STREET

OPEN GROUND

STOKE

PIT T

PIT M

PIT N

PIT P

24

23

22

21

1

2

3

6

7

stone a broad band of red forms a panel extending the length of the corridor. A thin central line of red *tesseræ*, with an octagon at the west end and a hexagon at the east formed of black and red lines, completes the decorative arrangement. The figures have small centres in the shape of a cross made of four black *tesseræ* with one central white one. The west end of this pavement is shown in Plate XXIX., and may be taken as a typical example of the commoner forms of mosaic pavements found at Silchester.

The passage-way 19, to the external corridor 17, has a flooring of the drab *tesseræ* with a bordering of red. Rooms 14 and 18, with the passage between, 16, are paved throughout with the red brick *tesseræ*, and the external corridor, 17, was evidently paved with the same kind of flooring.

In the west corridor, at a distance of about 7 feet from its north-west angle, set in a ground of the 1-inch red *tesseræ*, occurred a fragment of mosaic work of finer character. This had been laid down, as a Persian or Indian rug is at the present day, before the entrance to the more considerable chambers of the house. It was formed of black and white *tesseræ*, the latter ranging from 1 inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in size, and had the figure of an elaborate fret inclosing small panels of braid-work, in which yellow and red *tesseræ* were also introduced. How far it extended down the corridor in a southward direction it is impossible to say; but it may have been nearly 20 feet long. Although very much ruined it was possible to make out the pattern, and it owed its partial preservation to the fact that a portion had sunk in a basin-shaped hollow, caused by the subsidence of a rubbish pit beneath (R on plan, Plate XXVIII.), filled up before this line of corridor was constructed. In fact, the east wall of the corridor passed over the side of the pit.

Besides a fragment of coarse drab and red pavement, perhaps the floor of a passage, in the division marked 4, a small piece of a border of delicate character was found in room 2 against its south wall. Here another rubbish pit (P on plan) had caused a sinking of the *tesseræ*, and thus preserved a portion of the mosaic. Judging by the fragment remaining, this is part of a small band of chequered work with an embattled edging; the border of a pavement of a superior kind. The colours of the *tesseræ* in this band are: black, purple, red, yellow, and white, and the sizes of the *tesseræ* $\frac{1}{2}$ inch and under, but in the broad strip of white next the wall they are a full inch in size.

By the kindness of Dr. Woodward, Keeper of the Geological Department of the British Museum, we are enabled to identify with some degree of certainty the materials of which the various coloured *tesseræ* are composed. The white

appear to be derived from the beds of the white lias or great oolite; the yellow also seem to be taken from the white lias limestone. All the red *tesseræ* are undoubtedly brick, and the purple, which only occur in small numbers in the border in room 2, seem to be a vitrified form of the red *tesseræ*. The black are composed of a fine grained calcareous sandstone. The drab, which, with the red, are the commonest of all, are of fine sandstone.

One other little detail connected with these floors may be noticed. At the junction of the east and north corridors, piercing through the wall into the angle of the courtyard, was a pipe partly formed by an *imbrex* tile. It was at the level of the floor, and served to carry away the water after swilling the pavements. A similar arrangement is to be found in the *triclinium* of the villa at Chedworth in Gloucestershire, and in the large room of the villa at Brading in the Isle of Wight.

While treating of the floors an alteration of their levels and an enlargement of the house, particularly on its western side, must be noticed.

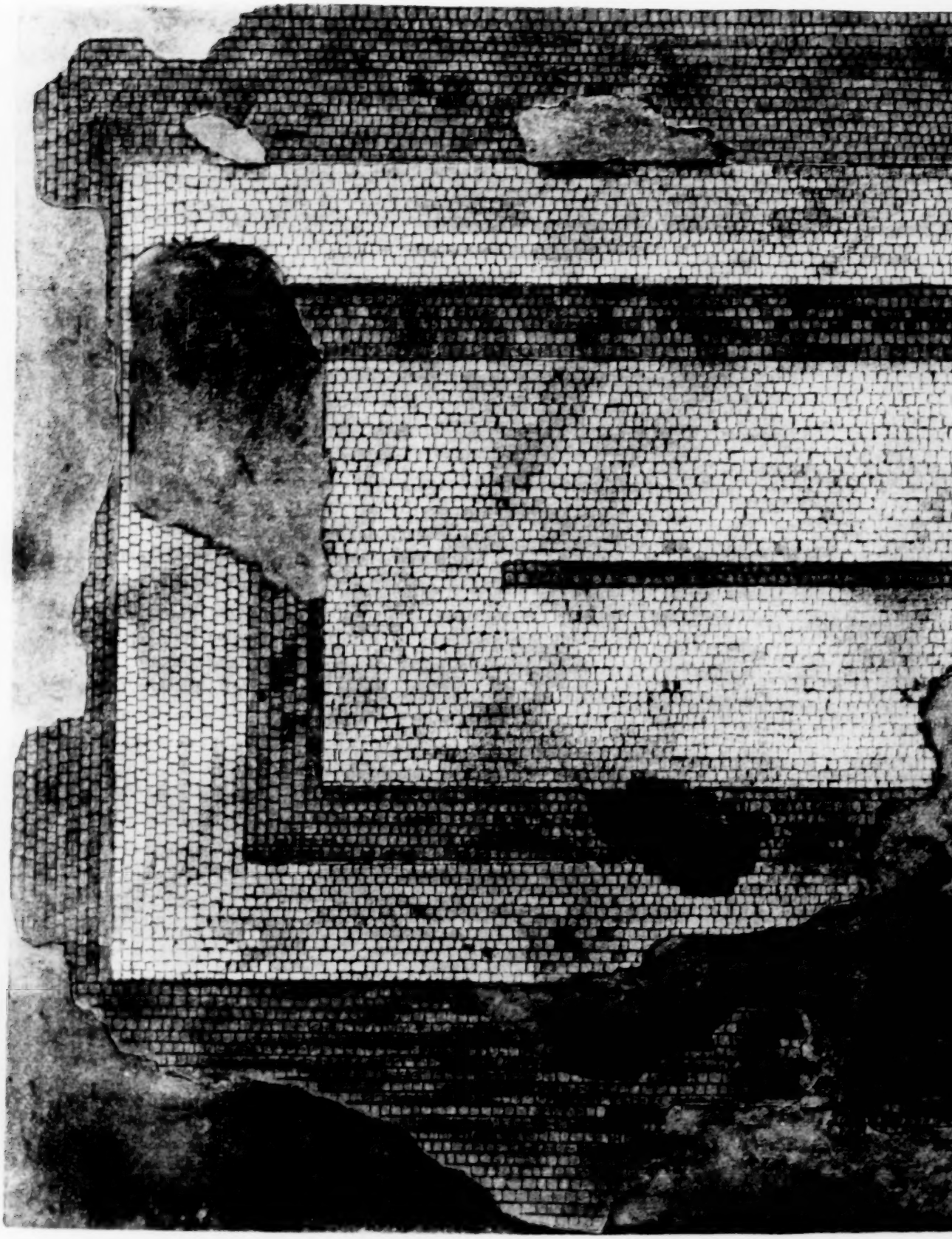
In no less than four separate places was found distinct proof of the existence of a former floor level, lying from 1 foot 6 inches to 1 foot 9 inches below the existing tessellated pavement of the north corrridor. These four places were: (1) at the south end of 5; (2) in the centre of division 4; (3) under the black and white pavement in the west corridor; and (4) at the south end of the west corridor near the entrance to passage 3, where a patch of *opus signinum* pavement was still *in situ*. A trench cut through the nearly circular room 1 showed no trace whatever of this lower floor level, and, as the fragment of *opus signinum* pavement did not extend south of passage 3, it would appear as if the southern end of the corridor, and rooms 1, 2, and 6, had been added to the original plan of the house.

At the same time the floor level of this west side of the house had certainly been raised.

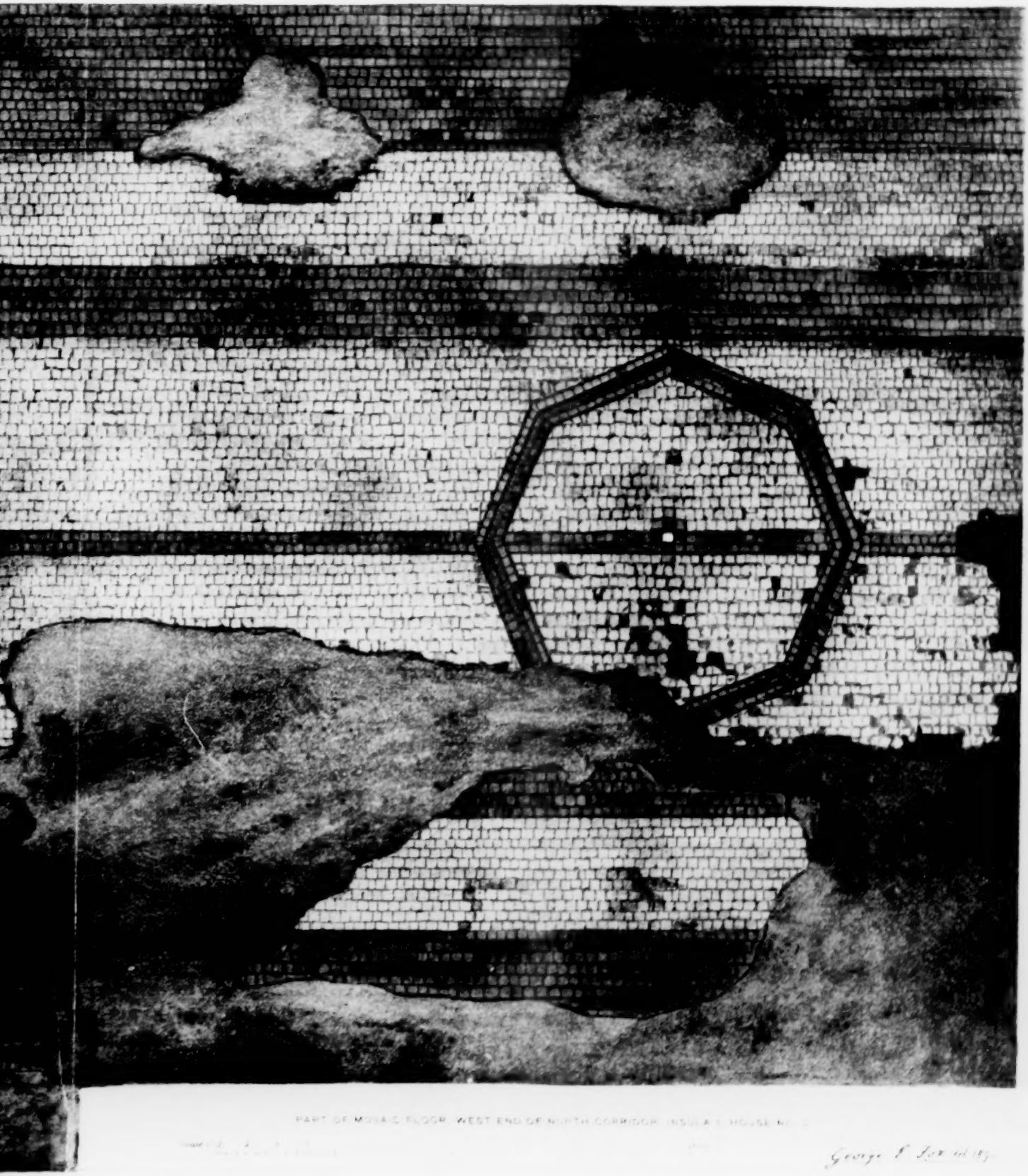
Room 7 is clearly of later date, as is shown by its junction with the tile quoin at the south-west corner of room 6. Of the same age as 7, which was warmed by a hypocaust, are also 8 and 11, both winter rooms with hypocausts, and their stokeholes 9 and 12.

The hypocausts of rooms 7 and 8 are of the composite kind, that is, formed partly by walled channels in the ground, partly by rows of *pilæ*.

A noticeable feature here is that both chambers were served from the same furnace room or stokehole 9, an arrangement by no means common, though instances have been known in Britain. An excellent example may be seen in the



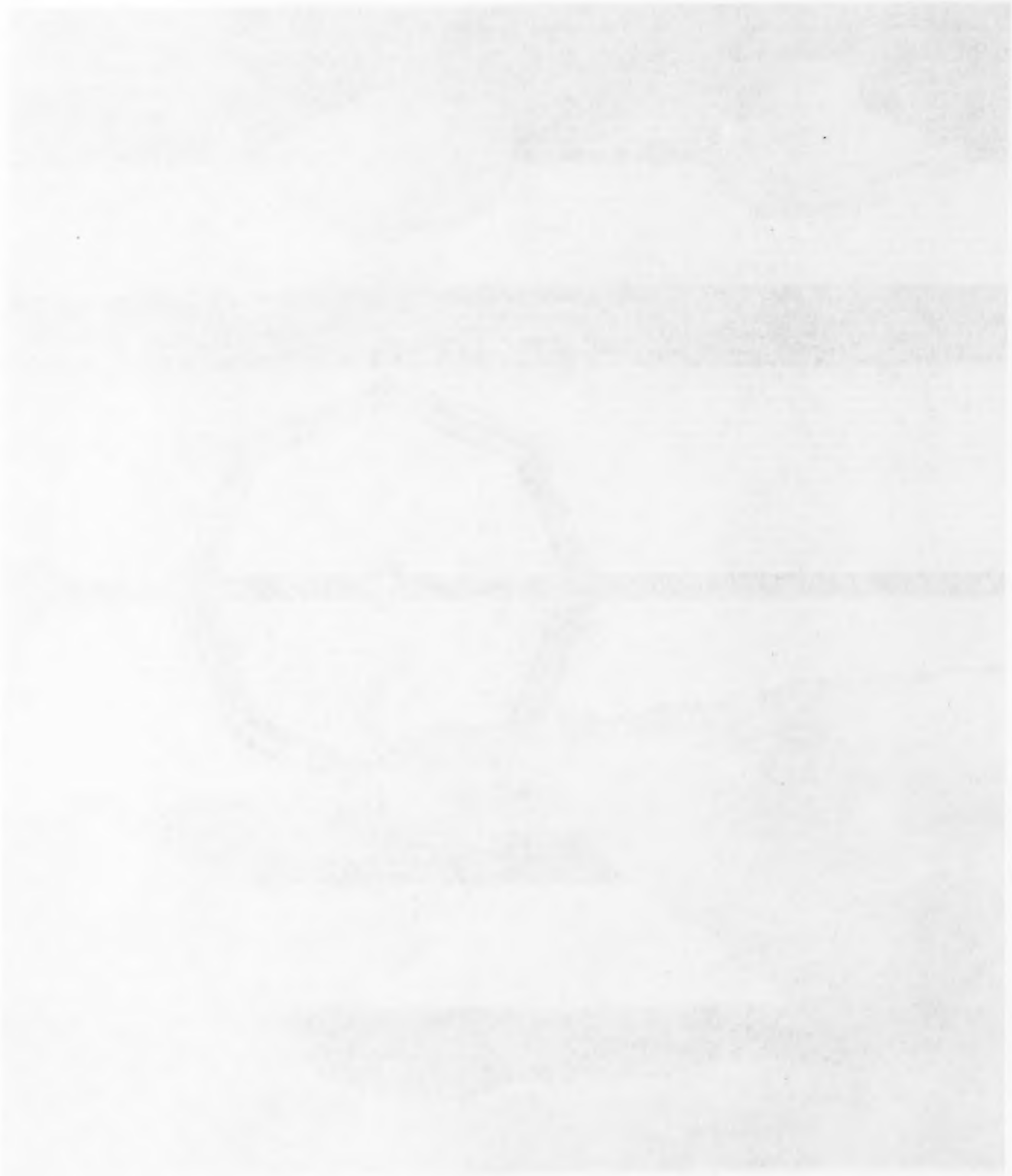
SILCHESTE



PART OF MOSAIC FLOOR, WEST END OF NORTH CORRIDOR, INSULA I, HOUSE NO. 2

George F. Fox del. 1873

TER. MOSAIC FLOOR.



villa of Marienfels, near Wiesbaden. The same arrangement may also be noted in house No. 1 of this *insula*.

The pillared hypocaust 11, with its furnace room 12, traverses the long external corridor of this side of the house.

Another, but composite, hypocaust has been intruded into the external corridor on the north side. The marks of its intrusion are very evident, for in constructing it part of the tessellated flooring of the passage has been left in place, thus showing that the corridor is of earlier construction than the hypocaust. Some fragments of masonry against the north wall of 14 show the steps up to the room above this hypocaust.

Burnt flooring may be a sign of the existence of hypocausts constructed to warm rooms in the space marked 5, but all this division of the house is too ruined to be made out.

In every part of the excavations of this house painted wall plaster was met with. From a careful examination of the fragments turned up it appears that, for the most part, simple panelled work formed by lines in different colours on variously coloured grounds formed the principal ornamentation of the walls; reds and yellows, derived from the ochres, being the prevailing pigments employed. At the same time the decoration of the principal rooms was not confined to mere lines of one colour on another coloured ground, as the painted fragments show, especially in rooms 1, 2, 11, and 15. Here traces of painted ornamental forms were found, including golden-coloured draperies and imitations of yellow and grey marbles, no doubt suggested by the marble wall-linings of important buildings.

One interesting architectural fragment was turned up in the hypocaust 11 (Plate XXVII., fig. 3). This was a piece of the neck and astragal of a Doric capital with a portion of the shaft beneath it, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and evidently belonged to one of those dwarf baluster columns which are occasionally met with on Roman sites, the prototypes of the baluster shafts of the primitive Romanesque. As before mentioned, a small fragment of a column, giving a diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, was found in the rubbish pit C in the dependencies of this house.

Not far from 11 was also picked up a portion of one of those ornamented wall-flue tiles, with reeded ornamentation stamped upon it, which must have formed part of the wall decoration of one of the winter rooms. (Plate XXVII., fig. 4.)

Of the superstructure of the house but little could be learned. Of the glazing of its windows only four fragments were found, and these were all dug up in the

small square room 21. The trenches throughout the *insula* produced a certain quantity of window glass, but not large in amount.

It is impossible to suppose that so important a house as this had not many windows, and that they were not glazed. The principal rooms must have been amply lighted. The mosaic floors and the rich wall-colouring required proper lighting for their display. It is probable that the windows were small and undoubtedly high in the walls, but made up for their smallness by their number.

The entrance to the house from the street may be assumed to have been opposite room 21, which room would have served for the porter. A recess in the wall here contained either a closet or a seat, probably the latter.

The use of the spaces south of room 21 cannot be determined; but the long strip between 22 and 23 may indicate the position of a staircase, if the house had a first floor, which is very doubtful. These end rooms are, perhaps, additions to the original plan.

The great square foundation south-west of this group of chambers has much the appearance of a large tank for the storage of water from the extensive roofs; but the fact that it showed no traces of being lined with the usual cement or paved in any way militate against this idea. A deep rubbish pit, too, in its north-west angle, the earth of which was much stained and blackened, would also be an objection to this assignment.

The south corridor of the house was apparently added to the original design to afford more direct access from the street-entrance to the principal rooms. It was probably open on its southern side with a pentice roof only. Something of the same arrangement may be seen at the north-east angle, where a yard with entrances from the street gave access to the dependencies. There the stone footings for the support of the posts remain.

Traces of the destruction, or partial destruction, of the house by fire were to be seen on the mosaic pavements, notably along the north corridor, and upon the fragment of black and white tessellated work at the north end of the west corridor.

The extremely ruined state of the north and great part of the west side make it impossible to guess the uses of the different rooms. One of the finest of these must have been the partly circular one terminating the west side. It seems likely that the wall crossing it lay beneath the surface, and served only as a support to columns, so that rooms 1 and 2 formed one large apartment with a fine mosaic floor in the square division. It is not singular to find rooms terminating in apses, but the form of room 1 appears to be very rare in Britain.

We now turn to the subject of the trenches and rubbish pits, and the objects found in them. As has been already said, the whole of the ground north of the modern highway and clear of the two large houses was systematically examined by trenches carried diagonally across the area at intervals about 17 feet apart.

Wherever foundations or traces of masonry occurred the trenches were extended in order to ascertain their nature. By these means were disclosed the rubbish pits noted on the plan, but it is possible that over so large an area a certain number may have escaped observation, and that other wells than one found towards the south-east corner of the *insula* may also have been missed.

Various objects were turned up in the trenches, but the pits were the principal source from which the better preserved relics were derived. These pits were generally about 4 feet in diameter at the bottom, but spreading irregularly towards the top, and their depth from the Roman ground level did not exceed 6 feet on the average. They were simply holes dug in the ground. Their contents included fragments of bones of domestic animals, and shards of all the varieties of pottery found on the site, especially of the commoner sorts. Occasionally objects in bronze or glass or iron occurred, but these were more frequently met with in the trenches.

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the bones, but little information could be derived from them. Dr. Woodward has, however, identified bones of the horse, ox (*bos longifrons*), sheep or goat, of the pig, which was very abundant, and the dog; and among the wild animals, the red deer, roebuck, and perhaps fallow deer. Oyster-shells were discoverable all over the site.

Besides the three pits already noticed at D, C, and E, two others, which must have been of early date, were found in house No. 2.

These had been covered by tessellated floors, and walls ran close beside them, or even partly over them. One pit, R, occurred at the north end of the west corridor. In it were found two *fibulæ* of bronze, and various small objects of the same metal; fragments of glass vessels; shards of reddish brown ware, and of pseudo-Arretine, both plain and figured; some pieces of a very fine black ware; and several skulls of dogs.

The other pit, P, lay beneath the patch of good mosaic in room 2. It was about 9 feet deep from the floor of the room and from 2 feet 10 inches to 3 feet 10 inches in diameter. The foundations of the wall which ran on its southern side had given somewhat from the subsidence of the earth with which the pit was filled. Near the bottom lay two pots, one of not uncommon type, the other

coarse and hand-made. The clay of which the latter was formed contained many grains of white pounded flint, and was of a dull buff colour, with a smoked and blackened surface. A good many fragments of painted wall plaster lay nearer the surface, and a copper coin of Nero was also turned up.

But the pit N produced the most remarkable collection of antiquities yet discovered in this *insula*. This was a mass of iron objects, mixed with a few others of different material, forming such a find as is known to have occurred only once before in Britain. When opened, the pit appeared to have been roughly walled with large flints laid in alternate layers with yellow gravel. This lining of flints and gravel was over 2 feet thick. At a depth of 5 feet from the present surface of the ground lay what appeared to be a sword-blade broken in two, and two iron bars, whose modern look led to doubts as to their Roman origin.

On the following day however, when the work of emptying the pit was resumed, it became evident that these formed only a small instalment of an extraordinary mass of iron objects, all in the same wonderful state of preservation. There was now no doubt of their Roman character, for amongst the uppermost lay a perfect bronze Roman scalebeam.

In all there were nearly sixty objects, including axes, hammers, gouges, chisels, two plough coulters, an anvil, a pair of blacksmith's tongs, two files, a rasp, a so-called hippo-sandal, a standing lamp, a gridiron or portable cooking-stove, a carpenter's plane, and sundry objects of doubtful use. The only find similar to this was made in January 1854, at Great Chesterford in Essex, by the late Lord Braybrooke, who discovered in a pit there no less than ninety-six articles of the same period, many identical in character with those found at Silchester.*

Immediately beneath this mass lay, uninjured, in a sort of cist of pieces of chalk, a vessel of rough grey ware, which originally had a small handle. It contained nothing but a little earth and water, and the purpose of its careful deposit is not apparent. Under it, broken in fragments, was a large jug of coarse buff-coloured ware, much blackened on one side.

Before passing to other matters it may be as well to notice the rarity of some of the contents of this find. The museums of Europe contain but few examples of the plane in use in Roman times. Two specimens are preserved in the National Museum at Naples, and a few other examples may be found in the museums of different towns on or near the Rhine.

* *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 1.

Again, the British Museum cannot show any scalebeam so absolutely perfect as the bronze one from this pit. Like some of the smaller specimens in the Museum, it is graduated along the upper edge, for use perhaps as a measure of length.

Both the gridiron and the lamp are also of very rare occurrence.

It has already been noticed that only one well has been discovered. It was 21 feet 5 inches deep from the field surface, and had been lined with oak boards throughout, which remained nearly perfect for a height of about 10 feet from the bottom. The boarding formed a square 2 feet 4½ inches across, dovetailed together at the corners, and braced with narrow diagonal pieces across the top corners of each layer. The boards varied in width from 9 to 18 inches and were nearly 3 inches thick. The whole framing was supported on an oak curb 7½ inches deep. The entire framing was backed by a thick pugging of clay, which was twice as thick on two of its sides as on the other two.

In emptying this well three fragments of the stone cover were found, showing that it had a circular opening 16½ inches in diameter. There were also in it a vase of dark grey ware, three small fragments of glass vessels, and a small piece of the leather of a sandal or shoe. At the bottom of all lay the remains of the wooden bucket, which had been 1 foot in depth, 8½ inches across the bottom, and somewhat wider at the top. It had an iron handle, the greater part of which remains, but of the hoops hardly a trace was discoverable, although the marks of them were plainly visible on the wood.

Near the fragments of the bucket lay a number of pieces of birch bark, and a small shallow bowl of soft white metal, possibly pewter, having a hole drilled through the bottom. Its use is uncertain.

Besides the many fragments of the bones of animals found in cutting the trenches, the skeletons of two infants were discovered. One of these was found in a pit at a depth of 3 or 4 feet beneath the present surface, and appeared to be that of a child of a year old. The bones of the second were unearthed a little to the west of the detached square building south of house No. 2, and had been placed in a small urn of black ware which was deposited at a depth of 2 feet from the present surface.[a] In both cases the skeletons were imperfect, all the smaller bones having perished.

Similar instances of infant burial in the close vicinity of houses are noted by the late Lord Braybrooke in his exploration of the sites of Roman buildings at Chesterford and Ickleton in Essex, and particularly at Barton in the same county.[b]

[a] *Archæological Journal*, vi. 21, 22.

The only other human remains brought to light consisted of a fragment of a human skull dug up in tracing the line of buildings on the south side of the *insula*.

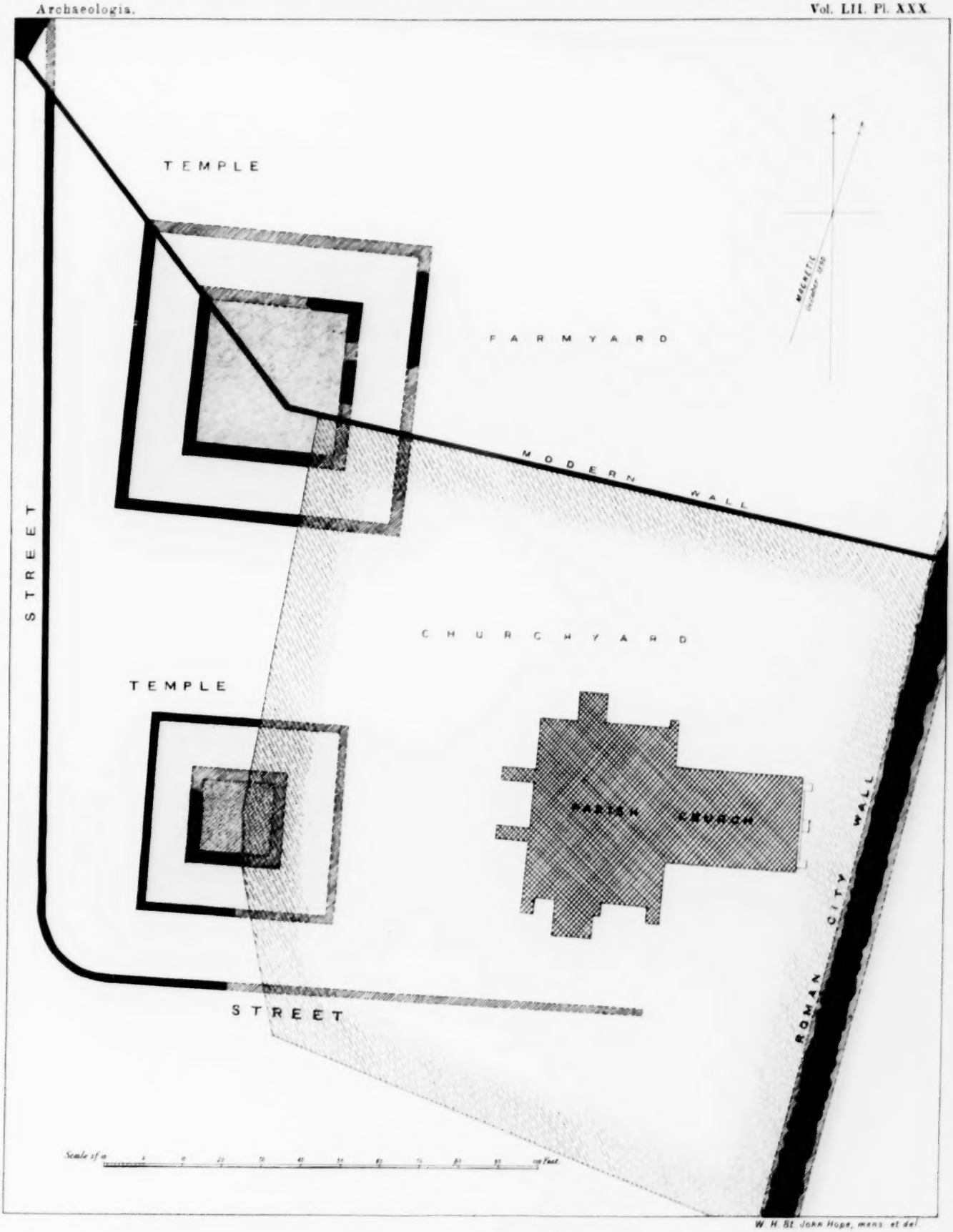
The coins, the many small relics in bronze, the fragments of glass vessels, the articles in bone and Kimmeridge shale, and the pottery in all its varieties, together with the iron objects, afford ample material for a separate paper on a future occasion.

We have already mentioned the suspension of operations in the *insula* until the removal of the crops. This interval was employed in a thorough examination of the north, south, and west gates, and of some interesting features of the city wall. The *basilica* was also very thoroughly re-examined and additional facts respecting it brought to light. As we hope next year to deal with the *forum* in the same manner, and to excavate the remainder of the area in which these buildings stand, the description of the *basilica* and *forum* will very properly form the subject of a separate communication.

Shortly after the resumption of the excavations at the beginning of September, a trench was cut outside the south-west corner of the graveyard of the parish church of Silchester (which stands within the city walls close to the site of the east gate) for the purpose of finding the line of one of the main streets running east and west. Almost the first blow of the pick struck upon a wall, which when cleared proved to be 2 feet thick, and running east and west. On the east it was traced nearly as far as the churchyard, under which it continues, and, of course, cannot be followed. From the churchyard boundary the wall was traced westwards for about 40 feet, when it began to curve round as if to form an apse. When, however, half a semicircle had been cleared, instead of continuing the curve the wall again became straight, but at nearly right angles to its first course, and it was now evident that the curve was simply the rounding of a corner. Two men were accordingly set to trace the wall northwards, but, after following it uninterruptedly for over 200 feet, further progress was stopped by farm buildings under which the wall passed.

Although little more than the lowest courses remained the wall had evidently been well-built of flint with continuous bonding courses of tiles. Where it passes under the churchyard it is higher than elsewhere. Throughout the length uncovered there appeared no signs of any openings or doorways, nor were any cross walls or remains of buildings found. There was no doubt, therefore, that the wall was that of an enclosure bounded by streets on the west and south.

To ascertain what the wall enclosed trenches were cut across the narrow space



SILCHESTER.—TEMPLES NEAR EAST GATE.

between it and the churchyard. These brought to light two rectangular buildings, one in the south, the other in the north part of the area, separated by a distance of almost 50 feet. (See Plate XXX.).

The southern building was 50 feet along its west side; but its north and south walls could not be followed for more than 28 feet as they then passed under the churchyard.

The northern building was larger than the other. Its west wall was followed northwards for about 70 feet, when further progress was stopped by farm buildings. Its south wall was also traced for about 45 feet until it reached the churchyard, under which it passes.

The walls of the southern building remain to a height of about 3 feet; they are 2 feet in thickness and built of flint, but the north-west angle is constructed of tiles. In many parts, notably on the north side, there remained a good deal of the original external plastering. This consists of (1) a coating of white plaster $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick laid on the flintwork; over this is (2) a second coating of white plaster $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, and painted a bright red. Within the building, and evidently enclosed by it, was found another. Its walls were 3 feet thick, and apparently concentric with the outer walls, but only one angle, the south-west, could be uncovered, two others being under the graveyard, and the fourth beneath large elm trees. The space between the inner and outer walls was about 10 feet wide, filled in with a thick layer of clay and sand, but the inner inclosure contained merely loose building material.

Concerning the northern building fortunately more could be learned than the other. Its outer walls were 3 feet thick, and admirably constructed with a strong foundation of flint and concrete, on which were plainly visible the mortar-beds of the supervening bonding courses of tile. Their height above the original ground level was about 5 feet, but where the south wall passed under the churchyard, owing to the greater depth of soil, it stood much higher. This part, however, in contrast to the excellent work of the lower courses, consisted of poor rubbly material like certain rebuilt portions of the *basilica*. It seemed, therefore, that reconstruction had taken place here also, especially as the tile-courses which certainly formed part of the earlier work are absent in the later. The lower part of this south wall retained considerable portions of its external plastering, painted a bright red, as in the other example.

Like its southern neighbour, this northern building enclosed another, with walls of the same thickness and good construction, and similar traces of the tile-beds.

The space between the inner and outer walls was nearly 13 feet wide and filled in with sandy clay and loam, that in the south-west part being of a peculiar grey colour. Upon this had been laid, at a height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original ground level, a pavement of common *opus signinum* 2 inches thick, made of coarsely-pounded brick embedded in hard white cement. Below this was a thin layer of the hard pink cement.

The inner building had been filled in with clay, and paved at the same level as the other with *opus signinum* of peculiar character. This was about 5 inches thick and consisted (1) of a hard concrete of lime with lumps of brick, upon which was (2) a finer layer 2 inches thick, formed of fragments of brick mixed with pieces of hard stone, the most conspicuous being a streaked limestone of a dark colour, seemingly from the Purbeck beds. The upper surface had been ground down level and then smoothed and polished.

On laying down on the plan the walls of this northern building which were first uncovered, it was evident that only a small part of it lay under the churchyard, and that it might be possible to trace it further in an open space on the north between some of the farm buildings. A visit to the farmyard not only showed the practicability of this, but in the sides of a disused sawpit there was already exposed a section of the wall of the inner building which had been cut through in making the pit. It was also so near the surface that the finding of the north-east angle was an easy matter, and a cross trench soon revealed the line of the outer wall.

From these additional data it is possible to recover the character and plan of the building.

It consisted (1) of a platform 73 feet square and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, on which stood, centrally placed, a chamber or *cella* about 42 feet square without and 36 feet square within.

From analogy the southern structure has been similarly completed on plan as a platform 50 feet square, with a *cella* 24 feet square outside and 18 feet square within.

The walls of the *cellæ* of both buildings are carried down to the same depth as the retaining walls of the platforms, and the space between them was filled, as before mentioned, with clayey sand to sustain the pavements of the platforms.

No doorways or other openings were found in any of the walls of these two buildings that could be uncovered.

On the north side of the southern building, a little above the ground level, there seemed to be a sort of layer of red plaster, but in too rotten a state to

justify the suggestion of its being a floor or pavement. Here, too, were found many one-inch *tesseræ*, both red and drab, but principally the latter. Several pieces of worked Purbeck marble were turned up; some from their thinness were evidently wall-linings, but one appears to have formed part of a paving-slab. These marble fragments were found near both buildings. Among the smaller objects discovered were several pins of bone and bronze, an iron stylus, a piece of pseudo-Arretine ware stamped with a rosette, part of a small bone comb, a coin of Valens, another an imitation of Tetricus, and two small lamps of terra-cotta.

As to what the buildings were, it is difficult to say with certainty. Most probably they were temples, as buildings have been found in Gaul of similar or nearly similar plan undoubtedly devoted to the service of the gods.

The thinness of the retaining wall of the platform of the southern building precludes the idea that it supported columns, but the similar wall of the northern one is sufficiently broad to have carried columns forming a peristyle all round the *cella*, which in this instance had apparently no vestibule. Of steps ascending to the *cella* of either temple there were no traces. They would have indicated the position of the doors, which were possibly on the eastern side, though according to Vitruvius the entrances should have been on the west. The roofs of the buildings were unquestionably of wood, the walls being too thin to have supported vaulting of any kind.

That the buildings were of some importance is shown by the brilliant colouring of the sides of the platforms, and still more so by the use of marble wall-linings and pavements. Amongst the surrounding rubbish we also found fragments of what appeared to be the mouldings of plaster panels covered with a fine white stucco, which may have formed part of the decoration of the walls. The curious groovings on some of the pieces were not artificially produced, but are solely due to the action of fine rootlets of the trees growing above them.

Though these buildings, thus curiously grouped together, have both been discovered at the same time, it does not follow that they are of the same date. The smaller may possibly have been of earlier construction, superseded at a later time by the more elaborate and richer structure to the north of it. It may be interesting to compare these constructions with similar ones in France, for it is to ancient Gaul we must look to find such remains of the Roman time as will throw light on those of the same period in Britain. For instance, the ruins of a temple at Izernore (département de l'Ain) exhibit a *cella*, rather oblong than square, surrounded by a peristyle, the columns of which stood on a lofty base or *podium*. The *cella*

had no vestibule, and access was obtained to it by a flight of steps on the east, on which side was the door. A temple of the Doric order at Saintes appears to have been arranged in much the same way.[a]

Again, a temple discovered at Champlieu (département de l'Oise) had a *cella* nearly square, 21 m. by 20 m. adorned with attached half-columns. It was raised on a *podium* 1 m. 80 cent. above the level of the little court in which it stood, and its entrance was on the east. This temple was probably dedicated to Apollo.[b]

But the discoveries of the Père de la Croix, in 1880, on the heights adjacent to the city of Poitiers have more in common with those made at Silchester this year than those just cited. At a spot in cultivated land, above the station of the railway from Paris to Bordeaux, on the borders of the Faubourg de la Roche, was discovered a fosse inclosing a space of an irregularly oval form. Within this fosse, and nearly in the centre of the space marked out by it, lay foundations which were found to be those of two buildings, each about 12 m. 50 cent. square, with smaller squares within them. In the opinion of their discoverer, certainly one, if not both buildings were small temples, an opinion supported by their likeness in plan to the undoubted examples cited, and by a subsequent discovery. These two buildings were 39 mètres apart, but were joined together by constructions showing the traces of a kind of portico. The entrance to both was on the east, and the southern one was evidently the older, the portico and the northern building being clearly additions of a later time. Other substructions were revealed within the ring made by the fosse, and at the same time a well, 38 mètres deep, was found in a walled inclosure. On the well being emptied of the soil which choked it, among many other objects brought to light was a bronze vase of good workmanship, bearing (according to the Père de la Croix) a votive inscription to the god Mercurius Adsmerius, one of the divinities of the Gauls identified with Mercury.[c] It may be noted as curious, that three out of the four temples here cited have their entrances on the eastern instead of the western side.

Reference to the plan will show that the two buildings at Silchester, the axes of which are nearly, but not quite, in the same straight line, do not stand parallel with the west wall of the enclosure, which runs almost true north and south. The southern temple is, however, almost exactly parallel with the south wall of

[a] For both examples see *Rudiment d'Archéologie, 1re. gallo-romaine*, of M. de Caumont, and for the temple at Saintes, *Antiquités de la ville de Saintes*, by M. le Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes.

[b] See *Ruines de Champlieu*, by M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Revue Archéologique*, tom. I. N.S. 1860.

[c] See *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, tom. X. deuxième série, 1887.

the enclosure, which is not quite at right angles with the west wall, and the setting out must, therefore, have been from this south wall, and not from the other.

It is worthy of notice, that the ancient parish church of Silchester, the oldest parts of which are apparently of late twelfth century work, does not stand symmetrically with any of the four sides of its surrounding graveyard, but its axis is exactly parallel with that of the southern temple. This may be merely a coincidence, but it is also possible that the Christian temple may be founded on some earlier building of the same date as that to the west of it. Unfortunately, nothing further can be done to investigate the matter.

The eastern side of the churchyard is bounded by the city wall, the core of which, in fact, here forms the greater part of the fence.

Before passing to the description of the gates it will be as well to say a few words about *opus signinum* floors, which it will be remembered were found in the large house previously described, as well as in one of the temples. Pieces of such floors have also been met with in the *basilica*.

Opus signinum, or the variety of it used for pavements, has scarcely attracted the attention it deserves. Floors of this material, composed of small pieces of brick, together with tiny fragments of volcanic ash, the whole bound by a lime cement, are of as common, if not commoner, occurrence in Pompeii than those composed of tessellated work. Nor are they confined to the meaner rooms of the houses there; very frequently the composition named forms a ground in which are bedded lines of white marble *tesseræ* arranged in elaborate geometrical patterns. The more usual method, however, when it was determined to enrich such a floor was to embed in it, in quite irregular fashion, any small fragments of the much prized varieties of marbles or rare alabasters. Pieces of pavements of the rarer *opus sectile* are thus used up again, the broken fragments of the flat tile-like hexagons, circles, and squares, of which they were composed, being embedded in the mass of the floor.

It is interesting to see that this same method has been employed in the pavement of the *cella* of the northernmost temple at Silchester. The rare marbles and alabasters of the Pompeian floors were of course not to be had, but the only marble apparently known, or at least procurable at the time, has been used, and fragments from the Purbeck beds are found incorporated in the floor. The pavement of the peristyle is of the commoner kind of work finished with a coating of lime cement, and contains no marble.[a]

[a] The pavement of the *cella* of the Doric temple at Saintes, in France, had a floor precisely similar to that of the peristyle of the larger temple at Silchester.

Pavements of *opus signinum* have scarcely as yet been noticed in Britain. If mentioned at all, they have been simply described as "cement floors," attention only being directed to tessellated work; but they deserve to be carefully noted wherever found, as they were by no means despised by the Roman builders, and formed a class of pavement as distinct as that of the more precious *opus tessellatum*, or still more prized *opus sectile*.

Pending the time when operations could be resumed after harvest in the *insula*, as no part of the area within the walls was free from growing crops, attention was directed to a proper examination of the city gates.

Three of these, on the north, south, and east, and another of lesser importance on the north-east leading to the amphitheatre, were partly investigated by Mr. Joyce, but the north and south gates were the only two that had not been entirely covered up again. These were now taken in hand and thoroughly worked out.

The site of the west gate had been approximately known, but the gate itself had not been previously explored. This has now been completely excavated, so far as the modern highway which passes over part of it permitted, with most interesting results.

The east gate and north-east postern have not yet been re-examined.

It will be convenient to commence with a description of the north gate.

This is situated nearly in the middle of a short section of the city wall, about 125 feet long, and now from 7 to 12 feet high, which bounds the area on the extreme north. (Plate XXXI. fig. 1). The gate is not flush with the wall, but is set back 24 feet, and flanked on each side by an inward sweep of the curtain wall, overlapping the gate proper by about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet before abruptly ceasing. There is thus formed in front of the gate a restricted area, narrowing rapidly from about 36 feet to 22 feet, and then more gradually to 19 feet immediately before the gate. By this means an enemy was placed at a great disadvantage when attacking the gate, the flanking walls enabling a small defending force to repel the attack without unnecessarily exposing themselves. The flanking walls, which alone retain their external facing, are well built of alternate bands of flints and large blocks of ironstone. They have also chamfered plinths of 6 inches projection of the same ironstone.

It will be noticed that while the eastern flank is parallel with the axis of the gate, the western side forms an angle with it. This may be due to some change of design while the wall was being built, as we found indications of this western flank having originally begun to turn in some feet before where it now does, as if

to form a wider gate. The inner face too follows the curve inwards of the outer line; while the eastern flank, though rounded on the outside sweep, has a decided right angle within.

The bastions formed by the return of the flanking walls, with the mound there backing them, would afford ample space for the largest military engines to defend the approaches of the gates, while the large platform over the gate itself would enable the defenders to pass from one side to the other.

An excellent representation of the manner in which the gates of cities and walled camps were defended by *ballistæ* may be seen in Plate 45 of Bartoli's work on the Trajan Column.

That *ballistæ* were used in Britain is certain, for in the large camp of *Bremenium* (High Rochester), to the north of the Roman Wall, two inscriptions were found in 1852 and 1855 respectively, recording the erection there of a *ballistarium*, that is, a battery of *ballistæ*. One of these inscriptions was discovered outside the west gate, close to which is a broad platform extending along the camp wall, no doubt the *ballistarium* in question.

To return to the north gate of Silchester.

The gate itself, which was a single one, consisted of two nearly parallel walls, about 18 feet long and 4 feet thick, built within the flanks formed by the inward turn of the curtain wall. They were from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 feet apart, and carried an inner and an outer arch, each about 11 feet wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The doors, which, as usual, were double, were placed immediately behind the outer arch. The pivots on which they turned did not apparently work in stone sockets, but in the ends of a wooden sill, 10 inches square and 16 feet long, embedded in the threshold, seemingly at the time when the gate was built. Attention was first called to this rare and interesting arrangement by our clerk of the works, Mr. Richard Mann, who carefully cleared out the well-preserved holes in which the ends of the timber had been laid.

The only other place where such a feature has, we believe, been noticed in Britain is the Roman station of *Garianonum* at Burgh-by-Yarmouth, where the east gate, when excavated in 1855 by the late Mr. Henry Harrod, F.S.A., was found to have had a wooden threshold 15 inches square.*

The reason for using timber seems to have been the same, both at Silchester and Burgh, viz. the absence of stone in the district.

Whether any, and what, steps were taken to increase the durability of the wood in such a position we do not know.

* *Norfolk Archæology*, v. 152.

In what manner the upper sockets of the door pivots were fixed, or how the passage of the gate was covered, whether by a wooden roof or a barrel vault, unfortunately cannot be said, as the whole of the superstructure is destroyed, and little more than the base of the gate is left.

Although the soil was entirely removed on both sides and within the gate, no traces of guard chambers, or, in fact, any buildings whatever, were met with. No architectural or other remains appear to have been found here by Mr. Joyce, save the fragments of two drums of columns, one 2 feet 9½ inches, the other 3 feet in diameter, both much mutilated.

Our own investigations within and without the gate have brought to light no additional fragments. We had, however, no opportunity of excavating in the ditch, where such remains might possibly be found, nor have we yet ascertained how the ditch before the gate was crossed.

On each side of the north gate, and at equal distances from it, may be seen two of the curious buttress-like projections on the inner face of the wall, which may be found at intervals along its whole course. (See plan, Plate XXXI.) In both cases, and in a third example not far from the east side of the south gate, these have been partly uncovered. They are broad pilasters, 12 feet across, formed by carrying up the full thickness of the lower part of the wall. This is set back between them 2 feet throughout its circuit, the lower part serving as a deep plinth. The average distance apart of the pilasters is about 200 feet, but by the north gate the interval is only 100 feet. The entire thickness of the wall, less its external footing, is 9 feet 9 inches.

The question as to the object of the projections requires further study, and will more conveniently be deferred until there has been time and opportunity to make a thorough examination of the city wall throughout its entire course.

Concerning the south gate, which has already been described by Mr. Joyce in vol. xlvi. of *Archæologia*, little need be said.

It closely resembled the north gate in plan and dimensions, but is set back from the front of the curtain wall 28 feet instead of 24 feet, as the north gate is. (Plate XXXI., fig. 2.) The flanking walls, therefore, though of the same length as those at the north gate, here overlap by only 39 inches, and it is by no means clear how there could be easy and uninterrupted passage from one side to the other across the gate. Mr. Joyce was not able to satisfy himself whether or no there were guard chambers to this gate, but we have fully ascertained that, like the north gate, it had none. There is, however, a rude foundation parallel with the west wall of the gateway, which may have supported a flight of steps having

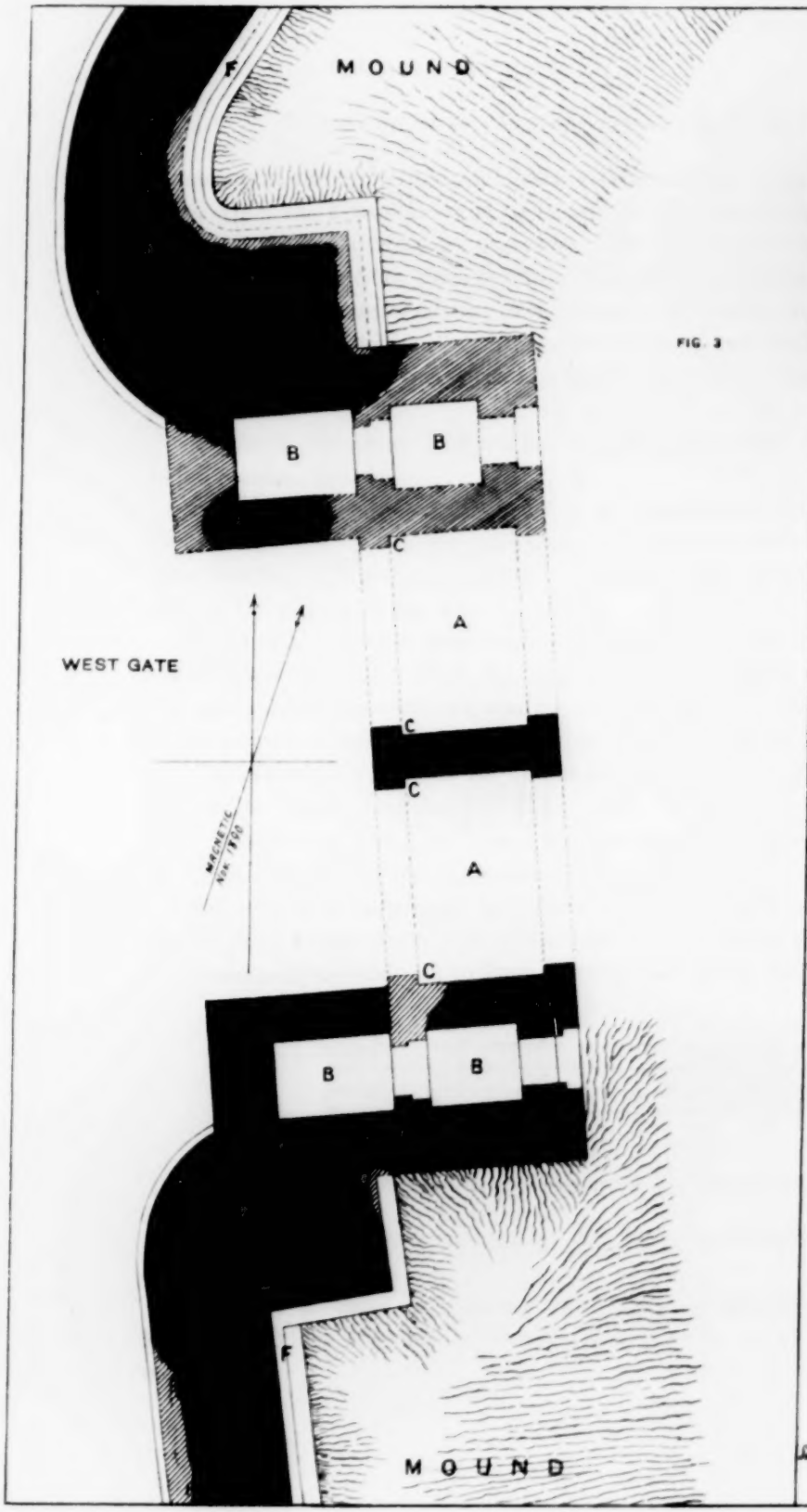


FIG. 3

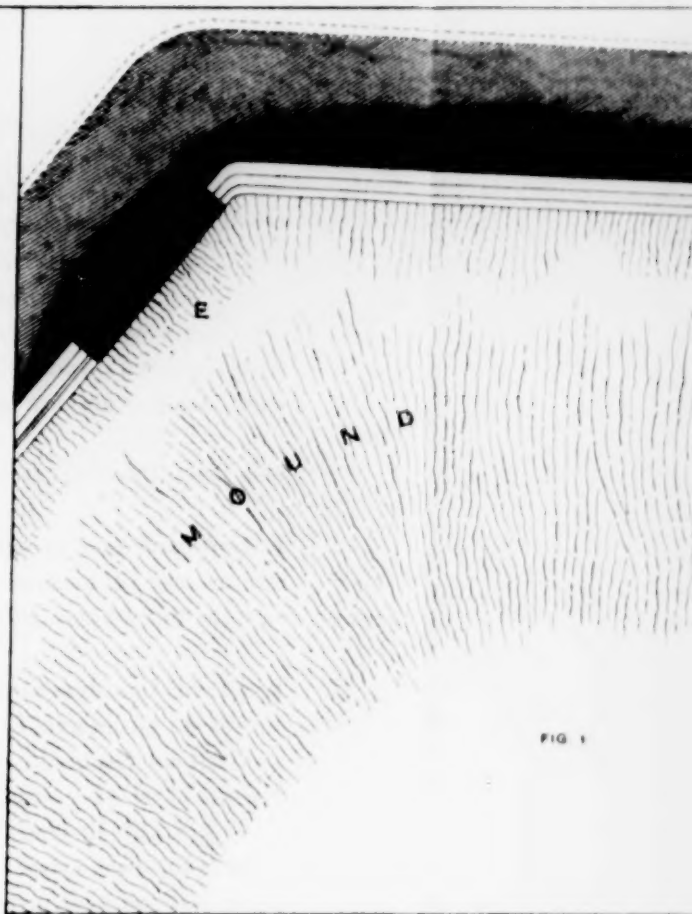


FIG. 1

A A *Covered Passages (originally).*

B B *Guard Chambers.*

C C *Holes for ends of wooden thresholds.*

D *Rough foundation, perhaps for steps to pla*
South Gate.

E E *Projections from inner face of wall.*

F F *Internal set-off to wall, 2 feet in projection.*

Scale of

SILCHESTER. — PLANS OF

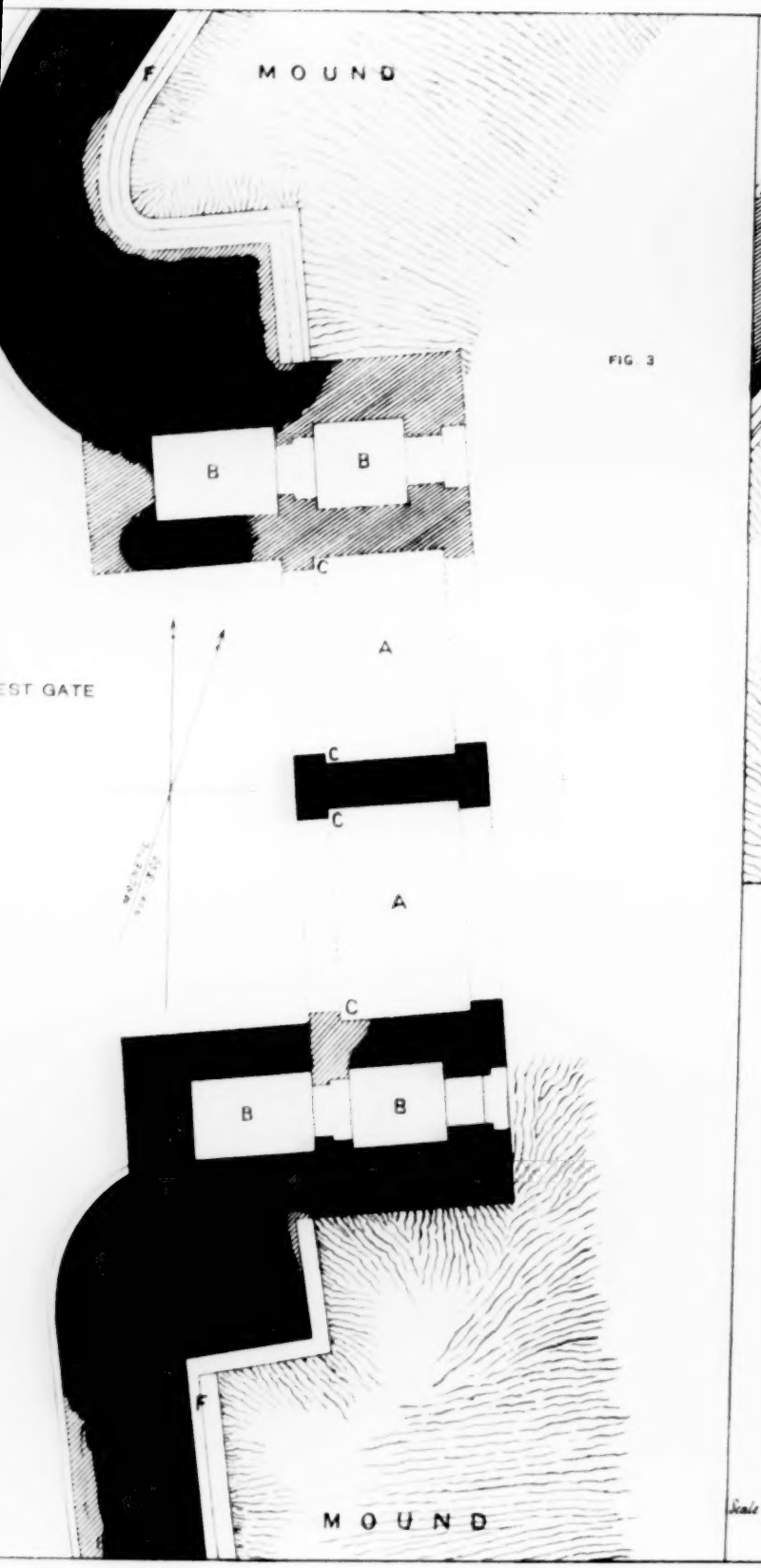


FIG 3

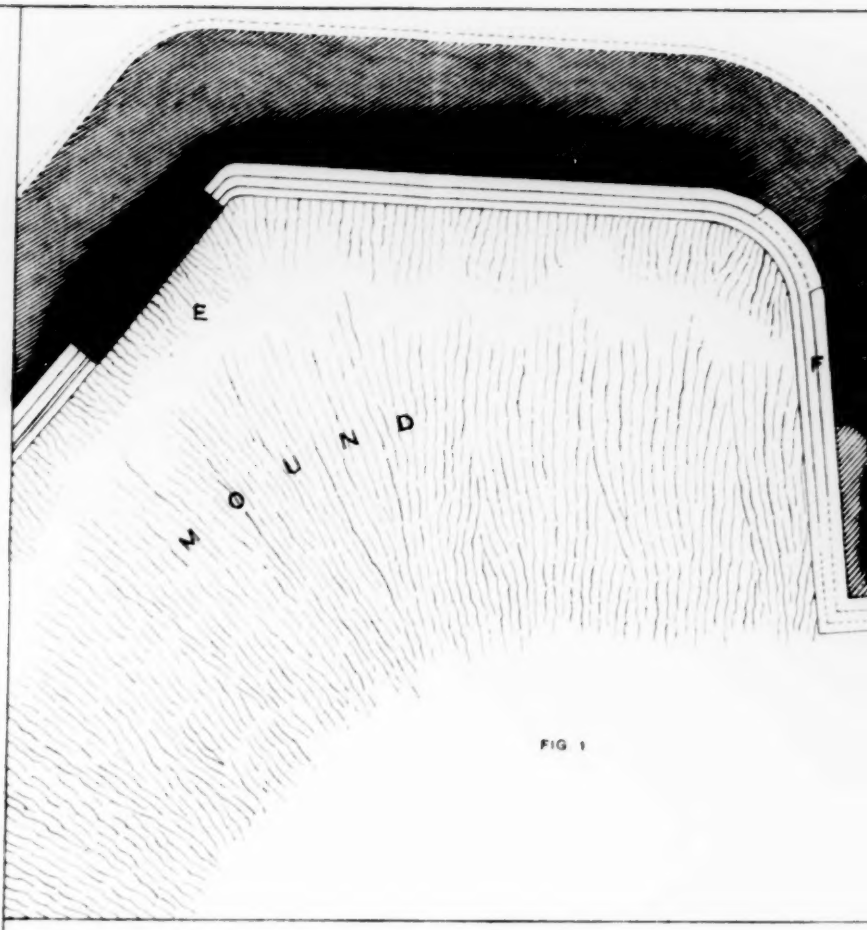


FIG 1

A A *Covered Passages (originally).*

B B *Guard Chambers.*

C C *Holes for ends of wooden thresholds.*

D *Rough foundation, perhaps for steps to platform of South Gate.*

E E *Projections from inner face of wall.*

F F *Internal set-off to wall, 2 feet in projection.*

Scale of

SILCHESTER. — PLANS OF NORTH, SO

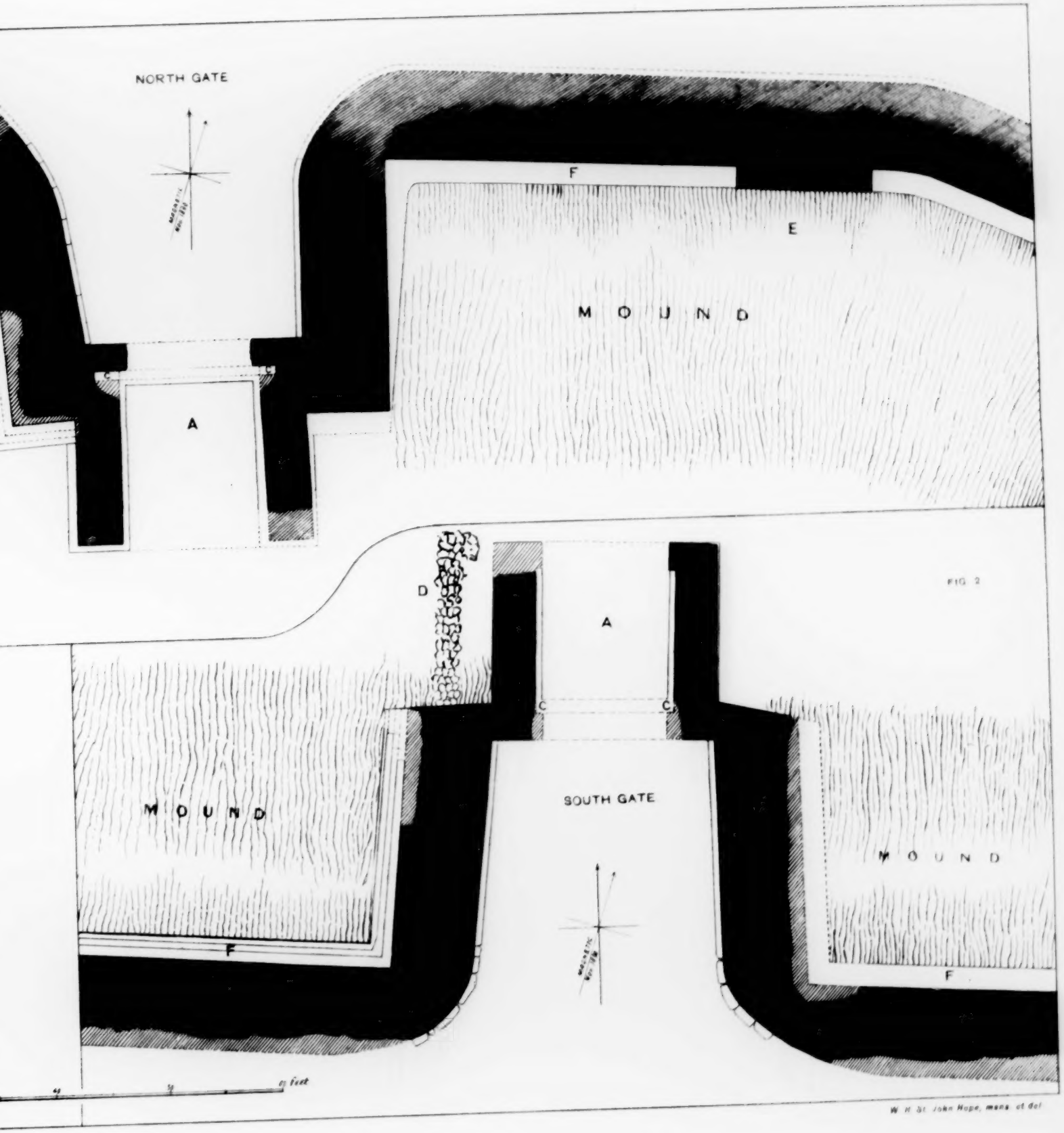


FIG. 2

, SOUTH AND WEST GATES.

a landing at the top; this would enable the rampart walk to be carried over the gate. Only the west side could be examined, and it is therefore uncertain whether the same feature occurs on the other side. Some such arrangement must have been necessary on both sides to afford a means of communication.

The whole character of this gate seems to be inferior to that on the north; the flanking walls being built with smaller material, and the gateway has the defect already noticed. The quantity of ironstone used in the construction was also very much less.

Although the traces of it are not so plain, it is clear that the south gate also had a wooden threshold.

In both the north and south gates the roadway appears to have been formed of a layer of flints 12 inches thick, and the flanking walls seemed to rest on the same bedding. The upper surface of the road was gravelled, resembling in that respect the streets of the city.

The north gate has been described as being arched, although no evidence of the fact now remains. That the south gate was so there is interesting proof, for amongst the rubbish removed was turned up a perfect tile, obviously made, from its shape and construction, to serve as a *voussoir* of an arch. It is 17 inches long and 6 inches wide, but its thickness tapers from $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the top to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch at the bottom. (Plate XXXII. fig. 4). It has also clearly been used in an arch, for the top and back edges and the two sides shew traces of mortar, while the front and bottom are quite clean.

From its width this must be looked upon as a half-tile only, and if the whole tiles were 12 inches across, the whole and half tiles were probably arranged as in the accompanying diagram to form the thickness of the arches of this gate.

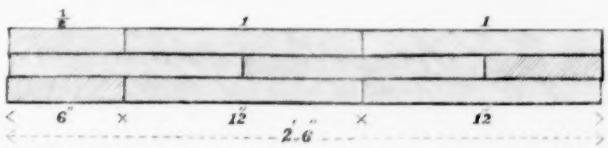


Diagram shewing probable arrangement of tiles forming the arches of the south gate.

When this gate was excavated by Mr. Joyce, he found lying about it six large fragments of cut stone.

The first of these is a square stone (now broken in two) 2 feet 6 inches in length by 2 feet 4 inches in breadth, and varying in thickness from 10 to 15 inches.

A second large flat stone is 3 feet 9 inches long by 2 feet 8 inches wide, and about 12 inches thick. It is picked all over one side, and has a deep groove ¾ inch deep, cut across it at 11 inches from one end. The other side is curiously worn into hollows like the rocky bed of a stream.

The third stone is a drum of a column 2 feet 9½ inches in diameter and 1 foot 5 inches in height. This must have come from some temple or other public building in the city, for the position of the lewis-hole on top shows that it forms part of a double column, which could not have stood at the gate.

The fourth and fifth stones are very fragmentary portions of large Doric capitals, one belonging to a column 2 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top. Both capitals have different mouldings.

The sixth stone is a half-capital of the Doric order, fortunately tolerably perfect, which has evidently stood against the wall in an internal angle of some building, as the mouldings of the abacus on one side run into those of the round part in a curious manner. (See Plate XXXII., figs. 1, 2, and 3.) On the opposite side, with certain variations, the whole of the mouldings of the capital seem to have been combined to form a kind of cornice or string course. The entire arrangement is peculiar. The diameter of the capital under the astragal is 2 feet 1½ inches.

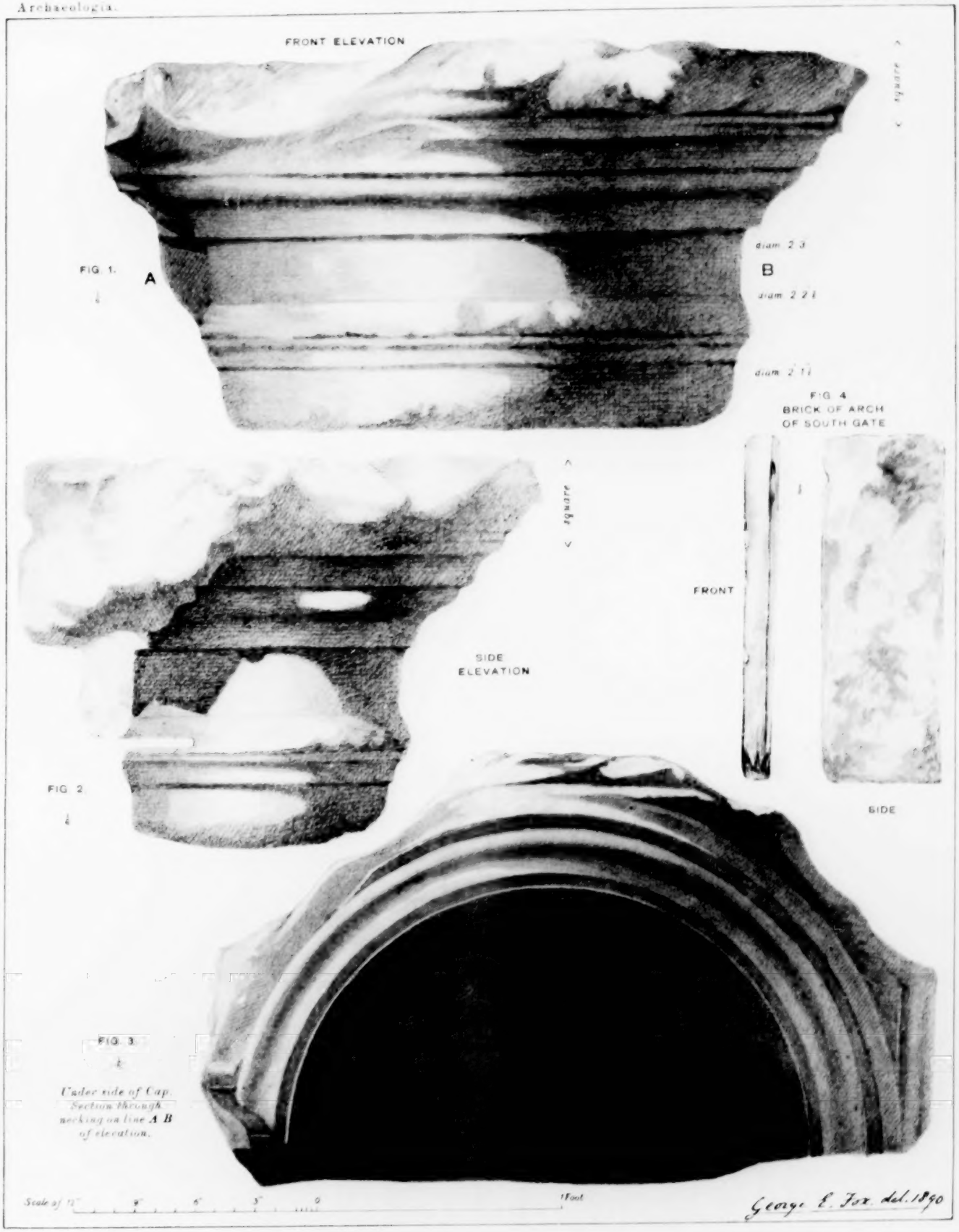
We cannot satisfy ourselves that this very fine capital formed any portion of the gate, although it might have done so as far as dimensions are concerned. There did not, however, appear to be any trace of a foundation or base which could have carried the half-column that it surmounted.

Before leaving the south gate reference should be made to a section cut behind the west flanking-wall through the whole height and breadth of the mound in order to ascertain its nature. Beyond a few fragments of Roman pottery, which could easily have fallen in during the building of the wall, nothing was found to throw light on the age of the mound. To really ascertain this other and far larger sections must be cut elsewhere.

The west gate differs very much from those on the north and south, both as regards size, plan, and arrangement. (Plate XXXI., fig. 3.)

To begin with, this gate is double instead of single, and the inward turn of the city wall on each side extends only 18 feet from the face of the curtain, or as far as the line of the front of the gate, and does not form any sufficient flanking defence.

When perfect the gate consisted of two parallel passages, each 12 feet long



SILCHESTER. — FRAGMENT OF ATTACHED CAPITAL FOUND AT SOUTH GATE, AND BRICK OF ARCH.

and 13 feet wide, spanned both in front and in rear by arches 12 feet in width and 2 feet in depth. The two passages were separated by a wall 3 feet thick.

The outer sides of the gate were formed, not of single walls, as in the north and south gates, but of a pair of guard-houses, each 12 feet wide and 24 feet long. On the inner or city side these ranged with the gate, but towards the field they projected like two flanking towers, for which purpose, indeed, they were probably used. The area between these two towers is 29 feet wide and 12 feet deep.

Owing to the considerable thickness of the walls, 4 feet on three sides and 3 feet on the side next the gate, the guard-rooms themselves are very small. The first or outer chamber was only 5 feet wide and 6 feet long, and was entered by a doorway in its east end 3 feet wide. At the other end a similar doorway led to an inner room also 5 feet wide, but $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. These inner rooms were probably used as lock-ups for prisoners, while the outer chambers were for the accommodation of the sentries. The arrangements were the same on both sides of the gate, but on the north side nearly everything has been destroyed to form the modern highway which passes through and in part conceals this half of the gate. On the south side we were so fortunate as to uncover considerable remains not only of the guardhouse but of the central wall also. These were built of flint-rubble with an external facing of narrow courses of ironstone alternating with bonding courses of tile, and internally of flint and tile in alternate double bands. The door jambs were entirely of tile, with rebates for timber framing, and the principal quoins were built of stone blocks with tile footings. Nothing was found to show that the passages or guardhouses were vaulted, but the discovery of a piece of a *voussoir* tile (Plate XXXIII., fig. 3) is a clear indication that both entrances were arched back and front.

As the arches of this gate were not so thick as those of the south gate the tiles forming the *voussoirs* would probably be arranged as in the accompanying figure.

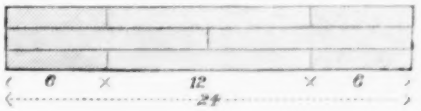


Diagram showing probable arrangement of tiles forming the arches of the west gate.

The arches sprang from boldly-moulded imposts. A large piece of one, of ironstone, rebated on the inside for the door, lay just without the gate. (Plate XXXIII. figs. 1 and 2.)

As in the north and south gates the doors here had wooden thresholds. The places where the outer ends of these rested have been broken away in both passages. The division wall, however, not only has a hole through it for the timbers, but appears also to show how these could be removed and replaced. The hole is covered on both sides of the division wall by a large flat stone, which has dropped somewhat owing to the removal of the stones under it that rested on the ends of the timbers. These stones were probably easily removeable in order to get at the ends of the beams, which could then be slid along and so enable the other ends to be raised and the beam withdrawn. Nothing has been found in the gates of Silchester to show what was equivalent to the stepped stone sills against which the doors shut in the gateways of the camps on the Roman Wall.

The roadway here is of the same construction as at the north and south gates.

The internal walls of the gate, and the north face of the southern guardroom tower, showed faint traces of having been plastered with pink cement. A considerable quantity of this was found lying in the roadway, and strangely enough here also lay a number of circular tiles used for building *pilæ* of hypocausts. These have also been found scattered amongst the rubbish of the gate. There were of course no hypocausts in the gate, and as these tiles were quite clean on both sides, it is difficult to see what they were used for. The guardrooms were plastered internally with a rough coat of plaster, but after a few weeks exposure to the weather this crumbled down. It had been painted, as a fragment turned up having broad pink lines on a white ground. With the exceptions already noted nothing was found to indicate the character of the superstructure of the gate.

Within the southern half of the gate, lay close together two pieces of iron. The first of these (Plate XXXIII., fig. 4) is about one half of an iron ring or band, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, and originally $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in internal diameter. It appears to have been an iron band shrunk on to the wooden pivot of one of the doors of the gate, and probably worked in a similar iron ring or shoe let into the wooden threshold. The second piece of iron is a band or strap, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, and probably formed a strengthening band to one of the doors just above the pivot. (Plate XXXIII. fig. 5.) It is bent round in the form of a long letter U, and from its shape enables us to ascertain that the exact thickness of the doors was 4 inches. Each arm of the band was $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and had three square nail holes in it.

The southern passage of the gate had been blocked with a rude wall composed of uncut masses of carstone and other material. Filling the centre lay

PART OF IMPOST OF CENTRAL PIER. WEST GATE.

FIG. 1.





FIG. 3.

PART OF BRICK OF ARCH OF WEST GATE.

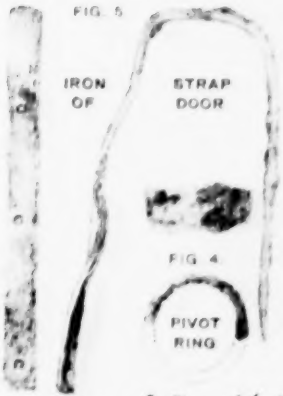
FIG. 2.



UPPER SURFACE OF IMPOST SHOWING CRAMP HOLES AND MORTAR BED.



FIG. 5.



George E. Fox del. 1890

SILCHESTER. — DETAILS OF WEST GATE.

two wrought stones, clearly brought from some building in the city. The lower was a coping stone, bedded upside down. The upper, which lay upon it, was a thin fragment of a drum of a double column, of the same dimensions and possibly from the same building as the portion found at the south gate; in its upper surface was a lewis-hole. At the same time was unearthed, close to the large piece of the impost moulding already noticed, a fine fragment of a Corinthian capital of considerable size (Plate XXXIV.); it of course did not belong to the gate, as there is no position that it could have occupied.

This blocking of one division of the gate with a rude wall built of fragments has its parallel in what took place in the stations on the great northern barrier. As the power of defence grew less, it was impossible adequately to protect the entrances, and therefore the means of access were restricted in the same way there as seen here. But something more may be learned from this rude blocking at Silchester, namely, that at whatever period it occurred, some of the larger buildings were already in ruins, and afforded a quarry for the inhabitants to draw material from. That period was probably a late one, from the extremely rude character of the masonry.

Among the miscellaneous objects found in and about the gate, were a small stone wrought with delicate mouldings; a bar of iron, possibly part of a lock; a complete padlock and key; a small vessel of black pottery with incised scroll-work, from the inner southern guardchamber; the fragments of a human skull; a bone peg, perhaps for netting; and tiles with various accidentally impressed markings, including one with the imprint of a baby's foot, so clearly stamped upon the clay that even the texture of the skin may be discerned. Only three coins were found; two of them are illegible, and the third is a bronze coin of Constantine.

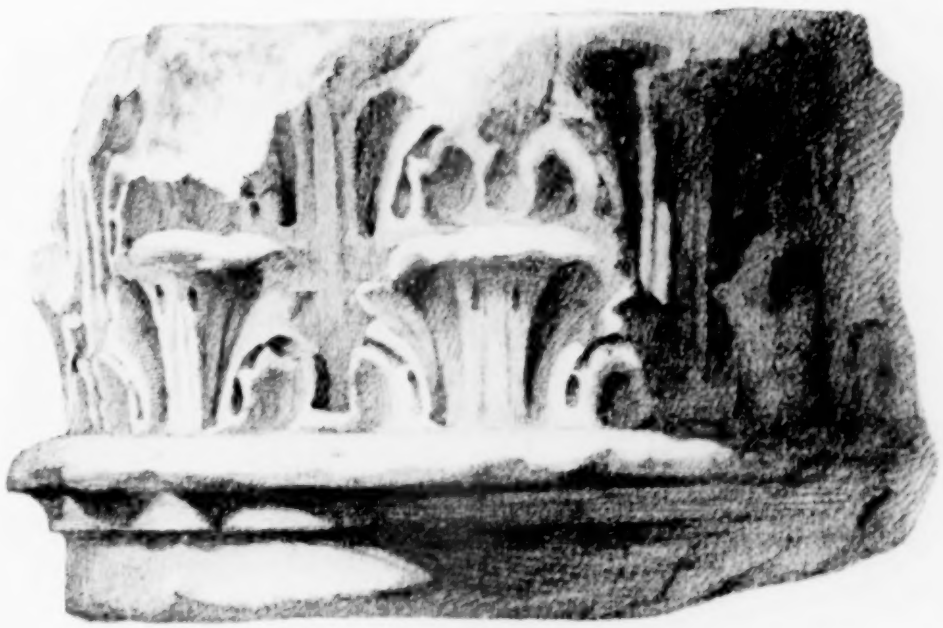
The complete examination of these gates at Silchester is of much greater importance than at first sight appears; for, although little more than their plans and arrangements can be made out, they are the only gates of a Romano-British city that have been thoroughly investigated. They are fortunately free from the disadvantages attending such inhabited sites as Lincoln, Colchester, etc., where buildings and streets are a hindrance to excavation, and we have, therefore, been able to ascertain their exact plans, and their proper relation to the city walls in which they are placed. It is evident from these that the destroyed superstructures of the gates were of the simplest possible character; and, therefore, in seeking for comparisons, it is necessary to look for similar plans. For these we must turn to the stations on the Roman Wall, at any rate as far as the west

gate of Silchester is concerned; for the north and south gates we have as yet been unable to find exactly parallel examples.

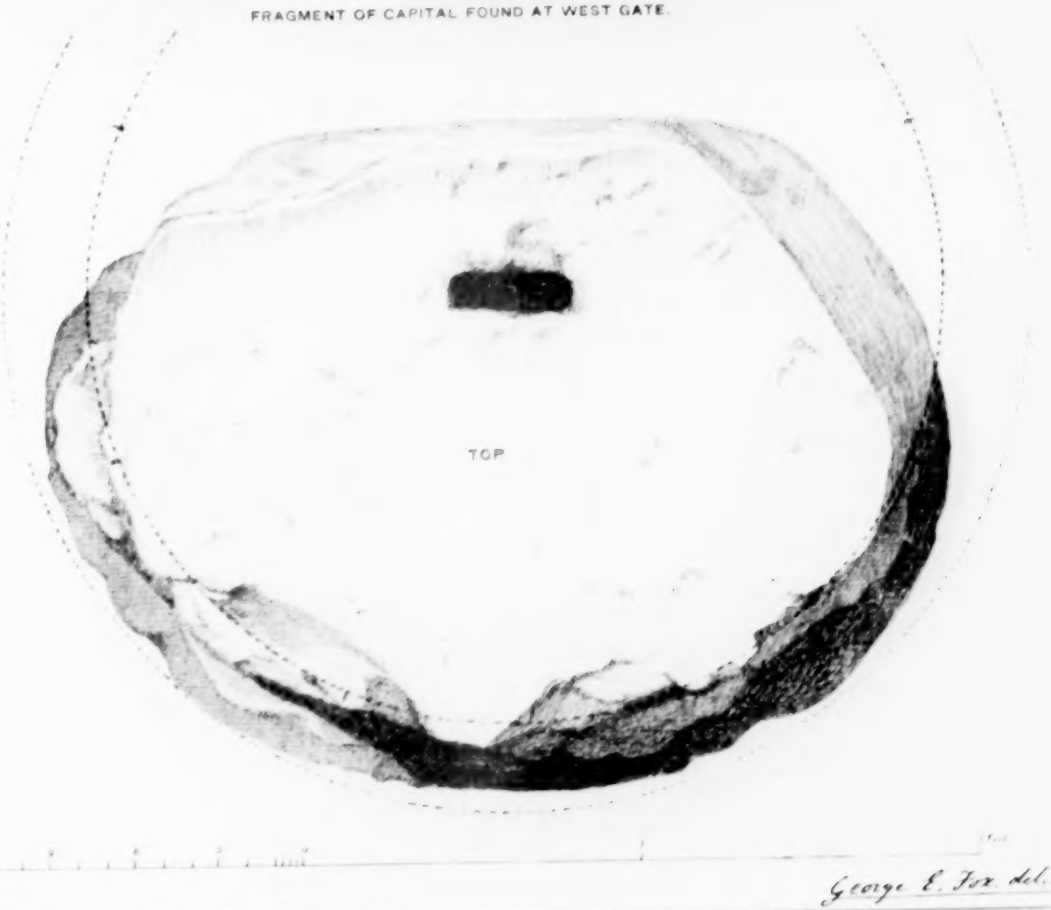
The principal gates of the stations of *Ciluruum* [Chesters] and *Amboglanna* [Birdoswald], two of the largest on the Wall, show an arrangement strikingly similar to the Silchester west gate, the chief differences being the projecting double guard chambers of the southern example, and the way in which the gate is recessed from the curtain wall, by which means the entrance was rendered more defensible.[a]

The similarity of the gates which has been noticed raises the question of their relative dates. This is a question beset with difficulties, owing to imperfect knowledge of a sufficient number of examples. The date of the camps on the Roman Wall is still a matter of dispute; but, if the latest period assigned to their erection, that of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117—138), be taken, it will still be a comparatively early one in the Roman occupation. Whether the west gate of *Calleva* is of an approximate age cannot at present be determined. For some of the stations on the Roman Wall, it must also be remembered, a date has been claimed as early as Agricola.

[a] The likeness of these gates may be seen by a comparison of the Silchester example with the plan and restored elevation of a gate at Amboglanna, illustrating a paper by Mr. Glasford Potter in *Archæologia Æliana*, iv. 74.



FRAGMENT OF CAPITAL FOUND AT WEST GATE.



George E. Fox del. 1890

SILCHESTER. — FRAGMENT OF CORINTHIAN CAPITAL.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

1. *Bronze Scabbard of Late-Celtic work found at Hunsbury Camp, near Northampton.*

February 21st, 1889. The Rev. R. S. Baker, Local Secretary for Northamptonshire, read a paper describing the complete excavation, when digging for ironstone, of the large camp near Northampton known as Hunsbury Hill or Danes Camp. A full account, with illustrations, of the most important antiquities found has been published by Sir Henry Dryden in the *Proceedings* of the Northampton Architectural Society.[a] One of the objects discovered, a fine bronze scabbard of Late-Celtic work, deserves especial notice, and the following remarks upon it have been communicated by C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A.:

"This beautiful specimen (see illustration and Plate XXXV.) is formed of a thin bronze plate on one face, the other face being open and provided only with transverse ornamental plates; the edge is of the usual character, that is, a rounded recurved plate, the two edges of which clasp the plates forming the face and back of the sheath. The end of the sheath is of thicker metal, of the usual heart-shaped form, which characterises other sheaths of the same period. Towards the lower part, 8 inches from the point, is a pair of ornamental bosses formed of curves and circles, resembling birds' heads. At the back of this part is an engraved plate, with scrolls and circles, and two lower bands, also engraved, which do not correspond with anything on the front. The upper end of the front of the sheath has an elegant pattern of scrolls and circles of the usual Late Celtic type, very like the engraved ornaments on the bronze mirror from St. Keverne, in Cornwall."[b]

[a] *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, xviii. 53-61.

[b] *Archæological Journal*, xxx. 267.



Front and Back View of Late-Celtic sword found at Hunsbury Camp, near Northampton. (¼linear.)

As a type, it is quite characteristic of Late Celtic work, and in no part has it any resemblance to, or connection with, the productions of Saxon times, as has been suggested.

The general form at once calls to mind the numerous swords in their sheaths that have been found in the Swiss Lakes, especially at La Tène (see Keller, *Swiss Lakes Dwellings*, translated by J. E. Lee). But, as a rule, the Swiss specimens are made entirely of iron, both blade and sheath, whereas in the Hunsbury example the sword only was of iron. Numerous references to similar weapons will be found in Mr. Franks' paper on a sword found at Catterdale, Yorkshire, in *Archæologia*, xlv. 251; and others are figured in Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. iii. p. iii. pl. 3; and in *Das Römisch Germanische Central-Museum* of the same author, pl. xxxiii.

A chape very like the one now in question was found at Water Eaton, Oxon., and is preserved in the British Museum."

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2. *Mace-head of the Borough of Ilchester.*

February 26th, 1891. W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., Assistant-Secretary, exhibited a thirteenth-century mace-head belonging to the borough of Ilchester, county of Somerset, on which he read the following note:

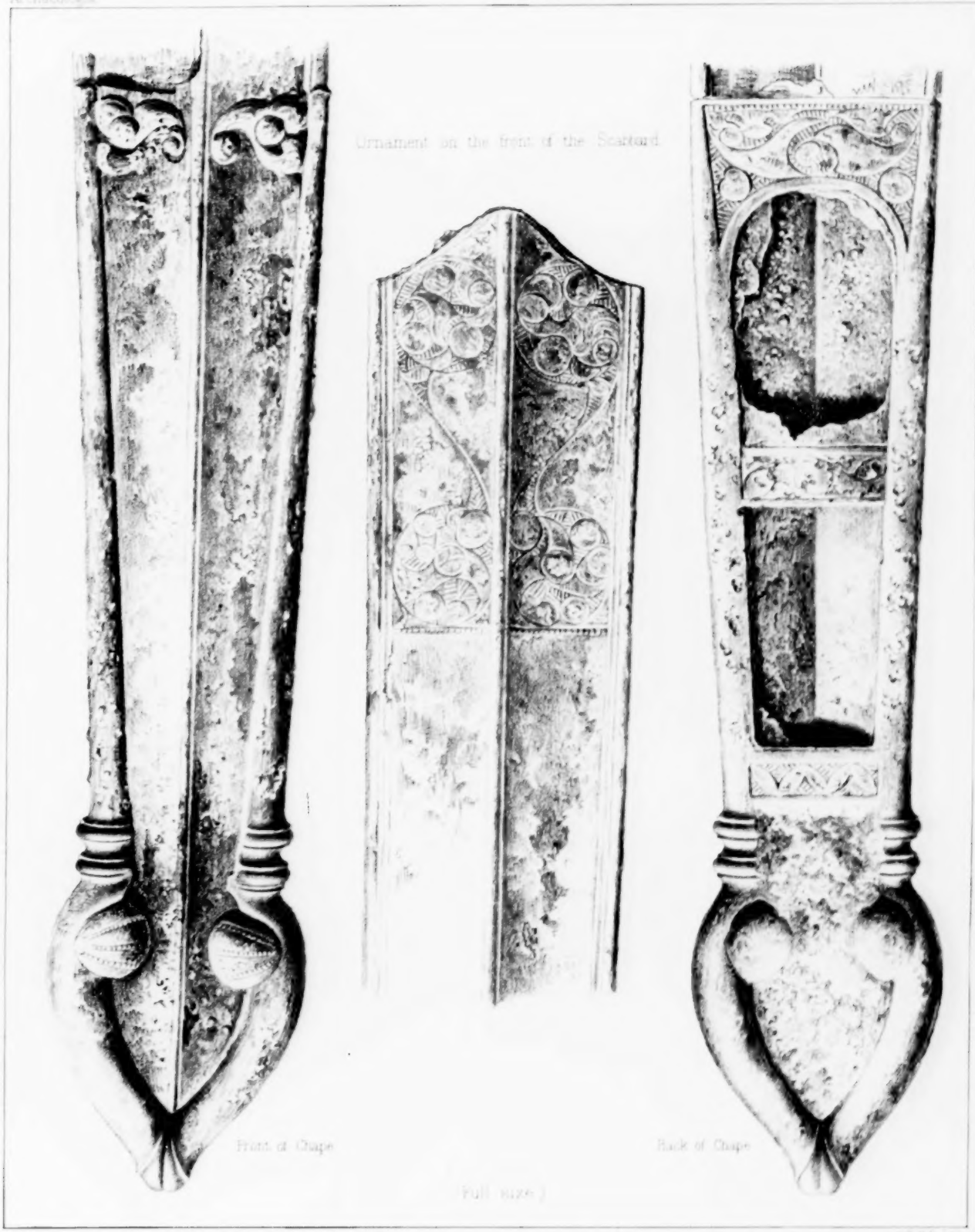
"By the kind courtesy of the members of the Ilchester Town Trust I am able to exhibit to the Society one of the most remarkable mace-heads I have yet seen in England. (Plate XXXVI.)

This mace-head is now affixed to the top of a long wooden pole, after the fashion of a beadle's staff, the whole being 7 feet 4 inches in height. The staff, which is painted black, has the uppermost 18 inches of its length divided by red bands into two panels. The upper is painted with the royal arms, as borne from 1816 to 1837, within the Garter and crowned. The lower has the device of the borough, a silver crescent surmounted by a gold star, on a blue field, encircled by a band inscribed: + BURGUS + DE + IVELCESTER. Below this is a cherub's head and wings, and a monogram formed of the letters J.B. At the lower end of the staff is a brass ferrule $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

The mace-head is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and of latten, cast all in one piece. It has been covered with oil-gilding, which somewhat obscures the detail, but is otherwise in very good condition.

The lowest section of it is a plain band $\frac{5}{8}$ inch deep, forming part of the socket for the staff. Above this is a second band, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, bearing in raised letters the inscription in two lines:

+ IH SV DI DRVHRIH
+ NI MI DVNHT MIH



DETAILS OF LATE-CELTIC SWORD FOUND AT HUNSBURY CAMP, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

This is surmounted by a band ¼ inch wide, ornamented with a zigzag pattern, from which rise four slender twisted shafts, with square bases and foliated capitals with square abaci, carrying an arcade of four moulded and trefoiled arches. Under each arch, on a floriated bracket rising from a short shaft, is a tall and well-modelled figure.

The first figure is clearly that of an angel. He is clad in a long robe, and has a cloth or garment cast loosely round his body and over his raised left hand, on which some object now broken was held by the right hand. The angel while walking to the sinister is looking back at the second figure behind him.

This second figure is crowned and wears a long robe with hanging sleeves. The hair, however, instead of being short as in the other three figures, is long and hangs down at the back like a woman's; but the figure, as clearly shown by the short beard, is that of a king and not a queen.

The third figure is a king in a long robe with long pendent sleeves. He is represented as walking to the sinister, but with his head and body turned as if speaking to the person behind him. The right hand is uplifted with the index finger held up. The left hand, which was also raised, is broken off.

The fourth figure is also that of a king walking to the sinister. He has a short beard, and wears a long robe, but round his body is wrapped a loose garment. This also covered the left hand, which supported some object held by the right hand, now broken off.

The figures are each 3¼ inches high, and although the niches are an inch higher, the corbels or brackets on which the figures stand cause them to properly fill their housings. The spandrels between the four arches originally each contained a conical six-sided spike. Two of these, much blunted, remain, together with the stump of a third; but the fourth is completely broken away. Resting on the points of the arches is a cabled ring, forming the base of the conical top of the mace; this is divided into ten rounded loops or petals and terminates in an acorn-shaped finial.

That this remarkable object was meant for a mace of dignity seems to be proved by its being made of latten and not of iron; the spikes which denote its true character being merely ornamental. There can also be little doubt that it dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The puzzle is as to the meaning of the figures of the angel and kings, and their connexion with the inscription.

The figure of the angel suggests that we must look to Holy Writ for the meaning, and the only one I can suggest is that the Three Kings of Cologne are represented, though the treatment is somewhat unusual. The left hand of each figure may, however, well have held a gift.

It will be noticed, too, that a star over a crescent is the device of the town.

The inscription, + IH SV DH DRVHRIH + NH MH DVNHT MIH occurs on a ring belonging to the President in the slightly variant form + IO SVI : DH : DRVHRIH NH MH DVNH · MIH. It is found in a more extended form on a small circular gold brooch in the collection of Mr. Franks:

IH SV DH DRVHRIH
NH MH DVNHZ MIH
IO | SVIHI | HN | LVI | DH
ΠMI · OVHI | MO | HV (*for voici mon cœur*)

Both these examples are clearly *gages d'amour*, and it is not easy to see the applicability of such a posy to a mace, even of dignity. It may, however, mean

I am a mark of amity
Do not forget me (or give me away).

This is at any rate a more plausible version than that given by Collinson in his *History of Somerset*.[a] He read the letters correctly, but divided them to read

Jesu | de | dru | erie
Neme | dun | et | mie

which he renders in English

I Jesus was of God
notwithstanding the
gift was ill received.

The borough of Ilchester seems to have been a borough by prescription as early as the reign of John, and until 1835 the corporation consisted of a bailiff, twelve burgesses, a constable, and sub-bailiff.[b]

[a] Vol. iii. p. 299.

Details round head = Full size





MACE-HEAD OF THE BOROUGH OF ILCHESTER, CO. SOMERSET.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 234, note *e*. *For* "2 A. xvii" *read* "2 A. xxii."

Pages 457–601. Errata in the interlinear text.

Col.			
	I.	*For* "42" *read* "24."	
„	IX, l. 1.	„	"overthow" *read* "overthrow.
„	XVIII, l. 25.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XIX, l. 2.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXIV, l. 13.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXV, l. 8.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXV, l. 17.	„	"*neχt*" read "*χet*."
„	XXVI, l. 12.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXVI, l. 24.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXVII, l. 11.	„	"carry off I the ear" *read* "carry off I the two ears."
„	XXVII, l. 19.	„	"eater of limbs (*t*)" *read* "eater of the green."
„	XXVII, l. 23.	„	"*ḥer-f*" read "*ḥrà-f*."
„	XXVIII, l. 2.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXVIII, l. 26.	„	"*àuk*," read "*ànuk*."
„	XXX, l. 6.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXX, l. 17.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXXI, l. 23.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXXII, l. 10.	„	"in" *read* "for.
„	XXXII, l. 17.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXXIII, l. 10.	„	"" *read* "."
„	XXXIII, l. 17.	„	"" *read* "."
	Page 709, l. 15.	„	"eccelsio-" *read* "ecclesio-."
	„ 715, l. 20.	„	"Transposer" *read* "Transproser."
	l. 32.	„	"1530" *read* "1869."
	„ 723, l. 3.	„	"1530" *read* "1539."

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